The Cambridge Manual of LATIN EPIGRAPHY

ALISON E. COOLEY

CAMBRIDGE

CAMBRIDGE

more information - www.cambridge.org/9780521840262

The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy

This book advances our understanding of the place of Latin inscriptions in the Roman world. It enables readers, especially those new to the subject, to appreciate both the potential and the limitations of inscriptions as historical source material, by considering the diversity of epigraphic culture in the Roman world, and how it has been transmitted to the twenty-first century. The first chapter offers an epigraphic sample drawn from the Bay of Naples, illustrating the dynamic epigraphic culture of that region. The second explores in detail the nature of epigraphic culture in the Roman world, probing the limitations of traditional ways of dividing up inscriptions into different categories, and offering examples of how epigraphic culture developed in different geographical, social, and religious contexts. It examines the 'life-cycle' of inscriptions – how they were produced, viewed, reused, and destroyed. Finally, the third provides guidance on deciphering inscriptions face-to-face and handling specialist epigraphic publications.

ALISON E. COOLEY is Reader in Classics and Ancient History at the University of Warwick. She has published extensively on topics relating to Roman epigraphy. She has edited three books and most recently published an edition of and commentary on the 'queen of inscriptions', *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (Cambridge, 2009). She has taught epigraphy to postgraduates attending the British Epigraphy Society's international summer school, as well as at Oxford and Warwick. She is also a member of the team producing quinquennial survey articles on Inscriptions and Roman Studies for the *Journal of Roman Studies*.

The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy

ALISON E. COOLEY

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,
Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521549547

© Alison E. Cooley 2012

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2012

Printed and Bound in Great Britain by the MPG Books Group

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data
Cooley, Alison.
The Cambridge manual of Latin epigraphy / Alison E. Cooley.
pages. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-521-84026-2 (hard back)
1. Inscriptions, Latin – Handbooks, manuals, etc. 2. Christian inscriptions – Handbooks, manuals, etc. I. Title.
CN510.C665 2012
411′.7 – dc23 2012019056

ISBN 978-0-521-84026-2 Hardback
ISBN 978-0-521-54954-7 Paperback

Additional resources for this publication at www.cambridge.org/9780521840262

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or
accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in
this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is,
or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

For Melvin, Emma, and Paul

Contents

List of figures [*page* ix]
List of featured inscriptions [xiii]
List of abbreviations [xix]
Preface [xxi]
Acknowledgements [xxii]

1 Epigraphic culture in the Bay of Naples [1]
- 1.1 Introduction [1]
- 1.2 Inscriptions and civic life [4]
- 1.3 Personal inscriptions [52]
- 1.4 Inscriptions and the economy: texts of production, distribution, and ownership [82]
- 1.5 Inscriptions in art [104]

2 Epigraphic culture in the Roman world [117]
- 2.1 Defining epigraphy [117]
- 2.2 Epigraphic categorization [127]
- 2.3 Epigraphy in society [220]
  - 2.3.1 Monuments, not documents [220]
  - 2.3.2 The emergence of Christian epigraphy? [228]
- 2.4 The geography of epigraphy: a case-study of Tripolitania [250]
  - 2.4.1 Urban epigraphy [253]
  - 2.4.2 Epigraphy in the pre-desert interior [268]
  - 2.4.3 The army camp at Bu Njem [274]
- 2.5 The life-cycle of inscriptions [285]
  - 2.5.1 The production and design of inscriptions [286]
  - 2.5.2 Language choice [300]
  - 2.5.3 Reading and viewing inscriptions [307]
  - 2.5.4 Afterlife of inscriptions [310]

3 A technical guide to Latin epigraphy [327]
- 3.1 Finding published inscriptions [327]
  - 3.1.1 Guide to *CIL* and other corpora [336]
  - 3.1.2 Major corpora of Christian inscriptions [343]
- 3.2 Reading an epigraphic publication [346]
  - 3.2.1 How to use *CIL* [346]
  - 3.2.2 Editorial conventions [350]

  - 3.2.3 'History from square brackets' [355]
  - 3.2.4 Abbreviations [357]
  - 3.2.5 Working with stemmata [360]
- 3.3 Beyond the book: viewing and recording an inscription [370]
  - 3.3.1 On site and in museums [370]
  - 3.3.2 Forgeries [383]
- 3.4 Dating inscriptions [398]
- 3.5 Putting the pieces together [434]

Appendixes

1 Consular fasti, *298 BC – AD 541* [449]
2 Imperial titles, Augustus–Justinian [488]
Index locorum [510]
General index [515]

Figures

1.1 Map of Bay of Naples [*page* 2]
1.2 Honours for Gavia Marciana, Puteoli – *CIL* X 1784 [7]
1.3 Announcement of games at Pompeii – *CIL* IV 3884 [13]
1.4 Electoral notice for Helvius Sabinus, Pompeii – *CIL* IV 9919 [16]
1.5 Boundary-marker, Pompeii – *CIL* X 821 [20]
1.6 Trajan honoured by the *Augustales* of Misenum, dedicatory inscription – *AÉpigr* (1996) 424a [24]
1.7 Trajan honoured by the *Augustales* of Misenum, left side [25]
1.8 Trajan honoured by the *Augustales* of Misenum, right side [26]
1.9 Equestrian statue of M. Nonius Balbus, Herculaneum [35]
1.10 Honorific inscription of M. Nonius Balbus, Herculaneum – *CIL* X 1426 [36]
1.11 Building-inscription for the covered theatre, Pompeii – *CIL* X 844 [40]
1.12 Building-inscription for the amphitheatre, Pompeii – *CIL* X 852 [41]
1.13 Building-inscription of M. Nonius Balbus, Herculaneum – *CIL* X 1425 [42]
1.14 Repairs to the harbour-front at Puteoli – *CIL* X 1692 [47]
1.15 Milestone at Stabiae – *CIL* X 6939 [50]
1.16 Milestone at Surrentum – Magalhaes (2003) 132–3 no. 6 [51]
1.17 *Columella* of Vibia Sabina, Pompeii – De Caro (1979) 190–1 [55]
1.18 Funerary *cippus*, Puteoli – *CIL* X 2975 [57]
1.19 Jewish epitaph, Neapolis – *AÉpigr* (1990) 163 [65]
1.20 Dedication by *ministri* of Augustan Fortune, Pompeii – *CIL* X 827 [71]
1.21 Diagram of the format of a triptych [74]
1.22 Appointment of a judge: writing-tablet, Sulpicii archive – *TPSulp* 22 [78]
1.23 Appointment of a judge: writing-tablet, Sulpicii archive – *TPSulp* 22 [79]
1.24 Stamped tile, Pompeii – *CIL* X 8042, 41a [86]
1.25 Stamped tile, Pompeii: close-up of stamp – *CIL* X 8042, 41a [87]

1.26 *Urceus*, Villa loc. Petraro, Stabiae – inv. 62806 [91]
1.27 *Urceus*, Villa loc. Petraro, Stabiae – inv. 62806: close-up of painted inscription [91]
1.28 Mosaic *urceus*, house of Umbricius Scaurus, Pompeii – *AÉpigr* (1992) 278d [93]
1.29 *Terra sigillata* cup, Villa Arianna, Stabiae – inv. 63806 [96]
1.30 'Footprint' stamps of L. Rasinius Pisanus on *terra sigillata* [97]
1.31 Lead pipe, Stabiae, villa loc. Faiano – *CIL* X 774 [99]
1.32 Bronze stamp (*signaculum*), Villa of Fannius Synistor, Boscoreale [103]
1.33 Mosaic of athletes, Puteoli suburban villa [107]
1.34 Glass flask (Prague) depicting Puteoli [108]
1.35 Graffito of gladiatorial combat, Pompeii, Tomb 14EN outside Nucerian Gate – *CIL* IV 10238a [112]
2.1 Dedication to Diocletian and Maximian on papyrus – *P. Oxy*. XLI no. 2950 [121]
2.2 Painting of Pompeii's Forum from House of Julia Felix – MANN inv. 9068 [122]
2.3 A regional funerary monument from Lusitania – *CIL* II 3052 [130]
2.4 Funerary altar of Q. Sulpicius Maximus, Rome – *CIL* VI 33976 + *IG* XIV 2012 [133]
2.5 Inscriptions at the tomb of M. Cocceius Daphnus, Isola Sacra – *Isola Sacra* no. 82 [138]
2.6 Inscriptions at the tomb of M. Cocceius Daphnus, Isola Sacra – *Isola Sacra* no. 92 [139]
2.7 Inscriptions at the tomb of M. Cocceius Daphnus, Isola Sacra – *Isola Sacra* no. 93 [139]
2.8 Statue base honouring A. Larcius Priscus, Timgad – *CIL* VIII 17891 [148]
2.9 Statue base honouring P. Flavius Pudens Pomponianus, Timgad – *CIL* VIII 2391 [149]
2.10 Building-inscription for a temple, Superaequum – *SupplIt* 22 no. 58 [153]
2.11 Dedication of the amphitheatre at Virunum on behalf of Commodus – *AÉpigr* (1999) 1197 [157]
2.12 Milestone from the *via Domitia*, Gallia Narbonensis – *CIL* XVII/2 294 [161]
2.13 A milestone with multiple inscriptions – Salama (1987) no. 1, texts D (at top), C (below left), E (erased below right) [164]
2.14 A diploma from Britain, AD 103 – *RIB* II 2401.1 [175]

2.15 Judicial prayer, Uley no. 72 – *AÉpigr* (1992) 1127 [180]
2.16 Votive dedication to *dea Senuna* – Tomlin (2008) no. 9 [184]
2.17 Brick-stamp – *CIL* XV suppl. 146 [189]
2.18 Quarry-mark from Phrygia – *AÉpigr* (1994) 1690 [191]
2.19 Dressel 20 *amphora* [194]
2.20 A *tessera nummularia* from Rome – *ILLRP* 1026 = *CIL*^{2} I 911 [197]
2.21 *Collyrium* stamp – Voinot (1999) no. 251 [200]
2.22 A military branding-iron – *CIL* XIII 10023, 1 [203]
2.23 A military branding-iron: close-up of stamp – *CIL* XIII 10023, 1 [203]
2.24 Lead pipe of Gavius Maximus, Ostia – *AÉpigr* (1995) 246a–b [205]
2.25 Mosaic of Magerius, Smirat – *AÉpigr* (1967) 549 [209]
2.26 Commemorating road-building through the Alps – *CIL* V 1863 [216]
2.27 Epitaph of Licinia Amias, Vatican – *ICUR* II 4246 [233]
2.28 *Mensa martyrum*, Tixter (modern Kherbet Oum el Ahdam) – *CIL* VIII 20600 [247]
2.29 Map of Tripolitania [251]
2.30 Dedication of the theatre at Lepcis Magna – *IRT2009* 321 [257]
2.31 Funerary urn, Lepcis Magna – Di Vita-Evrard *et al.* (1996) no. 5 [267]
2.32 Tomb North B, Ghirza (Wadi Zemzem) – *IRT2009* 900 [272]
2.33 Dedication of the camp's western gate, Bu Njem – *IRT2009* 914 [279]
2.34 A centurion's verse composition in praise of Health, Bu Njem – *IRT2009* 918 [283]
2.35 Personalizing inscriptions of M. Nigidius Vaccula, Pompeii: bench and brazier in Forum Baths – *CIL* X 818 + 8071, 48 [289]
2.36 Personalizing inscriptions of M. Nigidius Vaccula, Pompeii: close-up of cow on bench [290]
2.37 Altar to the *dii campestres*, Gemellae – Mallon (1955) [296]
2.38 Tombstone of Regina, South Shields – *RIB* I^2 1065 [305]
2.39 Erasure of Geta, Lambaesis – *CIL* VIII 2557 [315]
3.1 An inscription as described in the 1876 edition of *CIL* – *CIL* VI 3747 (1876) [329]
3.2 The same inscription as described in the 1996 edition of *CIL* – *CIL* VI/VIII, 2 40310 (1996) [330]
3.3 An inscription from Parma – *CIL* XI 1056 [348]
3.4 An inscription found on Rome's Capitol – *CIL* VI 1313 [361]
3.5 Another inscription found on Rome's Capitol – *CIL* VI 1314 [361]

3.6 An altar from Scotland: drawing – *RIB* I 2104 [373]
3.7 An altar from Scotland: squeeze – *RIB* I 2104 [374]
3.8 An altar from Scotland: photographs – *RIB* I 2104 [375]
3.9 *Columbarium* plaque – *CIL* VI 23052 [377]
3.10 *Columbarium* plaque: *mensa sepulcralis* – *CIL* VI 21417 [378]
3.11 Funerary *stele* of a cavalryman – *RIB* I 121 [379]
3.12 Funerary altar – *CIL* VI 11617 [381]
3.13 Altar to the Syrian goddess: Ligorio's drawing – *CIL* VI 115 [387]
3.14 Altar to the Syrian goddess – *CIL* VI 115 [388]
3.15 A Ligorian fabrication – *CIL* VI 968* [389]
3.16 Ash-chest for Euphrosyne – Michaelis (1882) 404 no. 315 [395]
3.17 Ash-chest for Euphrosyne: close up of inscription – Michaelis (1882) 404 no. 315 [395]
3.18 Dating systems in late antiquity – *ILCV* I 1761 [406]
3.19 Ornamental ligatures at Lugdunum – *AÉpigr* (1976) 430 [424]
3.20 'African' lettering at Dougga – *CIL* VIII 26471 [425]
3.21 Variations in lettering – *CIL* VI 36809a (front) [428]
3.22 Variations in lettering – *CIL* VI 36809b (rear) [429]
3.23 Reconstruction of metal lettering: Emerita theatre – *CIL* II 474, as preserved [439]
3.24 Reconstruction of metal lettering: Emerita theatre – *CIL* II 474, as reconstructed by I. A. Richmond [439]
3.25 Re-editing *CIL* XIV 2071: photograph of overall monument [440]
3.26 Re-editing *CIL* XIV 2071: photograph of front [441]
3.27 Re-editing *CIL* XIV 2071: photograph of right side [441]
3.28 Re-editing *CIL* XIV 2071: entry in *CIL* XIV [442]
3.29 Re-editing *CIL* XIV 2071: entry in Fabretti [443]

Featured inscriptions

Chapter 1

1. Honours for Gavia Marciana, Puteoli, AD 187: Fig. 1.2
   CIL X 1784 = *ILS* 6334
2. Announcement of games at Pompeii, AD 50s: Fig. 1.3
   CIL IV 3884 = *ILS* 5145
3. Electoral notice for Helvius Sabinus, Pompeii, AD 79: Fig. 1.4
   CIL IV 9919: I.xiv.7
4. Boundary-marker, Pompeii, *c.*AD 3: Fig. 1.5
   CIL X 821 = *ILS* 5398a
5. Trajan honoured by the *Augustales* of Misenum, AD 112/13: Figs. 1.6–8
   AÉpigr (1996) 424a/b
6. Equestrian statue and honorific inscription of M. Nonius Balbus, Herculaneum, 20s BC: Figs. 1.9–1.10
   CIL X 1426 = *ILS* 896 + Naples Archaeological Museum inv. 6104
7. Building-inscription for the covered theatre, Pompeii, 70s BC: Fig. 1.11
   CIL X 844 = *CIL* I^2 1633 = *ILS* 5636 = *ILLRP* 646
8. Building-inscription for the amphitheatre, Pompeii, 70s BC: Fig. 1.12
   CIL X 852 = *CIL* I^2 1632 = *ILS* 5627 = *ILLRP* 645
9. Building-inscription of M. Nonius Balbus, Herculaneum, 20s BC: Fig. 1.13
   CIL X 1425 = *ILS* 5527
10. Repairs to the harbour-front at Puteoli, AD 394/5: Fig. 1.14
    CIL X 1692
11. Milestone at Stabiae, AD 120/1: Fig. 1.15
    CIL X 6939
12. Milestone at Surrentum, AD 307/12: Fig. 1.16
    M. M. Magalhaes, *Storia, istituzioni e prosopografia di Surrentum romana: la collezione epigrafica del Museo Correale di Terranova* (2003: N. Longobardi: Castellammare di Stabia) 132–3 no. 6, fig. 49

13. *Columella* of Vibia Sabina, Pompeii: Fig. 1.17
    S. De Caro, 'Nuovi rinvenimenti e vecchie scoperte nella necropoli sannitica di Porto Ercolano', *CronPomp* 5 (1979) 179–91, at 190–1 + fig. 16; SAP inv. 12656
14. Funerary *cippus*, Puteoli, first century AD: Fig. 1.18
    CIL X 2975
15. Christian epitaph, Stabiae, AD 535/6
    CIL X 786 = *ILCV* 3029a
16. Jewish epitaph, Neapolis, fifth century AD: Fig. 1.19
    AÉpigr (1990) 163
17. Dedication by *ministri* of Augustan Fortune, Pompeii, AD 53/5?: Fig. 1.20
    CIL X 827 = *ILS* 6384
18. Appointment of a judge: writing-tablet, Sulpicii archive, AD 35: Figs. 1.22–3
    TPSulp 22
19. Stamped tile, Pompeii, Augustan era: Figs. 1.24–5
    CIL X 8042, 41a
20. *Urceus*, Villa loc. Petraro, Stabiae, mid first century AD: Figs. 1.26–7
    S. De Caro, 'Villa rustica in località Petraro (Stabiae)', *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* ser. 3, 10 (1987) 70 no. 73, with fig. 85
21. Mosaic *urceus*, house of Umbricius Scaurus, Pompeii, mid first century AD: Fig. 1.28
    AÉpigr (1992) 278d
22. *Terra sigillata* cup, Villa Arianna, Stabiae, first century AD: Fig. 1.29
    In Stabiano: Cultura e archeologia da Stabiae: la città e il territorio tra l'età arcaica e l'età romana (2001: Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei: Castellammare di Stabia) 133 no. 244, previously unpublished: inv. 63806
23. Lead pipe, Stabiae, villa loc. Faiano, mid first century AD: Fig. 1.31
    CIL X 774
24. Bronze stamp (*signaculum*), Villa of Fannius Synistor, Boscoreale: Fig. 1.32
    M. J. Milne, 'A bronze stamp from Boscoreale', *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 25.9 (1930) 188–90 (+ photo)
25. Mosaic of athletes, Puteoli suburban villa, first half of third century AD: Fig. 1.33
    C. Gialanella, 'Puteoli: una villa del suburbio orientale', in *Nova antiqua Phlegraea* (2000: Electa Napoli: Naples) 51–5

26. Glass flask depicting Puteoli, third/fourth century AD: Fig. 1.34
    S. E. Ostrow, 'The topography of Puteoli and Baiae on the eight glass flasks', *Puteoli* 3 (1979) 79 fig. 1
27. Graffito of gladiatorial combat, Pompeii, Tomb 14EN outside Nucerian Gate, mid first century AD: Fig. 1.35
    CIL IV 10238a

Chapter 2

28. A regional funerary monument from Lusitania: Fig 2.3
    CIL II 3052
29. Funerary altar of Q. Sulpicius Maximus, Rome: Fig. 2.4
    CIL VI 33976 + *IG* XIV 2012

30–2. Inscriptions at the tomb of M. Cocceius Daphnus, Isola Sacra: Figs. 2.5–7
    30. *Isola Sacra* no. 82 [Thylander A83]
    31. *Isola Sacra* no.92 [Thylander A16]
    32. *Isola Sacra* no.93 [Thylander A17]

33–4. Changing fashions in inscribing honours at Timgad: Figs. 2.8–9
    33. Statue base honouring A. Larcius Priscus – *CIL* VIII 17891
    34. Statue base honouring P. Flavius Pudens Pomponianus – *CIL* VIII 2391

35. Building-inscription for a temple, Superaequum: Fig. 2.10
    SupplIt 22 no. 58
36. Dedication of the amphitheatre at Virunum on behalf of Commodus: Fig. 2.11
    AÉpigr (1999) 1197
37. Milestone from the *via Domitia*, Gallia Narbonensis: Fig. 2.12
    CIL XVII/2 294
38. A milestone with multiple inscriptions: Fig. 2.13
    P. Salama, *Bornes milliaires d'Afrique Proconsulaire: Un panorama historique du bas empire romain* (1987: *CÉFR* 101: Rome) 3–9, no. 1
39. A diploma from Britain: Fig. 2.14
    RIB II 2401.1
40. Judicial prayer, Uley no. 72: Fig. 2.15
    AÉpigr (1992) 1127
41. Votive dedication to *dea Senuna*: Fig 2.16
    R. S. O. Tomlin, 'Dea Senuna: a new goddess from Britain', in *Instrumenta Inscripta Latina* II, eds. M. Heinzelmann and R. Wedenig

(2008: Verlag des Geschichtsvereines für Kärnten: Klagenfurt) 305–15, at 307–8 no. 9

42. Brick-stamp: Fig. 2.17
    CIL XV suppl. 146
43. Quarry-mark from Phrygia: Fig. 2.18
    AÉpigr (1994) 1690
44. Painted inscriptions on an *amphora* from Monte Testaccio
    CIL XV 3721
45. A *tessera nummularia* from Rome: Fig. 2.20
    ILLRP 1026 = *CIL*^{2} I 911
46. *Collyrium* stamp: Fig. 2.21
    J. Voinot, *Les cachets à collyres dans le monde romain* (1999: Monographies instrumentum 7: Editions Monique Mergoil: Montagnac) no. 251
47. A military branding-iron: Figs. 2.22–3
    CIL XIII 10023, 1
48. Lead pipe of Gavius Maximus, Ostia: Fig. 2.24
    AÉpigr (1995) 246a–b
49. Mosaic of Magerius, Smirat: Fig. 2.25
    AÉpigr (1967) 549
50. Commemorating road-building through the Alps: Fig. 2.26
    CIL V 1863
51. Epitaph of Licinia Amias, Vatican: Fig. 2.27
    ICUR II 4246
52. *Mensa martyrum*, Tixter: Fig. 2.28
    CIL VIII 20600
53. Dedication of the theatre at Lepcis Magna: Fig. 2.30
    IRT2009 321
54. Funerary urn, Lepcis Magna: Fig. 2.31
    G. Di Vita-Evrard *et al.*, ‘L’ipogeo dei Flavi a Leptis Magna presso Gasr Gelda’, *Libya Antiqua* n.s. 2 (1996) 103 no. 5
55. Tomb North B, Ghirza: Fig. 2.32
    IRT2009 900
56. Dedication of the camp’s western gate, Bu Njem: Fig. 2.33
    IRT2009 914
57. A centurion’s verse composition in praise of Health, Bu Njem: Fig. 2.34
    IRT2009 918

58–9. Personalizing inscriptions of M. Nigidius Vaccula, Pompeii: Figs. 2.35–6

58. *CIL* X 818 (bronze bench)
59. *CIL* X 8071, 48 (bronze brazier)
60. A palaeographical approach to epigraphy
    CIL VIII 19929
61. Altar to the *dii campestres*, Gemellae: Fig. 2.37
    M. P. Speidel, 'The shrine of the *Dii Campestres* at Gemellae', *Antiquités Africaines* 27 (1991) 111–18
62. Tombstone of Regina, South Shields: Fig. 2.38
    RIB I^2 1065
63. Erasure of Geta, Lambaesis: Fig. 2.39
    CIL VIII 2557

Chapter 3

64. An inscription from Parma: Fig. 3.3
    CIL XI 1056

65–6. Two inscriptions found on Rome's Capitol: Figs. 3.4–5
    CIL VI 1313–14

67. An altar from Scotland: drawing – squeeze – photograph: Figs. 3.6–8
    RIB I 2104
68. *Columbarium* plaque: Fig. 3.9
    CIL VI 23052
69. *Columbarium* plaque: *mensa sepulcralis*: Fig. 3.10
    CIL VI 21417
70. Funerary *stele* of a cavalryman: Fig. 3.11
    RIB I 121
71. Funerary altar: Fig. 3.12
    CIL VI 11617
72. Ligorio's altar to the Syrian goddess: Figs. 3.13–14
    CIL VI 115
73. A Ligorian fabrication: Fig. 3.15
    CIL VI 968*
74. Ligorio's Praenestine forgery
    CIL XIV 278*
75. Ash-chest for Euphrosyne: Figs. 3.16–17
    A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (1882: Cambridge University Press) 404 no. 315
76. A local dating system at Interamna Nahars
    CIL XI 4170

77. Dating systems in late antiquity: Fig. 3.18
ILCV I 1761
78–85. The Publii Lucilii Gamalae at Ostia
  78. *CIL* XIV 375
  79. *AÉpigr* (1959) 254
  80. *CIL* XIV 244
  81. *AÉpigr* (1911) 212
  82. *AÉpigr* (1975) 130
  83. *CIL* XIV 377
  84. *AÉpigr* (1948) 26
  85. *CIL* XIV 376
86. Ornamental ligatures at Lugdunum: Fig. 3.19
AÉpigr (1976) 430
87. 'African' lettering at Dougga: Fig. 3.20
CIL VIII 26471
88. Variations in lettering: Figs. 3.21–2
CIL VI 36809a–b
89. Reconstruction of metal lettering: Emerita theatre: Figs. 3.23–4
CIL II 474
90. Re-editing *CIL* XIV 2071: Figs. 3.25–9

Abbreviations

Classical authors and their works are abbreviated following the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd edn, 1996). Journals are abbreviated following *American Journal of Archaeology* guidelines. Additional abbreviations used are as follows:

AÉpigr	*Année Épigraphique*
AnTard	*Antiquité Tardive*
BGU	*Berliner griechische Urkunden*
CCG	*Cahiers du Centre Gustave-Glotz*
CÉFR	*Collection École française de Rome*
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CLE	*Carmina Latina Epigraphica*
CSAD	Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents
EDCH	*Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby* http://compute-in.ku-eichstaett.de:8888/pls/epigr/epigraphik_de
EDH	*Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg* www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh/index.html
EphEp	*Ephemeris Epigraphica*
FIRA	*Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani*
Guide^4	F. Bérard *et al.*, *Guide de l'épigraphiste: bibliographie choisie des épigraphies antiques et médiévales* (4th edn, 2010: Éditions Rue d'Ulm/Presses de l'École Normale Supérieure: Paris)
IAph2007	*Inscriptions of Aphrodisias* 2007 http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/index.html
ICERV	*Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda.* J. Vives
ICUR	*Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IGRR	*Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*
ILAfr	*Inscriptions latines d'Afrique.* R. Cagnat
ILAlg	*Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie.* S. Gsell
ILB^2	A. Deman and M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Nouveau recueil des inscriptions latines de Belgique*
ILBulg	*Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae.* B. Gerov
ILCV	*Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres.* E. Diehl
ILJug	*Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt* (1963). A. Šašel

ILLRP	*Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae*
ILMN	*Catalogo delle iscrizioni latine del Museo Nazionale di Napoli.* G. Camodeca
ILN	*Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise*
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
ILTun	*Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie.* A. Merlin
Inscr. Ital.	*Inscriptiones Italiae*
IPT	*Iscrizioni puniche della Tripolitania (1927–1967)*, eds. G. Levi della Vida and M. G. Amadasi Guzzo (1987: Bretschneider: Rome)
IRT	*Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, eds. J. B. Ward-Perkins and J. M. Reynolds (1952: British School at Rome: London)
IRT2009	*Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, enhanced electronic reissue eds. G. Bodard and C. Roueché (2009) http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/
JIWE	*Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe.* D. Nev
LPE	*Late Punic Epigraphy: An Introduction to the Study of Neo-Punic and Latino-Punic Inscriptions*, K. Jongeling and R. M. Kerr (2005: Mohr Siebeck: Tübingen)
MANN	Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli
PIR^2	*Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (2nd edn)
PLRE	*Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire.* A. H. M. Jones *et al.*
P. Oxy.	*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*
RDGE	*Roman Documents from the Greek East*, R. K. Sherk (1969: Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore)
RGDA	*Res Gestae divi Augusti*
RGE	*Rome and the Greek East to the Death of Augustus*, R. K. Sherk (1984: Cambridge University Press)
RIB	*Roman Inscriptions of Britain*
RICG	*Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la Renaissance carolingienne.* H. I. Marrou
RMD	*Roman Military Diplomas*
SAP	Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei
SCI	*Scripta Classica Israelica*
SCPP	*Senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*
SupplIt	*Supplementa Italica*
Tab. Sulis	*The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath* 2: *The Finds from the Sacred Spring* – lead curse tablets published by R. S. O. Tomlin
TH	*Tabulae Herculanenses*
TPSulp	*Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum*

Preface

Thanks to the generous support of a Research Leave Grant from the AHRC in spring 2010 and research leave granted by the University of Warwick during the previous term, this book was finally completed. I have benefited hugely from the wise comments of readers at Cambridge University Press at different stages of the project, right from the start. The Press's readers have been very generous in their time and constructive in their feedback: I thank both those who remained anonymous, and particularly Joyce Reynolds, who greatly improved the scope and aims of the manual. Jo Crawley Quinn also gave helpful feedback on my section on Tripolitania, and I am grateful to Jo and also Andrew Wilson for allowing me to have a sneak preview of their forthcoming work. Thanks too to Michael Sharp, Liz Hanlon, Jo Lane, Christina Sarigiannidou and their colleagues at Cambridge University Press for their speedy responses to my queries, and to copy-editor Anna Hodson. In compiling the illustrations, I am especially indebted to Manfred Schmidt and Andreas Fassbender at *CIL*, Berlin, and to Ken Walton at the ICS, London. As always, I could not have completed this without the support and encouragement of my family during the writing of the manual.

Feb. 2011, Warwick

Acknowledgements

For their help in gathering together photographs and other illustrative material, I thank L. H. Davies (Figs. 1.1, 1.9, 1.16, 2.2, 2.35–6), K. J. Clarke (Fig. 2.30); Ortolf Harl, www.ubi-erat-lupa.org (Fig. 2.26). For permission to reproduce photographs I thank the following: Soprintendenza Speciale per i beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei (Figs. 1.2, 1.5–13, 1.15, 1.17, 1.19, 1.20, 1.24–9, 1.33, 2.2, 2.35–6); *CIL* Database "Archivum Corporis Electronicum" (http://cil.bbaw.de/dateien/datenbank.php), linked to EDCS (Clauss–Slaby database) (Figs. 1.4, 1.35, 2.4, 2.8–9, 3.7, 3.28); Museo Correale, Sorrento (Fig. 1.16); ICS London Library (Figs. 1.14, 1.19, 1.26–7, 1.29, 2.13, 2.21–4, 2.22–4 2.31, 2.33, 3.14, 3.19, 3.25, 3.28–9); Egypt Exploration Society/The Imaging Papyri Project, University of Oxford (Fig. 2.1); Musée Archéologique, Narbonne (France – Aude) (Fig. 2.12); The Trustees of the British Museum (Figs. 2.14, 2.16, 2.38); C. V. Crowther/Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, Oxford (Figs. 2.15, 3.9–10, 3.12); Musée du Louvre (Figs. 2.28, 2.39); Gloucester City Museum (Fig. 3.11); Elizabeth Meyer (Fig. 1.21); Giuseppe Camodeca (Figs. 1.14, 1.22–3); Steven Ostrow (Fig. 1.34); Robert Knapp (Fig. 2.3); Marco Buonocore (Fig. 2.10); Roger Tomlin (Fig. 2.15); Jacques Voinot (Fig. 2.21); Joyce Renolds (Fig. 2.32); Louis Maurin (Fig. 3.20); Arbeia Museum (Fig. 2.38); Dumfries Museum (Fig. 3.8); Anne Helttula and Pekka Tuomisto (Figs. 2.5–7); Heimo Dolenz (Fig. 2.11); Ashmolean Museum (Fig. 3.12); Katherine Dunbabin (Fig. 2.25); Administrators of the Haverfield Bequest (Fig. 3.6); Saalburg Jahrbuch (Fig. 2.22); René Rebuffat (Figs. 2.33–4); British School at Rome (Fig. 2.17); National Museums Liverpool (Figs. 3.16–17); Philip Kenrick and Habelt-Verlag (Fig. 1.30); Michael P. Speidel (Fig. 2.37); J. Clayton Fant (Fig. 2.18); Ecole française de Rome (Fig. 2.13); Warburg Institute and Biblioteca Nazionale Napoli (Figs. 3.13–14).

1 Epigraphic culture in the Bay of Naples

1.1 Introduction

The aim of the first part of this manual is to offer an overview of the ways in which Latin inscriptions were used in one particular region, namely the Bay of Naples in southern Italy. The Bay of Naples contained a variety of urban settlements, which differed in size, origin, and status, from Cumae in the north to Surrentum (Sorrento) in the south, via Misenum (Miseno), Baiae, Puteoli (Pozzuoli), Neapolis (Naples), Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae [Fig. 1.1]. In addition, the excavation of parts of the countryside, which was densely occupied by villas, also allows us to explore the rural context of inscriptions. There is no other region in the Roman empire that offers quite such a richly diverse assemblage of inscriptions, not least because of the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79, which preserved significant quantities of types of writing that do not commonly survive archaeologically, such as wooden writing-tablets and notices painted upon walls. Furthermore, inscriptions did not cease with the eruption, but a vibrant epigraphic culture continued right down into late antiquity in towns not buried by Vesuvius. The wealth and prosperity of the region, along with its close ties to the city of Rome, promoted further by the construction of the *via Domitiana* in AD 95 (in thanks for which Domitian was celebrated at Puteoli as having moved the town closer to Rome),[1] ensured that some of the basic prerequisites for prompting the setting up of inscriptions existed over many centuries.

The region enjoyed close economic, social, and cultural links with the city of Rome over a number of centuries from the late Republic onwards. Having developed a vibrant economic role linking Italy to the Greek East (notably Delos) in the second century BC, the major harbour town of Puteoli probably played host to the Alexandrian grain fleet until the late second century AD, and, after that, continued to supply Rome with vital resources such as the Puteolan sand (*pulvis Puteolanus*) essential for mixing pozzolana,

---

[1] *AÉpigr* (1973) 137, with H. I. Flower, 'A tale of two monuments: Domitian, Trajan, and some praetorians at Puteoli (*AÉpigr* 1973, 137)', *AJA* 105.4 (2001) 625–48.

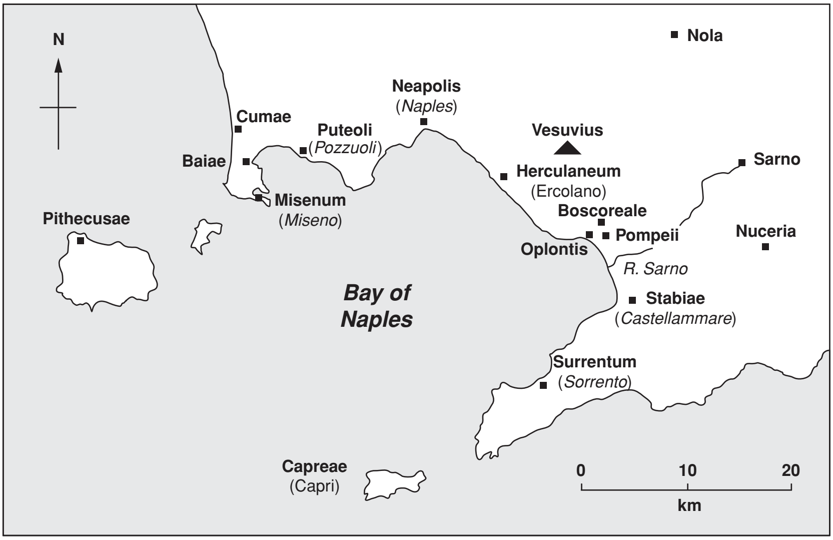

N
Nola
Neapolis
(Naples)
Cumae
Puteoli
(Pozzuoli)
Vesuvius
Baiae
Sarno
Herculaneum
(Ercolano)
Misenum
(Miseno)
Boscoreale
Pithecusae
Pompeii
Nuceria
Oplontis
R. Sarno
Bay of
Naples
Stabiae
(Castellammare)
Surrentum
(Sorrento)
Capreae
(Capri)
0
10
20
km

Fig. 1.1 Map of Bay of Naples (L. H. Davies)

or hydraulic cement.[2] The harbour remained fully operational throughout the fourth century AD, with the authorities at Rome showing interest in maintaining and investing in the city's facilities, and, after Puteoli declined dramatically during the fifth century, Neapolis then took its place as the most important city in the region.[3] Senatorial and imperial families regularly retreated from serious business at Rome to the pleasures of gastronomy and entertainment based in their luxurious villas along the bay (dubbed *Cratera illum delicatum*, 'the Bay of Luxury', by Cicero[4]) and on Capri, and the Bay maintained its reputation as a place for luxurious living for many centuries.[5] As well as being synonymous with useless luxury, these villas also had productive possibilities through specializing in *pastio villatica* ('villa pasturing') and fish-raising.[6] Tourist attractions included the hot sulphur baths at Baiae and Greek games at Neapolis. Indeed, an epitaph in Greek upon a funerary *stele* from Puteoli dating from the second half of the third century AD reveals how Bettinianos from Caesarea had travelled throughout the East and to Rome in the service of athletes, as the secretary (*grammateus*) for some sort of athletic organization (*xystos*) (a post first attested in this inscription), but that he eventually succumbed to old age whilst at Puteoli, where he had hoped to benefit from the waters at Baiae.[7] Finally, from the Augustan period onwards, the imperial fleet patrolling the western Mediterranean and the coastline of Africa and Egypt was based at Misenum.[8] This is not to imply, however, that the settlements along the Bay enjoyed uninterrupted development and prosperity. Quite apart from the impact of the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79, which desolated the region,[9] forcing survivors from Pompeii and Herculaneum to migrate to Neapolis,[10] and breaking off communication around the bay for at least a generation until the Hadrianic period saw the rebuilding of the road, as commemorated by milestones,[11] Stabiae had been destroyed as a municipal entity by Sulla,[12] whilst Cumae had become by the late first century AD a byword for a sleepy backwater, attractive to those seeking to escape from the madness of the metropolis, like Juvenal's imaginary friend Umbricius.[13]

---

[2] J. H. D'Arms, 'Puteoli in the second century of the Roman empire: a social and economic study', *JRS* 64 (1974) 104–24, esp. 117–22.

[3] Wide-ranging discussion of late antique Puteoli in G. Camodeca, 'Ricerche su Puteoli tardoromana (fine III–IV secolo)', *Puteoli* 4–5 (1980–1) 59–128; P. Arthur, *Naples: From Roman Town to City–State* (2002: BSR Archaeological Monographs no. 12: London) 10–14.

[4] Cic. *Att.* 2.8.2.

[5] J. H. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples* (1970: Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass.); Camodeca, 'Ricerche su Puteoli tardoromana' (above, n.3) 95–8.

[6] N. Purcell, 'The Roman *villa* and the landscape of production', in *Urban Society in Roman Italy*, eds. T. J. Cornell and K. Lomas (1995: UCL Press: London) 151–79.

Before turning to the inscriptions themselves, we should start by observing that an overview of just Latin inscriptions around the Bay of Naples does not suffice to paint a panoramic picture of the Bay's epigraphic culture as a whole, since non-Latin inscriptions were also prominent throughout its history. Given the presence of Greek colonies at Cyme (Cumae), Dicaearchia (Puteoli), and Parthenopeia (Naples), and the extensive economic and cultural contacts with the Greek East from the second century BC, it is unsurprising to find Greek inscriptions set up by private individuals scattered around the various settlements in the bay.[14] Indeed, the use of Greek language and institutions remained an integral part of Neapolis' distinctive identity as *quasi Graecam urbem* ('as it were a Greek city')[15] during the imperial period, probably until the late third century, and private use of Greek on funerary inscriptions continued there sporadically well into the sixth century, and perhaps beyond.[16] Furthermore, the Italic dialect of Oscan was used for public inscriptions in Herculaneum and Pompeii before those towns were placed under direct Roman rule in the early first century BC, when, in the wake of the Social War and Sulla's military campaigns in the region, Herculaneum became a *municipium*, and Pompeii a *colonia*, and consequently Latin became their official language.[17] Somewhat earlier, in 180 BC, Cumae had requested permission from Rome to adopt Latin as its official language, probably in a desire to abandon Oscan (rather than Greek), given the discovery of a mosaic inscription in Oscan recording the dedication of the paving from a large temple in the town's forum.[18] This appears to have been the result of a perception at Cumae that Latin was by that time the language of prestige.

---

[7] M. L. Caldelli, '*Eusebeia* e dintorni: su alcune nuove iscrizioni puteolane', *Epigraphica* 67 (2005) 63–83, at 71 no. 2 = *AÉpigr* (2005) 338; also published within the context of its necropolis by M. L. Caldelli, 'Le iscrizioni della via Puteoli-Neapolis', *ArchCl* 58 (2007) 435–91, at 480–3.

[8] L. Keppie, 'The army and the navy', in *Cambridge Ancient History,* vol. X, *The Augustan Empire, 43 BC – AD 69*, eds. A. K. Bowman, E. Champlin, and A. Lintott (2nd edn, 1996: Cambridge University Press) 371–96, at 383.

[9] Tac. *Ann.* 4.67.2.

[10] *ILS* 9107, l.5 (different reading from *CIL* III 14214, l.6) for an individual relocated from Pompeii to Naples; *regio Herculanensis* at Naples: J. A. Galante, 'De Herculanensi Regione Neapoli', in *Pompei e la regione sotterrata dal Vesuvio nell'anno LXXIX* (1879: Naples) 105–12.

[11] *CIL* X 6939–40; A. E. Cooley, *Pompeii* (2003: Duckworth: London) 60–1.

[12] Plin. *HN* 3.70.

[13] Juv. 3; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.65 for *quieta Cyme.*

[14] Greek inscriptions in the Bay of Naples: *IG* XIV 698–880; L. Dubois, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de grande grèce*, vol. I (1995: Droz: Geneva).

1.2 Inscriptions and civic life

The administration of Roman towns was essentially the task of the local town council (*ordo*), consisting of a variable number of councillors (*decuriones*).[19] The council was in charge of a wide variety of activities, which could generate different types of epigraphic monuments. Municipal charters give a flavour of the council's responsibilities in overseeing public finances, buildings, and roads; weights and measures; corn supply; local jurisdiction; elections of magistrates or adlections to the council; co-opting city patrons; religious affairs; embassies.[20] In addition, the epigraphy of the Bay of Naples itself gives insights into the activities of local councils in this region: monumental inscriptions refer to their regulation of public space and the ways in which they chose to spend public money. Furthermore, wax tablets from Herculaneum offer a wider glimpse of the council's involvement in personal judicial matters such as the granting of guardians and legitimizing an individual's citizen status.[21] The creation of monumental inscriptions was not generally required of local government: what survives epigraphically is not strictly related to mechanisms of bureaucracy, even though the inscriptions are often used to deepen our understanding of local government. Commemoration, not efficient administration, lies at the heart of epigraphic culture.

---

[15] Tac. *Ann.* 15.33.

[16] M. Leiwo, *Neapolitana: A Study of Population and Language in Graeco-Roman Naples* (1995: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 102, Societas Scientiarum Fennica: Helsinki), esp. 167–71; *IG* XIV 715–828; and E. Miranda, *Iscrizioni greche d' Italia, Napoli* (1990–5: 2 vols., Quasar: Rome).

[17] Italic inscriptions: E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* (1953: C. Winter: Heidelberg) nos. 8–28, 107; P. Poccetti, *Nuovi documenti italici: a complemento del Manuale di E. Vetter* (1979: Orientamenti linguistici 8: Giardini: Pisa) nos. 107–9; M. H. Crawford, ed., *Imagines Italicae* (2011: BICS Supplement 110: London). For an analysis of the replacement of Oscan by Latin at Pompeii, see A. E. Cooley, 'The survival of Oscan in Roman Pompeii', in *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin?*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2002: *JRA* Supplement no. 48: Portsmouth, R. I.) 77–86.

[18] Cumae: Livy 40.42.13, with J. N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (2003: Cambridge University Press) 113–14; Oscan inscriptions: Vetter, *Handbuch* (above, n.17) nos. 3, 5, 7, 108–14; Poccetti, *Nuovi documenti* (above, n.17) nos. 129–34 – including mosaic inscription no. 133. No public inscriptions in Greek have yet been published from the town.

[19] J. Nicols, 'On the standard size of the *ordo decurionum*', *ZSav* 105 (1988) 712–19; H. Mouritsen, 'The Album of Canusium and the councils of Roman Italy', *Chiron* 28 (1998) 229–54.

The basic form of decision-making consisted of the passing of a decree by the council. The chronological spread of inscribed decrees corresponds to the period when civic life was flourishing. By the fourth century, the subject-matter of municipal decrees appears to have become rather limited, dealing above all with city-patrons, and by the late sixth century they cease altogether.[22] Inscribed **municipal decrees** have been found at Cumae, Puteoli, Baiae, Neapolis, and Herculaneum.[23] These reveal how the councils imitated the senate at Rome in procedure, language, and grammatical structure. Indeed, the local council was sometimes called *senatus* and its decurions *conscripti*.[24] Comparison of municipal and senatorial decrees shows that they share the same format.[25] They start with a *praescriptio* ('prescript'), which gives the name of the convenor of the meeting, date, meeting-place, and list of witnesses. The second section summarizes the issue up for discussion, reporting the words with which the *relator* ('proposer of the motion') brought the proposal before the council, often in indirect speech, introduced by the clause *quod verba fecit* ('whereas X said'). This formula becomes more elaborate from the Augustan period, in the form *quid de ea re fieri placeret, de ea re ita censuerunt* ('with regard to what it might please the council to be done with regard to this matter, concerning this matter the council has decided as follows'). In this way, the section ends by recording what decision was made. The actual decree follows next, and the whole text ends with a seal of approval, *censuere* ('they decided'). The fact that the whole procedure is regarded as standard is reflected by the ubiquitous use of abbreviations to describe the various stages in the passing of the decree. This uniformity was probably imposed by Rome by means of the instructions which it issued through municipal charters. The charter for the Flavian *municipium* of Irni in Spain, for example, contains clauses regulating the conduct of council meetings.[26] Like senatorial decrees, municipal decrees are not verbatim records of a specific meeting, but are documents drafted by a committee some time after the meeting has been held.

---

[20] M. H. Crawford, ed., *Roman Statutes* (1996: BICS Supplement 64: London) 301–12, *lex Tarentina* (roughly 70s BC); 393–454 no. 25, *lex Ursonensis* (Caesarean); J. González, 'The *Lex Irnitana*: a new copy of the Flavian Municipal Law', *JRS* 76 (1986) 147–241, *lex Irnitana* and *lex Malacitana* (Flavian). Cf. summary in J.-M. Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine* (2007: Picard: Paris) 391–8.

[21] G. Camodeca, 'L'attività dell'*ordo decurionum* nelle città della Campania dalla documentazione epigrafica', *CCG* 14 (2003) 173–86.

[22] R. K. Sherk, *The Municipal Decrees of the Roman West* (1970: Arethusa Monographs 2: Buffalo) 89–90.

[23] Collected by Sherk, *Municipal Decrees* (above, n.22) nos. 27–42 (with additions listed below):

- Cumae: *CIL* X 3697, *AÉpigr* (1927) 158.
- Puteoli: *CIL* X 1782; *CIL* X 1783 = *ILS* 5919; *CIL* X 1784 = *ILS* 6334; *CIL* X 1786; *EphEp* VIII 371 = S. L. Tuck, *Latin Inscriptions in the Kelsey Museum: The Dennison and De Criscio Collections* (2005: University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor) 15 no. 10; *EphEp* VIII 372; *AÉpigr* (1956) 20; J. H. D'Arms, 'Eighteen unedited Latin inscriptions from Puteoli and vicinity', *AJA* 77.2 (1973) 151–67, at 160–2 no. 11 = *AÉpigr* (1974) 256 = Tuck, *Latin Inscriptions in the Kelsey Museum* 15–16 no. 11; G. Camodeca, '*L'élite* municipale di Puteoli fra la tarda repubblica e Nerone', in *Les élites municipales de l'Italie péninsulaire des Gracques à Néron*, ed. M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni (1996: Collection Centre Jean Bérard 13, *CÉFR* 215: Naples and Rome) 91–110, at 101–5 = *AÉpigr* (1996) 423; G. Camodeca, 'Un nuovo decreto decurionale puteolano con concessione di *superficies* agli Augustali e le entrate cittadine da *solarium*', in *Il capitolo delle entrate nelle finanze municipali in occidente ed in oriente* (1999: *CÉFR* 256: Rome) 1–23 = *AÉpigr* (1999) 453.
- Baiae: *CIL* X 3698 = *ILS* 4175.
- Neapolis: *IGRR* I 452 = *EphEp* VIII 872 = *ILS* 6460 = Miranda, *Iscrizioni greche, Napoli* (above, n.16) I 84; *CIL* X 1489 = *IG* XIV 757 = *IGRR* I 450 = Miranda, *Iscrizioni greche, Napoli* I 82; *CIL* X 1490 = *IG* XIV 758 = *IGRR* I 451 = Miranda, *Iscrizioni greche, Napoli* I 83; *IG* XIV 760 = *IGRR* I 453 = Miranda, *Iscrizioni greche, Napoli* I 85.
- Herculaneum: *CIL* X 1453 = *ILS* 5616; *AÉpigr* (1976) 144.

1 Honours for Gavia Marciana, Puteoli, AD 187: Fig. 1.2

CIL X 1784 = *ILS* 6334

E. Forbis, *Municipal Virtues in the Roman Empire: The Evidence of Italian Honorary Inscriptions* (1996: Teubner: Stuttgart) 143 no. 144 (honorific text only); R. K. Sherk, *The Municipal Decrees of the Roman West* (1970: Arethusa Monographs 2: Buffalo) no. 35 (decree only); G. Wesch-Klein, Funus publicum: *Eine Studie zur öffentlichen Beisetzung und Gewährung*

---

[24] This tendency is more marked in Latium and northern Campania, but the council at Cumae is referred to as *senatus* in the late Republic: *CIL* X 4651 = *ILLRP* 576 (and possibly still in AD 251 – *CIL* X 3699 (see below, n.74), with J. P. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains* (1895–1900: Peeters: Louvain) III, 444), and that at Puteoli in the imperial period: *CIL* X 1788. Camodeca, 'L'attività dell'*ordo decurionum*' (above, n.21) 178–9.

[25] Sherk, *Municipal Decrees* (above, n.22) ch. 3.

[26] Sherk, *Municipal Decrees* (above, n.22) 62; González, 'The *Lex Irnitana*' (above, n.20) Tablet VA, ch. A–D = *AÉpigr* (1986) 333.

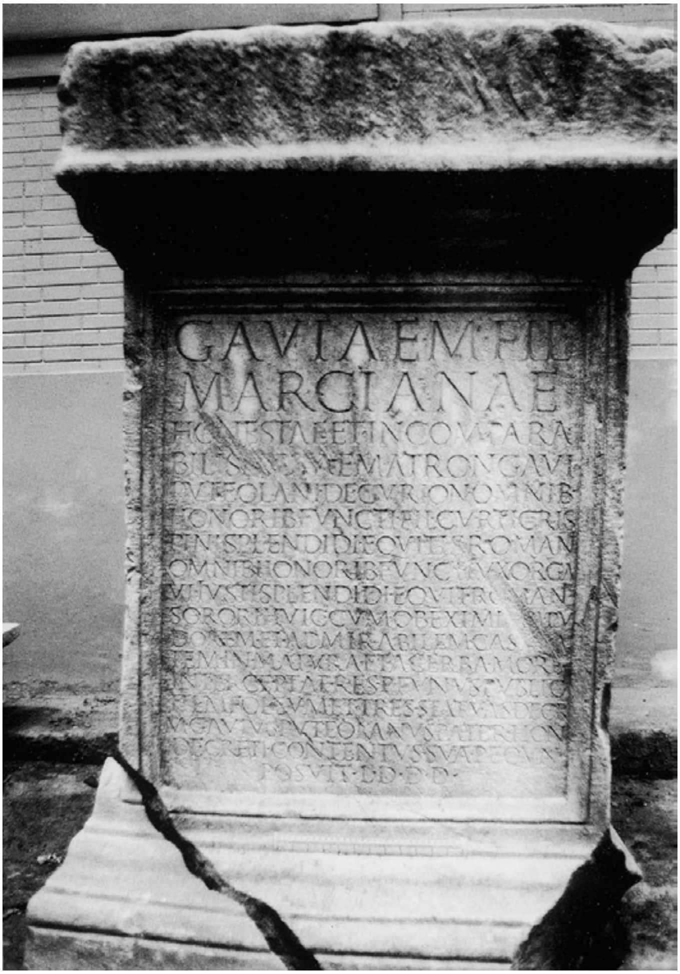


Fig. 1.2 Honours for Gavia Marciana, Puteoli – *CIL* X 1784 (photo: A. E. Cooley)

von Ehrengräbern in Rom und den Westprovinzen (1993: F. Steiner: Stuttgart) 152–3. Now in Naples Museum; autopsy March 1994.

Photographs, EDH: www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~f56/fotos/F009006.JPG + www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~f56/fotos/F013441.JPG

Gaviae M(*arci*) *fil*(*iae*) / *Marcianae* / *honestae et incompara*/*bilis sectae matron*(*ae*), *Gavi* /^{5} *Puteolani decurion*(*is*) *omnib*(*us*) / *honorib*(*us*) *functi fil*(*iae*), *Curti Cris*/*pini splendidi equitis Roman̂i* / *omnib*(*us*) *honorib*(*us*) *functi uxor̂i*, *Ga*/*vi Ìusti splendidi equit*(*is*) *Roman̂i* /^{10} *sorori, huic cum ob eximi*[*u*]*m pu*/*dorem et admirabilem cas*[*tit*]*a*/*tem in matura*(!) *et acerba mort̂e* / *interceptae res p*(*ublica*) *funus public*(*um*) / *item foleum et tres* *statuas decr(evit). /^{15} M(arcus) Gavius Puteolanus pater hon(ore) / decreti contentus sua pequn(ia) / posuit. l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) || L(ucio) Bruttio Crispino L(ucio) Roscio Aeliano co(n)s(ulibus), / V kal(endas) Novembr(es), / ìn templo divi Pì scribundo adfuerunt Caep(ius?) Proculus, Cossutius Rufinus, / Cl(audius) Priscus, Calp(urnius) Pistus; quod postulante Annio Proculo o(rnato) v(iro) de decernendo /^{5} funere publico Gaviae M(arci) f(iliae) Marcianae b(onae) m(emoriae) f(eminae), item decem libris folei* (sic) *locisq(ue) / tribus concedendis quae ìpsi elegerint, in quibus statuae eidem Marcia/nae secundum eiusdem Proculi postulationem ponerentur, P(ublius) Manlius Egnati/us Laurinus duovirum* (sic) *v(erba) f(ecit), q(uid) d(e) e(a) r(e) f(ieri) p(laceret), d(e) e(a) r(e) i(ta) c(ensuerunt):* (vac.) *optasse quidem singulos uni/versosque nostrum in honorem Curti Crispini magistratus n̄(ostri), primariì /^{10} viri, ìtem Gavi ⌜P⌝uteolani soceri eius adaeque o(rnati) v(iri), Gaviae Marcianae r(everentissimae) m(emoriae) f(eminae) / vivae potius honor⌜e⌝s conferre quam ad huius modi decretum prosilire, ut de / solacio viventium quaereremus ei ìdeo quod pertineat etiam ad memoriam / puellae ìpsius cohonestandam: placere huic ordini funus publicum {eì} de/cerni et decem libras folei mitti concedique secundum postulationem Anni /^{15} o(rnati) v(iri), ut loca quae elegerint statuendis tribus statuis de consensione nostra / consequantur.*

[Decree, l.10 ⌜*P*⌝*uteolani* – stone gives I instead of P; l.10 *r m f* – possibly by mistake, in place of *b m f*; l.11 *honor*⌜*e*⌝*s* – stone gives I instead of E; l.13 {*eì*} – carved in error]

[On front] ‘To Gavia Marciana, daughter of Marcus, honourable matron of matchless behaviour; daughter of Gavius Puteolanus, councillor, who has held all offices; wife of Curtius Crispinus, illustrious Roman equestrian, who has held all offices; sister of Gavius Iustus, illustrious Roman equestrian; carried off by a premature and bitter death, the town decreed to her because of her exceptional modesty and admirable purity a public funeral as well as nard and three statues; her father Marcus Gavius Puteolanus, satisfied with the honour of a decree, set (this statue) up at his own expense. Place granted by decree of the councillors.’

[On side] ‘In the consulship of Lucius Bruttius Crispinus and Lucius Roscius Aelianus, 28th October, in the temple of the deified Pius, present at the drafting were Caep(ius?) Proculus, Cossutius Rufinus, Claudius Priscus, Calpurnius Pistus; the distinguished Annius Proculus made a request concerning the decreeing of a public funeral for the well-deserving Gavia Marciana, daughter of Marcus, as well as ten pounds of nard and about the granting of three places which they might choose in which statues of the above-named Marciana might be set up in accordance with the request of the above-named Proculus; whereas Publius Manlius Egnatius Laurinus, chief magistrate, said, with regard to what it might please the council to be done with regard to this matter, concerning this matter the council has decided as follows: that indeed as individuals and all together they desired, as a means of our honouring Curtius Crispinus, our magistrate, a man of the highest rank, and also his father-in-law Gavius Puteolanus, who is also distinguished, to give honours to Gavia Marciana, of most reverent memory, whilst she was alive rather than to make a rush towards a decree of this kind, so that we might seek with regard to the consolation of the living for that reason what also relates to honouring the memory of the girl herself: it pleases this council that a public funeral be decreed to her and ten pounds of nard to be sent and for it to be granted according to the request of the distinguished Annius, that places which they might choose for setting up three statues may duly follow from our unanimity.'

The decree is inscribed upon a large statue base, which presents an honorific inscription on the front face, and the decree inscribed on its side. The base presumably bore originally one of the three statues decreed by the council, set up by Marciana's father. The other two were perhaps paid for by her husband and brother, who are also mentioned here. Gavia Marciana, a member of one of Puteoli's leading families (her husband and brother both being of equestrian rank), is praised for her virtues, notably her chastity. This is an uncommon theme in honorific inscriptions set up for women in Italy (appearing in only eight out of seventy-two examples listed in Forbis' catalogue): more usually women are praised for their financial generosity, in terms that they share in common with men.[27] The description of Gavia Marciana, however, offers an explanation of this choice of wording. Although she is described as a *matrona* in the honorific inscription, the decree also laments her premature death, calling her *femina* and *puella*, giving an impression of her youthfulness; perhaps, therefore, she had not lived long enough to act as civic benefactor. The decree is similar in tone and content to consolatory decrees passed by the council at Neapolis, several of which were subsequently inscribed upon the deceased's tomb (see n.23, above), and this similarity raises the further possibility that this unusual choice of wording was considered suitable within the context of a consolatory decree. This type of decree was well represented in this region, developing a localized character at Neapolis and Puteoli, where Hellenistic precedents were adapted within Roman institutional procedures, perhaps responding to the rhetorical practice of composing public speeches of consolation.[28]

---

[27] E. Forbis, *Municipal Virtues in the Roman Empire: The Evidence of Italian Honorary Inscriptions* (1996: Teubner: Stuttgart) 85.

[28] Leiwo, *Neapolitana* (above, n.16) 135–41, 168.

Decrees lurk in the background of many inscribed monuments, such as statue bases and public buildings set up *decreto decurionum* ('by decree of the councillors') or tombs mentioning the allocation of public funds for a funeral. At Pompeii, well over sixty inscriptions refer directly or indirectly to decrees, and yet not a single inscribed decree has been found in that town.[29] This is because the inscribing of decrees was not a standard procedure for the council:[30] a decree had simply to be read out at a council meeting and then deposited in the public archives within ten days, as stated in the *lex Irnitana*: *r(ubrica). de decurionum decretis ṛecitandis et in tabulas municipii referendis. / quod decurionum conscriptorumve decretum in eo municipio <hac lege> fac/tum erit, it is, quị fecerit, collegave eius quive eorum alterius utri/us vicẹ fungitur palam in decurionibus conscriptisve eo die, quo / factum erit, recitato. si eo die recitatum non erit, cum proxime de/curiones conscriptive habebuntur, priusquam de ulla re agatur, / recitato, aut si is, quo referente it decretum factum erit, desierit es/se I̅I̅vir, is tum qui tum I̅I̅vir erit recitato. itque tum in tabulas com/munes municipum eius municipii, [ita u]ti recitatum atprobatum/que erit, referto in diebus X proximis* ('Rubric. Concerning the reading out of decrees of the *decuriones* and their placing in the archives of the *municipium*. Any decree of the *decuriones* or *conscripti* which has been passed in that *municipium* under this statute, the person who passed it or his colleague or whichever of them is acting on behalf of the other is to read it out in the presence of the *decuriones* or *conscripti* on the day on which it was passed. If it is not read out on that day, he is to read it out on the next day on which a meeting of the *decuriones* or *conscripti* is held before any other matter is dealt with; or if the person on whose proposal the decree was passed has ceased to be *duumvir* the person who is then *duumvir* is then to read it out. And he is then to place it in the common records of the *municipes* of that *municipium*, as it has been read out and approved, within the next ten days.')[31]

Decrees were selected for being inscribed only if it was in the interests of another party to have them inscribed and displayed in public. Accordingly, the cost of the inscription would then be met by the party making the request; public funding was not routinely supplied for the inscribing of municipal decrees. For example, decrees of consolation are usually found engraved upon the tomb of the honorand. At Neapolis, two examples from *c.*AD 71 show how the grieving relations of the deceased – his wife and parents – ensure that the decree is inscribed, and the use of both Latin and Greek clearly signals the separation of private funerary inscription, in Latin, from official public decree, in Greek.[32] Decrees might also be inscribed upon statue bases, as illustrated by two examples from Puteoli. The first of these – the decree in honour of Gavia Marciana – is given in full as no.1 above, but a similar case is that of the freedman Annius Adiectus, who was allowed to set up on public space a statue to his deceased patron, L. Annius Modestus; on the statue base he presented the text of the decree within the honorific inscription.[33] By contrast, a wax tablet from Herculaneum shows that an individual might keep a copy of a decree in that format if it contained information vital to his interests. A tablet in the archive of L. Venidius Ennychus, for example, reveals the text of a decree of 25th July AD 61, which supported his claim to promotion from status as Junian Latin to full Roman citizen.[34] The prescript that has been published follows the pattern of other decrees found as monumental inscriptions.

---

[29] Pompeian inscriptions alluding to decrees implicitly and explicitly: *CIL* X 787, 819, 829, 844, 853–7, 858, 938, 8148 (building-work); *CIL* X 789–92, 797, 799, 814, 837, 849, 932, 960, 1024, *AÉpigr* (1994) 398 (statue); *CIL* X 838, 1026, 1030 (*bisellium*); *CIL* X 793 (measuring table); *CIL* X 800 (altar); *CIL* X 817 (basin); *CIL* X 846 (adlection to council); *CIL* X 827–8, 885–6, 888, 890–1, 895–6, 901, 907–8, 910, 914, 917, 928 (cult activities); *CIL* X 994–5, 996–8, 1019, 1024, 1036, 1065, 1074a–b, *EphEp* VIII 318, 330, *NSc* (1910) 405, *AÉpigr* (1911) 71, (1913) 70–1, A. De Franciscis, 'Sepolcro di M. Obellius Firmus', *CronPomp* 2 (1976) 246–8; *AÉpigr* (1994) 398 (funerary); *CIL* X 952, *EphEp* VIII 315, 333 (unclear category).

[30] Camodeca, 'Un nuovo decreto decurionale puteolano' (above, n.23) 3.

[31] González, 'The *Lex Irnitana*' (above, n.20) Tablet VA, ch. C, trans. M.H. Crawford.

The role played by private initiative in inscribing decrees explains why surviving decrees do not share a standard monumental format. At Puteoli, a second-century AD decree granting the remission of *solarium* ('ground-rent') on a building constructed by M. Laelius Atimetus on public land is inscribed upon a large marble slab (height 43 cm, width 197 cm, depth *c.*2 cm) that would have been incorporated into the façade of the relevant building.[35] Another decree from the same city, *c.*AD 110/30, conceding an area of public space to the *Augustales*, where they were permitted to construct a new building, was inscribed upon a limestone *cippus*, a large boundary-stone with rounded top (height 147 cm, width 68 cm, depth 11 cm), which was originally embedded in the ground.[36] In this way, the inscription was located so as to define clearly the space in question, between the amphitheatre and the public road. Municipal decrees were not inscribed upon individual tablets put on display all together, but made sense in their spatial context, incorporated into tombs, statue bases, and buildings. In this respect, too, municipal decrees are similar in intent to senatorial decrees, whose inscribing, when it occurred, tended to be the result of an initiative taken by an interested party rather than as a result of instructions issued by the senate itself.[37]

---

[32] Licinius Pollio: *CIL* X 1489 = *IG* XIV 757 = *IGRR* I 450 = Miranda, *Iscrizioni greche, Napoli* (above, n.16) I 82 = Sherk, *Municipal Decrees* (above, n.22) no. 29; Plotius Faustinus: *IGRR* I 452 = *EphEp* VIII 872 = *ILS* 6460 = Miranda, *Iscrizioni greche, Napoli* I 84 = Sherk, *Municipal Decrees*, no. 31.

[33] *CIL* X 1782 = Sherk, *Municipal Decrees* (above, n.22) no. 33.

[34] G. Camodeca, 'Due nuovi cavalieri ercolanesi di età augustea: i *Mammii* di CIL X 1449 e 1476', *MÉFRA* 115 (2003) 639–54, reprinted in *I ceti dirigenti di rango senatorio, equestre e decurionale della Campania romana* (2008: Satura: Naples) 167–81, prescript on 178–9 n.41.

[35] *CIL* X 1783 = *ILS* 5919 = Sherk, *Municipal Decrees* (above, n.22) no. 34 = *FIRA* III (2nd edn) no. 111, with Camodeca 'Un nuovo decreto decurionale puteolano' (above, n.23) 7–9, fig. 1.

Local government also generated a variety of other monumental inscriptions alongside decrees, such as magisterial edicts, laws (*leges*), boundary-markers, honorific dedications on statue bases, building-inscriptions, lists of members of the council (*alba*), and patronal tablets. These last two have not as yet been found in the Bay of Naples region.[38] In addition, **painted notices pertaining to local elections and games** are a particular feature of Pompeii. These notices are presented in elegant lettering painted in black or red upon exterior whitewashed walls of houses, shops, and public buildings within the town and upon tomb façades beyond it. It appears that they were painted by professional sign-writers (*scriptores*), who worked at night as a team.[39] The texts are highly formulaic and repetitive, suggesting that they were well embedded in local epigraphic culture. Some seventy inscriptions announce forthcoming games in Pompeii and in other local towns such as Nuceria, Puteoli, Nola, Cumae, and perhaps Cales and Formiae. These tend to cluster on the façades of tombs along the road leading from Pompeii to Nuceria in the one direction and around the Bay towards Naples in the other.[40] The notices served not only to advertise the games themselves,

---

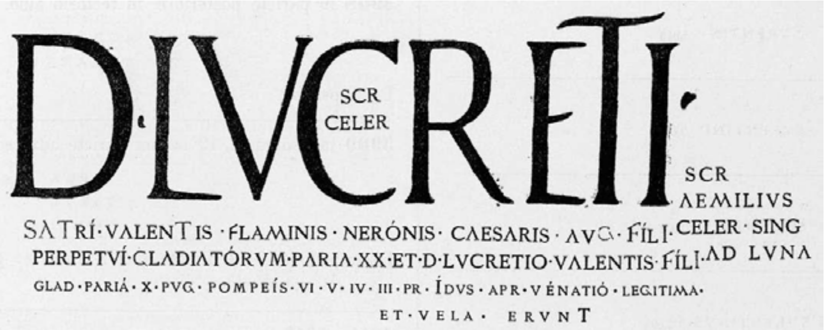
[36] Camodeca, 'Un nuovo decreto decurionale puteolano' (above, n.23) with tav. I–II = *AÉpigr* (1999) 453.

[37] A. E. Cooley, 'The publication of Roman official documents in the Greek East', in *Literacy and the State in the Ancient Mediterranean*, eds. K. Lomas, R. D. Whitehouse, and J. B. Wilkins (2007: Accordia Specialist Studies on the Mediterranean 7: London) 203–18 and 'From document to monument: inscribing Roman official documents in the Greek East', in *Epigraphy and the Historical Sciences*, eds. J. K. Davies and J. Wilkes (2012: British Academy/ Oxford University Press).

[38] For reflections on possible reasons why the *album* at Canusium was engraved on a bronze plaque in AD 223, see B. Salway, 'Prefects, *patroni*, and decurions: a new perspective on the album of Canusium', in *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2000: BICS Supplement 73: London) 115–71.

[39] J. L. Franklin, Jr, *Pompeii: The Electoral Programmata, Campaigns and Politics, AD 71–79* (1980: Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 28: Rome) 24–5 and 'Notes on Pompeian prosopography: *programmatum scriptores*,' *CronPomp* 4 (1978) 54–74.

[40] Games beyond Pompeii: *CIL* IV 1187, 1204, 3881–2, 7994, 9968–70, 9972–4, 9976–8, 9983–4, 10161. P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, Gladiatorum Paria: *Annunci di spettacoli gladiatorii a Pompei* (1980: Edizioni di storia e letteratura: Rome) 68, 91–110.



D·LVCRETI·

SCR
CELER

SCR
AEMILIVS
CELER·SING
AD LVNA

SATRÍ·VALENTIS·FLAMINIS·NERÓNIS·CAESARIS·AVG·FÍLI·
PERPETVÍ·GLADIATÓRVM·PARIA·XX·ET·D·LVCRETIO·VALENTIS·FÍLI·
GLAD·PARIÁ·X·PVG·POMPEÍS·VI·V·IV·III·PR·ÍDVS·APR·VÉNATIÓ·LEGITIMA·
ET·VELA·ERVNT

Fig. 1.3 Announcement of games at Pompeii – *CIL* IV 3884 (from P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, Gladiatorum Paria: *Annunci di spettacoli gladiatorii a Pompei* (1980: Edizioni di storia e letteratura: Rome: tav. VI.2)

giving details of the date and character of the spectacle, and additional attractions for the audience, such as the provision of an awning, but also gave prominence to the local benefactor paying for them. In some cases, the notices themselves are juxtaposed with further comments that complement them. In the courtyard of the Forum Baths, for example, an announcement of games to be given by Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius is accompanied by an acclamation, *Maio principi coloniae feliciter* ('Good fortune to Maius, leader of the colony').[41] These notices were not just functional bulletins, but also had commemorative and honorific aims too. Although these notices may have been intended primarily for a short-term audience, the fact that Nero's name appears to have been deliberately covered over, presumably after his suicide in AD 68, in some of the notices relating to Decimus Lucretius Satrius Valens, his *flamen*, suggests that people could remain aware of them for a longer period too.[42]

2 Announcement of games at Pompeii, AD 50s: Fig. 1.3

CIL IV 3884 = *ILS* 5145

G. O. Onorato, *Iscrizioni pompeiane: la vita pubblica* (1957: Casa editrice Sansoni: Florence) no. 95; P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, Gladiatorum Paria: *Annunci di spettacoli gladiatorii a Pompei* (1980: Edizioni di storia e letteratura: Rome)

---

[41] *CIL* IV 1177 = *ILS* 5144.

[42] *CIL* IV 7992, 7995; Sabbatini Tumolesi, Gladiatorum Paria (above, n.40) nos. 6–7. For an alternative interpretation of the notices, dating them to AD 68/9, see H. Mouritsen and I. Gradel, 'Nero in Pompeian politics: *edicta munerum* and imperial flaminates in late Pompeii', *ZPE* 87 (1991) 145–55.

no. 5; A. E. and M. G. L. Cooley, *Pompeii: A Sourcebook* (2004: Routledge: London) 50 – D11.
Drawing: Sabbatini Tumolesi, Gladiatorum Paria, tav. VI, fig. 2.
www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=$CIL_04_03884.jpg

*D(ecimi) Lucreti / Satri Valentis flaminis Neronis Caesaris Augusti fili(i) / perpetui gladiatorum paria XX et D(ecimi) Lucretio Valentis fili(i) / glad(iatorum) paria X pug(nabunt) Pompeis VI V IV III pr(idie) Idus Apr(iles) venatio legitima /*5 *et vela erunt.* || *Scr(ipsit) / Celer* || *Scr(ipsit) / Aemilius / Celer sing(ulus) / ad luna(m)*

'20 pairs of gladiators of Decimus Lucretius [Celer wrote this] Satrius Valens, perpetual priest of Nero Caesar son of Augustus, and 10 pairs of gladiators of Decimus Lucretius Valens, his son, will fight at Pompeii on 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th April. There will be a regular hunt and awnings. Aemilius Celer wrote this on his own by the light of the moon.'

The above inscription in red lettering was found in a small street next to the 'House of the Centenary', near the 'Nolan street' (IX.viii). The Lucretii Valentes were a prominent family at Pompeii, who maintained their high status at Pompeii partly through their lavish games-giving. Lucretius Satrius Valens was born into the Satrii family, and adopted by Lucretius Valens in around AD 40; the latter then attained equestrian status under Claudius, probably in around AD 47/8, as revealed by an inscription from the family's tomb enclosure at Scafati (just to the south-east of the site).[43] The post of *flamen* of Nero Caesar held by Lucretius Satrius Valens must have been created during Claudius' lifetime (here referred to simply as 'Augustus'), after Nero's adoption by him in AD 50. The games advertised here are quite lavish by Pompeian standards, with a total of thirty pairs of gladiators being displayed over a five-day period, and seem to have been a means of promoting the next generation of the family. This had been a strategy among the previous generation of the same family, since Lucretius Valens and his adopted son Lucretius Satrius Valens had earlier jointly offered thirty-five pairs of gladiators to the town. Nor do these games appear to have been the only ones offered by the later father and son, since other painted inscriptions refer to joint games on other dates too.[44] The family's prominence is reflected by the fact that the name of Lucretius Valens appears represented painted on the Large Palaestra wall adjacent to the amphitheatre in the famous painting of the riot there.[45] The *scriptor* of this announcement, Aemilius Celer, leaves his signature-mark twice, once within the large C of 'Lucreti', and the second time to the right-hand side of the notice.

---

[43] M. De' Spagnolis Conticello, 'Sul rinvenimento della villa e del monumento funerario dei Lucretii Valentes', *RStPomp* 6 (1993/4) 147–66 = *AÉpigr* (1994) 398; G. Camodeca, 'I Lucretii Valentes pompeiani e l'iscrizione funeraria del cavaliere d'età claudia D. Lucretius Valens (riedizione di *AÉpigr* 1994, 398)', in *Pompei, Capri e la Penisola Sorrentina*, ed. F. Senatore (2004: Oebalus: Capri) 323–47 = *AÉpigr* (2004) 405; J. L. Franklin, Jr, Pompeis difficile est: *Studies in the Political Life of Imperial Pompeii* (2001: Michigan University Press: Ann Arbor) 101–6.

[44] *CIL* IV 1185, 7995 – 28th March.

The **electoral notices**, which survive in even greater abundance, with around 2800 having been recorded, are more complicated to interpret. Typically, groups or individuals request support for a named candidate, with some of them specifically targeting an individual voter, and appear generally to have been written upon the wall of a property owned by, or closely connected to, the individual or group named as supporter.[46] Some of the groups strike a humorous note (one wonders whether Marcus Cerrinius Vatia really wanted the support of *seri bibi universi*, 'all of the late drinkers'), but whether this is negative campaigning against a candidate or simply a light-humoured spoof is impossible to know.[47]

3 Electoral notice for Helvius Sabinus, Pompeii, AD 79: Fig. 1.4

CIL IV 9919: I.xiv.7

Photographs: www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=PH0003701;PH0003733&nr=1
www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=PH0003701;PH0003733&nr=2

Cn(aeum) Helvium / Sabinum aed(ilum) d(ignum) r(ei) p(ublicae) / Porcellus cum suis rog(at)

'Porcellus with his household asks for Cn. Helvius Sabinus as aedile, worthy of public office.'

One hundred and thirty-two electoral notices have been identified in support of Helvius Sabinus, who campaigned for the office of aedile in AD 79.[48] The majority of them were displayed along the busiest streets.[49]

---

[45] *CIL* IV 2993*x*, *y*.

[46] Franklin, *Pompeii: The Electoral Programmata* (above, n.39) 19–21, 23.

[47] *CIL* IV 581 = *ILS* 6418d; cf. *CIL* IV 575–6, 3435, 7389; Franklin, *Pompeii: The Electoral Programmata* (above, n.39) 22.

[48] Franklin, *Pompeii: The Electoral Programmata* (above, n.39) 62, 97.

[49] Evidence for the campaign of Helvius Sabinus is outlined in A. E. Cooley and M. G. L. Cooley, *Pompeii: A Sourcebook* (2004: Routledge: London) 118–24.

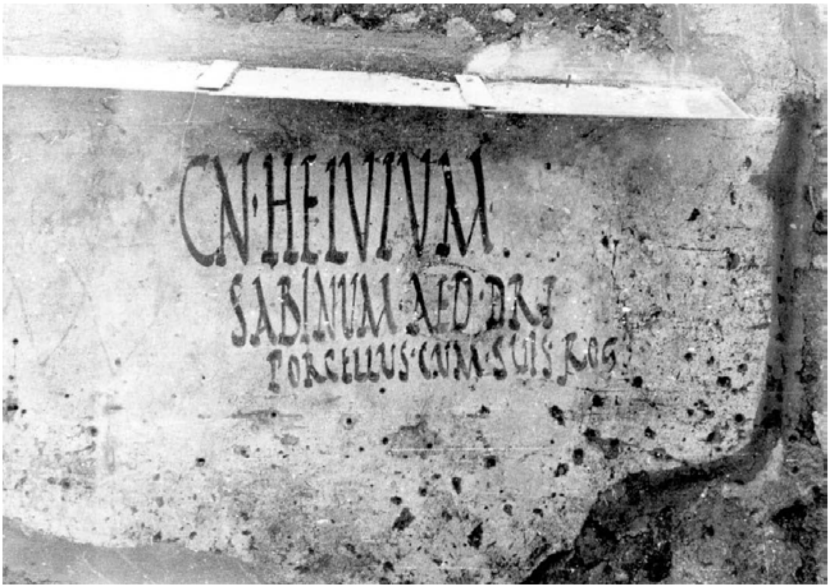


Fig. 1.4 Electoral notice for Helvius Sabinus, Pompeii – *CIL* IV 9919 (photo: K. Schubring (1956), courtesy of *CIL* Database "Archivum Corporis Electronicum")

Nevertheless, electoral notices cannot be viewed as simple canvassing: in the case of elections to the office of *duumvir*, it has been calculated that between AD 71 and 79 only two candidates stood for election each year, with the result that there was in effect no competition.[50] Furthermore, some of the notices are in the past tense; instead of canvassing for support, these apparently celebrate elections that have already happened: *Paquium Proculum IIvir(um) i(ure) d(icundo) d(ignum) r(ei) p(ublicae) / univer[si] Pompeiani fecerunt* ('All Pompeians have elected Paquius Proculus *duumvir* with judicial power, worthy of public office').[51] There was, however, competition for the junior magistracy of aedile. All of the painted notices were regarded as ephemera, and individual notices were regularly overlaid and replaced with later ones. The vast majority of the electoral notices date from the last decade of the town's existence, although some earlier ones (including some in Oscan) from the first century BC have also been found.[52] As with the games announcements, some of the electoral notices also relate to neighbouring towns, with the Nucerians being urged to support Munatius Caeserninus for the town's quinquennial magistracy in inscriptions painted on the façades of tombs outside Pompeii's Nucerian Gate.[53]

---

[50] Franklin, *Pompeii: The Electoral Programmata* (above, n.39) 78.

[51] *CIL* IV 1122 = *ILS* 6406a; cf. *CIL* IV 221, 297, 935b, 935d, 3582–3, 7469, 7618. Briefly discussed by R. Gründel, 'Wahlpropaganda post eventum?', in *Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Cambridge 1967* (1971: Basil Blackwell: Oxford) 225–27.

[52] Vetter, *Handbuch* (above, n.17) nos. 29–30.

The fact that these painted inscriptions have been found almost exclusively in Pompeii (only one possible electoral notice has been uncovered so far at Herculaneum) should not be taken as evidence that they were a local quirk of Pompeian epigraphic practice.[54] Inscriptions elsewhere sometimes urge restraint upon the *scriptor* (sign-writer) not to use a particular surface for a notice relating to elections or games.[55] At Narnia in Umbria, for example, good wishes for the success of a candidate are conditional upon the *scriptor* passing by this tomb: *ita candidatus, quod petit, fiat tuus / et ita perennes, scriptor, opus hoc praeteri / hoc si impetro a te felix vivas bene vale* ('In this way may your candidate become what he seeks, and in this way, writer, pass by this everlasting monument. If I attain this from you, may you live happily. Farewell').[56] Games too are specifically mentioned at Forum Popilii: *ita candidatus fiat hono/ratus tuus et ita gratum edat / munus tuus munerarius et tu s[is] / felix, scriptor, si hic non scripseri[s]* ('In this way may your candidate be honoured and may your games-giver present a popular show and may you be happy, writer, if you do not write here').[57] Most of these inscriptions appear to belong to the façades of tombs which, as at Pompeii, could be susceptible to being used for painted notices. Other inscriptions refer to the preliminary act of whitewashing a surface, prior to the actual painting up of a notice, as in this attempt by a group of freedmen to protect an altar which they had erected for Jupiter in Capua, by ending their dedicatory inscription with the words, *hanc aram / ne quis dealbet* ('let no one whitewash this altar').[58]

As we saw in the case of inscribed decrees, the partial nature of our evidence is not simply the random result of archaeological discovery, but reflects the fact that the production of municipal documents in monumental versions was not routine. The reasons why a document was selected to be engraved are not always clear, but monumental inscriptions were always set up as a result of a conscious decision to do so: after all, it required more effort and cost to have a text inscribed than simply painted up on a wall or on whitewashed wooden boards. Where it was simply the case that a public notice had to be promulgated to tackle a specific problem in a specific place, it was entirely sufficient for that notice to be painted up on plaster. This can be illustrated at Herculaneum, where local magistrates attempted to stem the disgusting habit of dumping filth next to a water-tower.[59] The painted lettering is only partially legible, but it is clear that two different sets of magistrates attempted to deal with the problem over a period of years by posting up their edicts in public (a later edict covered over an earlier one), and by threatening various punishments on transgressors. Not even laws were required to be inscribed in a monumental form as standard: the *lex libitinaria* regulating funerals from Puteoli appears to have been set up on marble in the Augustan era outside the office in the town's Forum where deaths had to be registered, and so perhaps at the instigation of the officer in charge (*manceps*) who wished to display in a permanent, monumental form what were his obligations and responsibilities to the town.[60]

---

[53] *CIL* IV 3875 = *ILS* 6445c = *AÉpigr* (1990) 176; *CIL* IV 9939, 9942, 9959.

[54] *AÉpigr* (1987) 262 = M. Pagano, 'Una iscrizione elettorale da Ercolano', *CronErcol* 17 (1987) 151–2.

[55] C. Zaccaria, '*Scriptor*: lo scrittore che non deve scrivere', in *Serta Antiqua et Mediaevalia* VI: *Usi e abusi epigrafici – Atti del colloquio internazionale di epigrafia latina*, eds. M. G. A. Bertinelli and A. Donati (2003: Bretschneider: Rome) 237–54.

[56] *CIL* XI 4126 = *CLE* 194. Cf. *CIL* VI 14313 = *ILS* 8205 and *CIL* VI 29942 = *ILS* 8207, Rome.

[57] *CIL* XI 575 = *ILS* 8206 = *CLE* 195 = *SupplIt* X (1992) 20.

[58] *CIL* X 3785 = *ILS* 3064 = *ILLRP* 723a.

By contrast, inscriptions played an essential role in the town council's regulation of public space. Permanent inscribed **boundary-markers** were one of the surest ways of clearly defining the limits of public and private space: their physical presence removed doubt in cases where private and public space were intertwined, or where the status of the space had been changed from public to private and vice versa. Such markers tended to be comparatively simple in style, unadorned short stumps with rounded tops (*cippi*), made out of local volcanic lava or limestone rather than the more impressive and expensive marble more commonly used for other public inscriptions. As an example of the first case, five markers with the abbreviated text *l(ocus) p(ublicus) P(ompeianorum)*, 'public space of the Pompeians', have been found in the area of the Suburban Baths, just outside the town walls in the area of the Marine Gate at Pompeii. They appear to have been necessary in order to clarify the situation in an area where private roads intertwined with public space.[61] Similar ambiguity was clarified when M. Tullius built the Temple of Augustan Fortune next to his house just to the north of the Forum: a *cippus* of lava confirms what space still remained his private property.[62]

---

[59] *CIL* IV 10488–9, with revised text by G. Camodeca, 'La società ercolanese alla luce della riedizione delle *Tabulae Herculanenses*: l'élite municipale fra Claudio e Vespasiano 1 – un'oligarchia ritrovata', *Ostraka* 15.1 (2006) 9–29, at 15–16.

[60] *Lex libitinaria*: Libitina *e dintorni*. Libitina *e i* luci *sepolcrali. Le* leges libitinariae *campane*. Iura sepulcrorum: *vecchie e nuove iscrizioni* (2004: Quasar: Rome), Part Two, with G. Camodeca, 'Per la riedizione delle *leges libitinariae* flegree', 85–7; F. Hinard and J. C. Dumont, eds., *Libitina: Pompes funèbres et supplices en Campanie à l'époque d'Auguste: édition, traduction et commentaire de la* Lex Libitina Puteolana (2003: De Boccard: Paris). Other local *leges*: Libitina *e dintorni* also republishes a *lex libitinaria* from Cumae (pp.133–46); from Puteoli we also have the much older *lex parieti faciendo*, a contract for constructing a wall and doorway of 105 BC, but inscribed during the early imperial period, perhaps to commemorate the positive contribution to the town by one of the individuals named in the text: *CIL* X 1781 = *ILS* 5317 = *ILLRP* 518, with J. Bodel, ed., *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions* (2001: Routledge: London) 53–5 and I. Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina* (3rd edn, 1974: Cisalpino: Milan) no. 128.

4 Boundary-marker, Pompeii, *c.*AD 3: Fig. 1.5

CIL X 821 = *ILS* 5398a

A. E. and M. G. L. Cooley, *Pompeii: A Sourcebook* (2004: Routledge: London) 93 – E33. Still in situ; autopsy March 1994. Photographs: DAI neg. 70.871.

M(arci) Tulli M(arci) f(ilii) / area privata

'Private space of Marcus Tullius, son of Marcus.'

A *cippus* of lava (letters height l.1: 7 cm, l.2: 6 cm) was found facing the road on the narrow pathway separating the Temple of Fortuna Augusta on its right-hand side from the private house of its donor, M. Tullius, chief magistrate of the town, whose tomb has been located outside the Stabian Gate.[63]

Finally, one might compare the series of four limestone *cippi*, each inscribed with the same text, set up by T. Suedius Clemens, acting as Vespasian's agent, at Pompeii to mark out areas just outside the town's gates that he had reclaimed as public property.[64]

---

[61] *CIL* X 1057; L. Jacobelli, 'Pompei fuori le mura: note sulla gestione e l'organizzazione dello spazio pubblico e privato', in *Pompei tra Sorrento e Sarno*, ed. F. Senatore (2001: Bari Editore: Rome) 29–61 = *AÉpigr* (2001) 795, and 'Su un nuovo cippo L. P. P. trovato nell'area delle Terme Suburbane di Pompei', *RStPomp* 17 (2006) 67–8. Compare the declaration of *iter publicum* ('public route') at Puteoli on a rectangular slab from the first century AD, found where it had been reused in the early third century AD: *AÉpigr* (1995) 308; L. Crimaco, 'Le iscrizioni', in *Nova antiqua Phlegraea* (2000: Electa Napoli: Naples) 37–8.

[62] Compare the inscription preserved only as an impression in volcanic material at the foot of a wall at Herculaneum, recording the presentation of a building-site by the council to the town's *Augustales*: *CIL* X 1462, with S. E. Ostrow, '"Augustales" along the Bay of Naples: a case for their early growth', *Historia* 34.1 (1985) 64–101, at 77: *[d(ecreto)] d(ecurionum) locum ab incohato / [c]um tectoris p(ecunia) p(ublica) Augustalib(us) datum* ('By decree of the decurions, space given to the *Augustales* at public expense from its foundations with plaster-work').

[63] 'XV – Pompei', *NSc* (1889) 280; *EphEp* VIII, 330.

[64] Four copies found so far:

- Outside Herculaneum Gate – *CIL* X 1018 = *ILS* 5942.
- Outside Vesuvian Gate – G. Spano, 'Scavi fuori Porta del Vesuvio,' *NSc* (1910) 399.
- Outside Nucerian Gate – Giornale dei lavori di scavo, 31st May 1954: cited by C. A. Sertà, 'La *ordinatio* epigrafica sulle *stele* pompeiane di T. Suedius Clemens fuori Porta Nocera e fuori Porta Marina', *RStPomp* 12–13 (2001/2) 238 n.3.
- Outside Marine Gate – Jacobelli, 'Pompei fuori le mura' (above, n.61) 44–48 = *AÉpigr* (2001) 796.

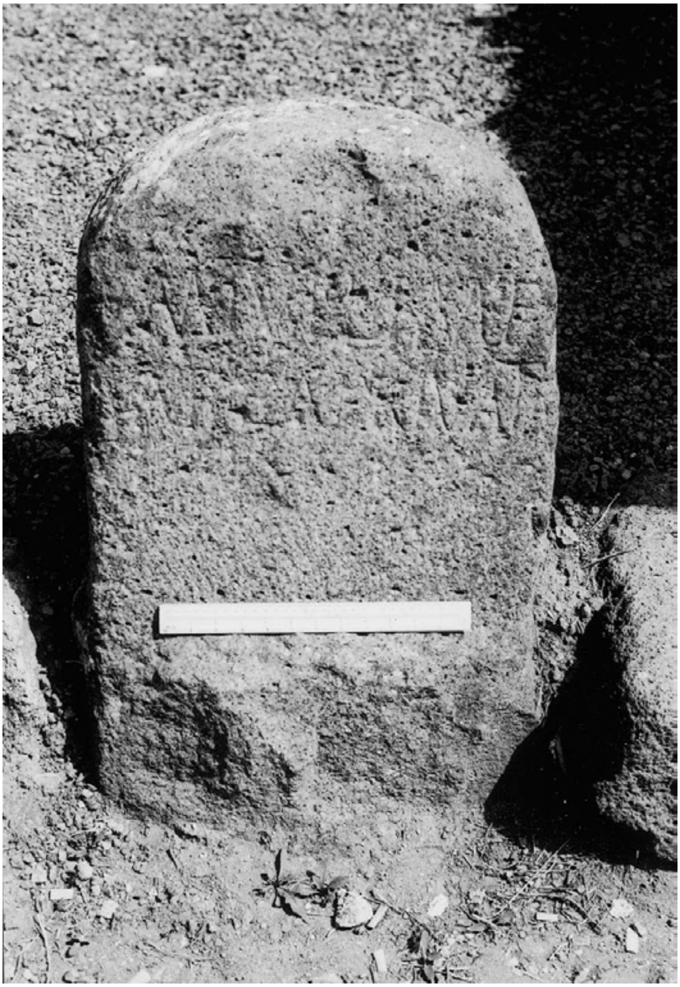


Fig. 1.5 Boundary-marker, Pompeii – *CIL* X 821 (photo: A. E. Cooley)

Apart from this category of inscriptions regulating space, therefore, monumental versions were not necessary for administrative texts to take effect. The same is true of other civic groups, which imitated the local *ordo* in their epigraphic practices. Just as the local council patterned its behaviour upon that of the senate at Rome (as outlined earlier), so other civic groups of lesser social status – notably the ***Augustales* and *collegia*** (associations sharing professional or religious interests), as well as the magistrates of *pagi* (rural districts attached to towns) – also modelled themselves upon the town council. *Magistri* ('officials') of the *pagus Augustus felix suburbanus* at Pompeii, for example, set up honorific dedications, and paid for a wedge of seating in the amphitheatre, whilst the district's first set of sub-officials, *ministri*, set up another inscription whose function is unclear, but which possibly served simply to commemorate the inauguration of their post in 7 BC, or perhaps the renaming of their *pagus*, previously simply the *pagus felix suburbanus*.[65] Such imitation was in part encouraged by the very nature of the establishment and composition of the associations. Like a *colonia* or *municipium*, a *collegium* was founded by a *lex*.[66] Associations were headed by magistrates who played a role parallel to that of consuls and *duumviri*, and whose title of *quinquennalis* imitated that of *duovir quinquennalis*; they were supported by minor officials (including scribes and *quaestores*), and ordinary members of the association could be known as *plebs* or *populus*. Such titles were deliberately reminiscent of civic structures, and the way that *collegia* were organized was in imitation of the state (*res publica*).[67] Indeed, *Augustales* were sometimes known as the 'second *ordo*'.[68] These associations wanted to project an image of themselves as active members of the civic community, and one way to assert their corporate identity and involvement in civic life was to copy the types of activities traditional to the local council.[69]

Like the local council, these other civic groups only set up some texts as inscribed monuments: *leges* of *collegia* are rarely found in an inscribed form, and only in cases where they are incorporated into longer texts commemorating benefactions by individual donors.[70] Similarly, decrees issued by associations imitated the structure and wording of decrees issued by the town council (see no. 5 below), whilst patronal tablets (*tabulae patronatus*) also closely followed the civic pattern.[71] Finally, whereas no *album* (membership list) or *fasti* (list of magistrates) of a local council has been found in this area, we have several *alba* and *fasti* relating to associations. At Cumae, the names of eighty-seven *dendrophori* (tree-carriers in the cult of Cybele) were engraved in two columns on 9th October AD 251,[72] whilst at Liternum (if I may stray a few miles to the north of Cumae) membership lists of the *Augustales* were inscribed twice during the second half of the second century AD, at an interval of about thirty years.[73] In these cases, however, the inscribing of the lists on marble was not intended to provide practical information for administrative purposes, even though both lists were updated with new names over time, but was closely linked to the benefactions of individuals. At Cumae, the list was appended to a statement that the *patronus* of the *collegium* had given a distribution of bread, wine, and cash to mark the dedication of the tablet, which itself celebrated the fact that the senate and the *quindecimviri* (the priesthood of the Fifteen at Rome, in charge of regulating foreign cults) had sanctioned the appointment of these *dendrophori*,[74] whilst both lists of *Augustales* at Liternum were explicitly gifts from individuals, and, in the later case, simply one element in a generous package (along with a paving for the association's headquarters and feast) by a father and his two sons on the occasion of the younger son too being adlected patron of the association.

---

[65] *CIL* X 814 = *ILS* 5198, two herms of actor Norbanus Sorex; *CIL* X 853 = *ILS* 5653e, amphitheatre seating; *CIL* X 924 = *ILS* 6381, first *ministri*: only the impressions of the letters of this inscription were discovered, where it had been cut in two and reused as revetment slabs; it is possible that the surviving text was preceded by the names of the first *magistri* as well. *EphEp* VIII 317 = *ILS* 6377 implies a phase for the *pagus* as *pagus felix suburbanus*.

[66] Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles* (above, n.24) I, 370–3.

[67] Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles* (above, n.24) I, 357–68; H. L. Royden, *The Magistrates of the Roman Professional Collegia in Italy from the First to the Third Century AD* (1988: Giardini: Pisa) 12–17; S. E. Ostrow, 'The Augustales in the Augustan scheme', in *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*, eds. K. A. Raaflaub and M. Toher (1990: University of California Press: Berkeley) 364–78, at 371–2; cf. *Dig.* 3.4.1.1: *The Digest of Justinian*, eds. T. Mommsen and P. Krueger, trans. A. Watson (1985: University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia).

[68] R. Duthoy, 'La fonction sociale de l'augustalité', *Epigraphica* 36 (1974) 134–54, at 150; Ostrow, '"Augustales" along the Bay of Naples' (above, n.62) 71. A. Abramenko, *Die munizipale Mittelschicht im kaiserzeitlichen Italien: zu einem neuen Verständnis von Sevirat und Augustalität* (1993: Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften 547: Peter Lang: Frankfurt am Main) argues that *Augustales* were a type of 'middle layer' in society.

[69] J. R. Patterson, 'The *collegia* and the transformation of the towns of Italy in the second century AD,' in *L'Italie d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (1994: *CÉFR* 198: Rome) 227–38 and *Landscapes and Cities: Rural Settlement and Civic Transformation in Early Imperial Italy* (2006: Oxford University Press) 242–52.

In the case of groups who were perhaps not wealthy enough to commission lists carved on marble, we find *fasti* listing the names of the association's annual officials displayed in public, painted on plaster. For example, several sets of *magistri vici et compiti* ('magistrates of the neighbourhood and crossroad') at Pompeii, who were relatively low-status freeborn or freed *magistri* along with slave *ministri* had their *fasti* painted up on plaster next to their crossroad-altars at the roadside.[75] These lists were no more functional than the engraved versions, but were a rather cheaper means of honouring the officials in post (compare the use of painted inscriptions by individuals of limited financial means in the religious sphere, below).

---

[70] Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles* (above, n.24) I, 372–3. No examples survive from the Bay of Naples, but see *ILS* 7212–14 for examples elsewhere.

[71] Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles* (above, n.24) I, 373–4. Again, for examples beyond this region, see *ILS* 7216–18, 7220–1.

[72] *CIL* X 3699 = *ILS* 4174, with M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*, vol. IV (1978: Brill: Leiden) 1–4 no. 2.

[73] G. Camodeca, 'Albi degli *Augustales* di Liternum della seconda metà del II secolo', *AION (archeol)* n.s. 8 (2001) 163–82 = *AÉpigr* (2001) 853–4 = *Supplementa Italica* 25 (2010) nos. 16–17.

[74] The words *ex s(enatus) c(onsulto)* could refer either to the senate at Rome or to the local council at Cumae. See above, n.24.

This pattern of imitation is well illustrated by decrees issued by the *Augustales* at Misenum, dating from the first half of the second century AD, and inscribed upon the sides of statue bases set up in their headquarters.[76] Their decrees imitate the typical opening section of municipal (and, by extension, senatorial) decrees and share some linguistic features with them.[77] They start by giving a consular date, specifying where the meeting took place, and identifying the nature of the issue up for discussion, and who had proposed it. This was in spite of the fact that not all aspects of senatorial procedure were appropriate to their organization: whereas both senate and municipal councils did meet in various venues, there was no real need for the *Augustales* to record where they had met, since each association of *Augustales* appears to have had only one regular meeting-place.[78] In contrast to municipal decrees, there can be no suggestion that groups such as the *Augustales* had to model their decrees upon those of the senate as a result of pressure from Rome, and indeed it is more likely that they were modelling their procedures upon those of the local council rather than those of the

---

[75] *CIL* IV 60 (47/6 BC); *CIL* IV 7807; W. Van Andringa, 'Autels de carrefour, organisation vicinale et rapports de voisinage à Pompéi', *RStPomp* 11 (2000) 47–86, at 73–5. The long list of names from Herculaneum which has often been thought to be an *album* of the town's *Augustales* is too lengthy for this to be correct (513 names at a minimum, possibly in excess of 1000), but quite what this *album* represents is still uncertain: A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Imaginary feasts: pictures of success on the Bay of Naples', in *Ostia, Cicero, Gamala, Feasts, and the Economy: Papers in Memory of John H. D'Arms*, eds. A. Gallina Zevi and J. H. Humphrey (2004: *JRA* Supplement 57: Portsmouth, R.I.) 109–26, at 124, supports the hypothesis that it represents a list of citizen voters, proposed by F. Pesando, 'Appunti sulla cosiddetta Basilica di Ercolano', *CronErcol* 33 (2003) 331–7, at 337.

[76] *AÉpigr* (1993) 467 = (1994) 426a, AD 102; *AÉpigr* (1993) 473 = (1994) 426e = *AÉpigr* (1996) 424b, AD 113; J. H. D'Arms, 'Memory, money, and status at Misenum: three new inscriptions from the *Collegium* of the Augustales', *JRS* 90 (2000) 126–44, at 141–4 = *AÉpigr* (2000) 344.

[77] D'Arms, 'Memory, money, and status at Misenum' (above, n.76) 128, 142 on the *Augustales*' decree of AD 149 from Misenum.

[78] B. Bollmann, *Römische Vereinshäuser: Untersuchungen zu den Scholae der römischen Berufs-, Kult- und Augustalen-Kollegien in Italien* (1998: Philipp von Zabern: Mainz); Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles* (above, n.24) I, 215–30. Contrast the fact that we know of three different meeting-places for Puteoli's town council, the *basilica Aug. Anniana* (*CIL* X 1782, 1786 – AD 196), *templum divi Pii* (*CIL* X 1784 – AD 187), and *chalcidicum Aug. Suettianum* (*AÉpigr* (1974), 256 – AD 113): cf. Camodeca, '*L'élite* municipale di Puteoli' (above, n.23) 103 n.19.

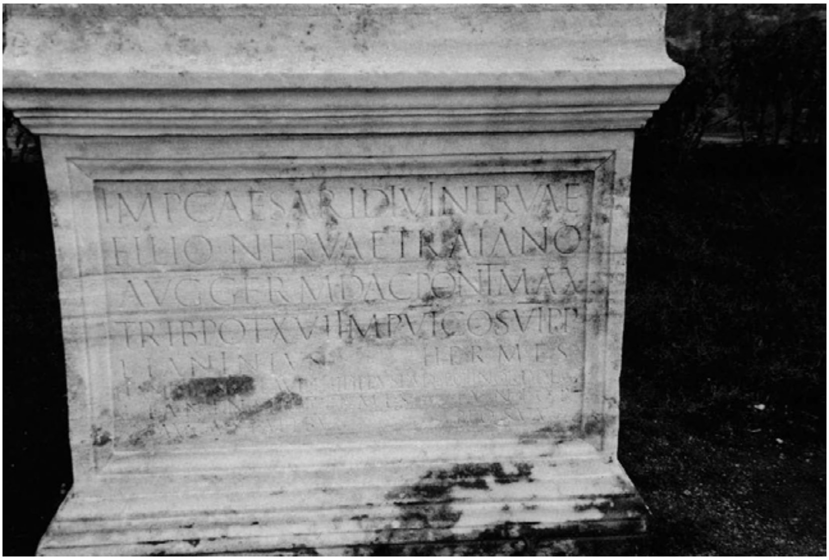


Fig. 1.6 Trajan honoured by the *Augustales* of Misenum, dedicatory inscription (front) – *AÉpigr* (1996) 424a (photo: A. E. Cooley)

more distant senate. In choosing to model aspects of the structure, format, and language of their decrees upon those issued by higher authorities, the *Augustales* presumably desired to lend an air of authority and grandeur to their association's proceedings; this was perhaps a particularly desirable outcome for those decrees that referred to financial affairs.

5 Trajan honoured by the *Augustales* of Misenum, AD 112/13: Figs. 1.6–8

AÉpigr (1996) 424a–b

A. De Franciscis, *Il sacello degli Augustali a Miseno* (1991: Arte Tipografia: Naples) 24–8, no. 6 = *AÉpigr* (1993) 472–3; G. Guadagno, 'Il sacello degli Augustali di Miseno', in *Tranquillitas: Mélanges en l'honneur de Tran Tam Tinh*, eds. M.-O. Jentel and G. Deschênes-Wagner (1994: Université Laval: Quebec) 246–7 = *AÉpigr* (1994) 426d–e; G. Camodeca, 'Iscrizioni nuove o inedite da Puteoli, Cumae, Misenum,' *AION (arch.)* n.s. 3 (1996) 161–8 = *AÉpigr* (1996) 424a–b; J.M. Højte, *Roman Imperial Statue Bases from Augustus to Commodus* (2005: Aarhus University Press) 375, Trajan 15; G. Guadagno, 'Gli Augustali di Misenum (e di Liternum)', in *XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae: Provinciae Imperii Romani Inscriptionibus Descriptae*, eds. M. Mayer i Olivé, G. Baratta, and A. Guzmán (2007: Monografies de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica X: Barcelona) 661–74. Now in Castello di Baia, inv. 155740; autopsy March 2001.

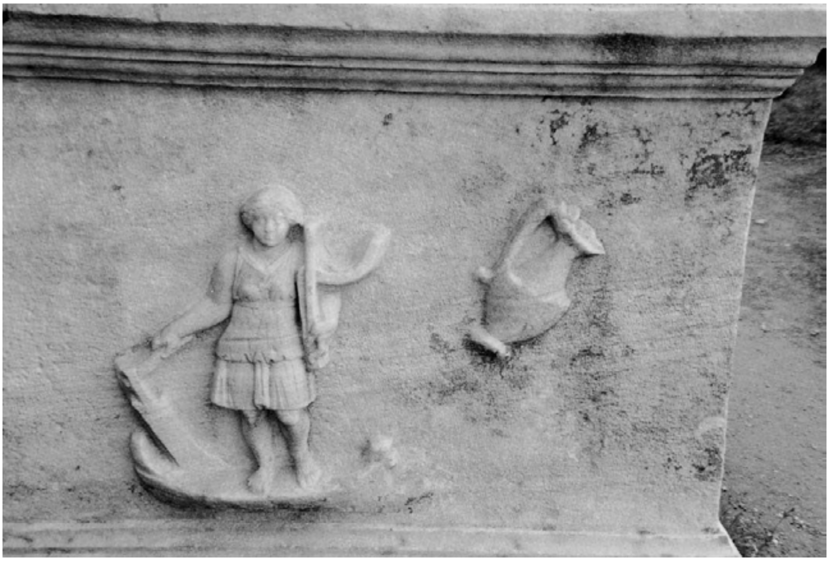


Fig. 1.7 Trajan honoured by the *Augustales* of Misenum, left side (photo: A. E. Cooley)

Photograph: EDCH www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=$J_AE_1993_00472.jpg

Front side; Fig. 1.6: front inscription; Fig. 1.7: left side; Fig. 1.8: right side

Ìmp(eratori) Caesari dìvì Nervae / filió Nervae Traiánó / Aug(usto), Germ(anico), Dác(ico), pont(ifici) max(imo), / trib(unicia) pot(estate) $\overline{\text{XVI}}$, *ìmp(eratori)* $\overline{\text{VI}}$, *co(n)s(uli)* $\overline{\text{VI}}$, *p(atri) p(atriae), /*^{5} *L(ucius) Kanìnius* vac. *Hermes, / L(ucius) Kanìnius L(uci) f(ilius) Claud(ia tribu) Philippus f(ilius), adlect(us) in ord(inem) dec(urionum), / L(ucius) Kanìnius Hermes* (vac.) *iúnior / Augustálibus* vac. *peq(unia) sua.* ‖ *L(ucio) Publilió Celso* $\overline{\text{II}}$ *C(aio) Clódió Crispino / co(n)s(ulibus), V ìdus Novembr(es), / Mìsenì in templo Aug(usti) quod est / Augustalium, referente L(ucio) Tullio /*^{5} *Eutychó, curatore perpet(uo), cum / universi Augustales convenissent / et L(ucius) Kaninius Hermes senior largis/ sima voluntate sua pietati publicae / satisfecerit, ponendo statuam /*^{10} *optimo maximoq(ue) principi imp(eratori) Nervae / Traian(o) Caesari Aug(usto), Germ(anico), Dacicó, / parenti publicó, inscriptó nomine suo / et Kanini Philippi fili sui et Kanini Her/ metis iun(ioris), adieceritq(ue) cumulum benefi/*^{15} *ciorum suor(um), dando nomine Kanini / Hermetis iun(ioris) ob honorem immuni/ tatis eius arcae ñ(ostrae) HS* $\overline{VI}$ *m(illia) n(ummum) et ob dedi/ catione(m) statuae epulum et sing(ulis) HS XII, / sitq(ue) sollemne nobis bonorum civium /*^{20} *m[eritis] respondere,* vac. *placuit / consentientib(us)*

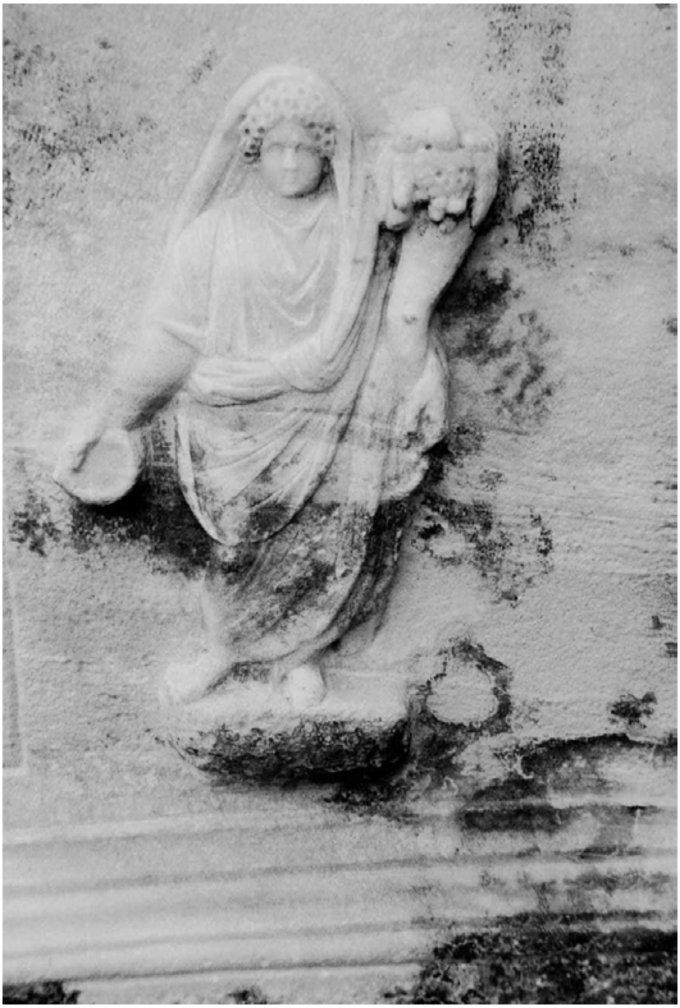


Fig. 1.8 Trajan honoured by the *Augustales* of Misenum, right side (photo: A. E. Cooley)

universis Augustalib(us) / Kaninium Hermen seniorem et Kani/nium Hermen iun(iorem) inter immunes / immunium numero referri adque /[25] *decretum in basi statuae inscribi in/sculpiq(ue) eisq(ue) Kaniniis clipeum in templo / nostro publice poni.*

[Front inscription, tall T (l.3 *pont*; l.6 *adlect*). Right side: begins with abundant *apices*, which disappear as the lower part of the stone has been abraded by prolonged exposure to water.]

[On front] ‘To Imperator Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus, son of deified Nerva, Germanicus, Dacicus, greatest pontiff, holder of tribunician power for the 16th time, hailed victorious general six times, consul six times, father of the fatherland. Lucius Kaninius Hermes, Lucius Kaninius Philippus, son of Lucius, son, of the Claudian voting-tribe, appointed into the body of town councillors, Lucius Kaninius Hermes junior, for the *Augustales* at their own expense.’

[Right side] ‘In the consulship of Lucius Publilius Celsus for the second time and Gaius Clodius Crispinus, on 9th November, at Misenum in the temple of Augustus which is that of the *Augustales*, on the motion of Lucius Tullius Eutychus, permanent presiding officer, when all the *Augustales* had assembled, and Lucius Kaninius Hermes senior through his most generous goodwill satisfied his sense of public duty by setting up a statue to the best and greatest leader Imperator Nerva Trajan Caesar Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus, public parent, with his own name inscribed, and that of Kaninius Philippus his son and of Kaninius Hermes junior, and he added a finishing touch to his kindnesses by giving to our treasury six thousand sesterces in the name of Kaninius Hermes junior, because he had been honoured with immunity, and a banquet to mark the dedication of the statue, and twelve sesterces per person, and as it is customary for us to respond to the services of good citizens, it was decided, with the agreement of all the *Augustales*, that Kaninius Hermes senior and Kaninius Hermes junior should be counted in the number of those with immunity among those with immunity, and that the decree should be inscribed on the base of the statue and engraved, and that a shield for these Kaninii should be set up publicly in our temple.’

This marble base for an equestrian statue (height 121.5 cm, width 123 cm, depth 152 cm) was found in the headquarters of the *Augustales* at Misenum, in a courtyard in front of the temple.[79] Traces of the metal fixtures on the base’s upper surface indicate that the statue showed Trajan mounted upon a bronze horse as it was rearing up. On the short side which forms the front of the base appears an honorific inscription to Trajan, within a moulded frame (height 56 cm, width 94 cm; letters varying from 5.8 to 2.8 cm) [Fig. 1.6]. On the left side is carved in relief a female figure (height 50 cm), barefooted, clad in a short skirt with sleeveless tunic on top, standing on a boat (perhaps a warship) facing the viewer. She has her right arm extended so as to hold the ship’s rudder, and she is holding something in her left hand, which cannot be securely identified, but which is possibly a ship’s prow. An *urceus* (libation-jug) is carved to the right of this figure [Fig. 1.7]. On the right side of the base is inscribed within a frame (height 93 cm, width 27 cm) a decree issued by the *Augustales* (letters height 1.2–1.5 cm). To the right of the inscribed decree is a standing togate figure (height 50 cm), with head veiled for sacrifice (*capite velato*), holding in its right hand a *patera* (libation-dish) and clasping a cornucopia in its left [Fig. 1.8]. The figure is portrayed as if standing upon a statue base. The attractive idea has been suggested that we should identify these two figures with statues set up in the Forum at Misenum, of the *classis tutela* ('protectress of the fleet') and *genius municipii* ('divine spirit of the town').[80] Statues of these figures were set up in the Forum by the *Augustalis* Cominius Abascantus in AD 144.[81] Attractive though this proposal is, however, it struggles to overcome some obstacles. Firstly, although the *capite velato* togate figure with *patera* and cornucopia is appropriate for a *genius municipii*,[82] its hairstyle is characteristic of females of the Flavian era, raising the problem of a woman dressed in a toga (a problem not tackled by Camodeca's alternative suggestion that the togate figure is that of the *genius Augustalium*), which does not sit easily with the usual representations of a *genius*, whose male gender is essential to its identity. There is also a basic chronological problem with the claim that statues set up only in AD 144 were portrayed already in AD 113, although it would admittedly have been possible for these figures to have been represented elsewhere in art before Abascantus set up his statues. The identity of these figures, therefore, remains an open question. On the rear end of the base is a frame prepared for an inscription (height 27 cm, width 50 cm), but it never actually had one engraved there.

---

[79] Axonometric drawing by the Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Napoli: D’Arms, ‘Memory, money, and status at Misenum’ (above, n.76) pl. IX, no. 1.

This dedication and decree illustrate one of the ways in which imperial statues might be set up, and the social mobility of one particular family. Kaninius Hermes, senior, was a rich freedman whose first son, Kaninius Hermes, junior, was evidently born before his manumission. Consequently, his social mobility was limited as a freedman compared with his younger brother, Kaninius Philippus, born after his father's manumission and hence a freeborn citizen (note the emphasis on his citizen-tribe and filiation): out of the three men, only Kaninius Philippus could be honoured by being appointed as a town councillor. Nothing daunted, Kaninius Hermes, senior, then added to his initial benefaction of setting up the equestrian statue by funding a banquet and cash-distribution to the *Augustales* as well, with the result that he and his elder son received honours from the *Augustales*. This gap between the initial setting up of the statue and the further benefactions explains why the honorific inscription dates from some time between 1st January and 9th December AD 112, whilst the decree of the *Augustales* is dated to 9th November AD 113. The levels of wealth attested here (at this point there were probably about 100 members of the association of *Augustales*)[83] indicate that Kaninius Hermes, senior, must have had a fortune at an equestrian level, suggesting why both the *Augustales* and local councillors were eager to encourage him to act as civic benefactor.

---

[80] D'Arms, 'Memory, money, and status at Misenum' (above, n.76) 131.

[81] D'Arms, 'Memory, money, and status at Misenum' (above, n.76) = *AÉpigr* (2000) 344; *AÉpigr* (2004) 423: date of suffect consuls revealed by a new *diploma* – *AÉpigr* (2004) 1924 – modifying D'Arms, who dated them to the end of AD 148.

[82] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* vol. VIII, Part 1 (1997: Artemis: Zurich) 599–607 s.v. 'genius'.

As this last example illustrates, **honorific statues** could be set up by a variety of individuals and groups.[84] The statue bases that survive give a misleading impression of uniformity, whereas the inscriptions upon them reveal a variety of mechanisms whereby statues could be set up either at public expense in a public place, or on space granted by the council but with financial intervention by either the honorand him/herself or a supporter (see no. 1 above), or they could be paid for and set up entirely by individuals or groups.[85] The formula *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* ('by decree of the decurions') indicates that a statue was set up on the council's initiative, whereas *l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* ('space granted by decree of the decurions') indicates private initiative, whereby the council received a request to grant permission for an area of public space to be used for a statue, but where the statue was actually set up at private expense.[86] To take as an example the Forum at Pompeii, we find there bases for two pedestrian statues of M. Lucretius Decidianus Rufus (one set up by a member of his original family, M. Pilonius Rufus, perhaps in a bid to gain prestige for his family even after Lucretius Decidianus Rufus had been adopted out of it, and the other set up after his death by decree of the decurions); a pair of bases for pedestrian statues of father and son, both named C. Cuspius Pansa, set up by decree of the decurions and at public expense; a base for an equestrian statue in honour of Q. Sallustius, set up by decree of the decurions; a statue of Eumachia set up by the fullers in the grand building funded by her; and a herm portrait of the actor C. Norbanus Sorex, set up somewhere in the same building by the *magistri* of the *pagus Augustus Suburbanus Felix* by decree of the decurions, on space given for the purpose.[87] This is of course only a small sample of the statues originally on display there. Funerary inscriptions further record the setting up of equestrian statues by public decree to A. Umbricius Scaurus and Lucretius Valens (the latter also explicitly at public expense), and many more bases still remain to which no inscription can be attached with any certainty.[88]

---

[83] D'Arms, 'Memory, money, and status at Misenum' (above, n.76) 133.

[84] Overview of statues set up by *collegia*: Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles* (above, n.24) I, 493–512.

[85] F. Musumeci, '"Statuae in publico positae"', *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris* 44 (1978) 191–203.

[86] Camodeca, 'L'attività dell'*ordo decurionum*' (above, n.21) 176–7.

[87] *CIL* X 788–9 = *ILS* 6363b/c: the full name of M. Decidius Pilonius Rufus is revealed by *CIL* X 851; *CIL* X 790–1 = *ILS* 6360a; *CIL* X 792; Eumachia: *CIL* X 813 = *ILS* 6368 + statue, Naples Mus. inv. 6232; Norbanus: *CIL* X 814 = *ILS* 5198.

Honorific statues were put on display not just in the Forum but also in a range of both public and private spaces, including theatres, baths, basilicas, temples, at crossroad junctions, in private houses, and in spaces owned by *collegia*. Some inscriptions mention specific benefactions, in return for which the honour of a statue was being offered, but the act of giving an honorific statue looked to the future as well, inviting the honorand to reciprocate with further services.[89] Honorific texts also provided *exempla*, examples of behaviour for others to imitate.[90] Honorands included emperors and other members of the imperial family, senators and equestrians, members of the local elite (i.e., families represented in the *ordo decurionum*) and sub-elite (such as *Augustales* and rich freedmen). Statues might depict the male honorands as citizens or magistrates in a toga, as soldiers or commanders in military dress, or (rather less commonly) nude/partially nude in heroic mode, whilst women might be modestly clad in a *stola*, tunic, and cloak.[91] Most statues appear to have been equestrian or pedestrian in style, but we also find less commonly chariot statues, portrait shields, and portrait busts, whilst materials would usually be either gilded bronze, bronze, or marble.[92] Imperial statues were not necessarily identifiable immediately through their appearance alone, although they were regarded as possessing special properties (for example, slaves could seek asylum at the statue of an emperor).[93]

Some idea of the variety of honours represented by inscriptions can be provided by a case-study of M. Nonius Balbus at Herculaneum. A senator of the Augustan era, he served as proconsular governor of Crete and Cyrene.[94] Although not originally from Herculaneum itself, but from nearby Nuceria (given that the *Nucherini* call themselves 'his fellow-townsmen', *municipi sui*),[95] he settled in the town with his family and became a prominent figure there, being honoured with at least a dozen statues during his lifetime, and receiving further honours on his death.[96]

---

[88] *CIL* X 1024 = *ILS* 6366. Camodeca, 'I Lucretii Valentes' (above, n.43) 325 = *AÉpigr* (2004) 405.

[89] J. Tanner, 'Portraits, power, and patronage in the Late Roman Republic', *JRS* 90 (2000) 18–50, at 26.

[90] E. Forbis, 'Women's public image in Italian honorary inscriptions', *AJP* 111.4 (1990) 493–512, at 495; Forbis, *Municipal Virtues* (above, n.27) 4–6.

[91] R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (1963: Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences 14: New Haven) 46–7; C. H. Hallett, *The Roman Nude: Heroic Portrait Statuary 200 BC–AD 300* (2005: Oxford University Press) chs. 4–5.

[92] P. Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response* (2003: Oxford University Press) 79–91.

[93] This trend starts from Augustus: R. R. R. Smith, 'Typology and diversity in the portraits of Augustus', *JRA* 9 (1996) 30–47; H. G. Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser* (1968: Mann: Berlin). Compare for the Greek East, C. B. Rose, 'The imperial image in the eastern Mediterranean', in *The Early Roman Empire in the East*, ed. S. E. Alcock (1997: Oxbow Monograph 95: Oxford) 108–20. Asylum: Gaius *Inst.* 1.53.

Honours for M. Nonius Balbus at Herculaneum

- Marble equestrian statue in military dress, with inscription, set up by the *Herculanenses* (no. 6, below; *CIL* X 1426 = *ILS* 896 + inv. 6104). Possibly from the Forum. Head damaged, and repaired with youthful portrait.[97]
- Marble equestrian statue in military dress, with inscription, set up by the *Nucherini* (*CIL* X 1429 = *ILS* 896a + inv. 6211). Found headless; mature portrait head added by mistake. Possibly from the Forum.[98]
- Marble togate statue set up by decree of the decurions (*CIL* X 1428 + inv. 6167). From the *basilica Noniana*, with other family members.[99]
- Bronze equestrian statue (fragments only, not preserved) perhaps set up by Cretans (*CIL* X 1430, although this inscription is more like an architrave rather than a statue base in form). Possibly from the Forum.[100]

---

[94] *PIR*^{2} V p.371 no. 129: M. Nonius Balbus; G. Camodeca 'Ascesa al senato e rapporti con i territori d'origine Italia: Regio I (Campania, esclusa la zona di Capua e Cales), II (Apulia et Calabria), III (Lucania et Bruttii)', in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* (1982: Edizioni di storia e letteratura: Rome) II 125–6.

[95] *CIL* X 1429.

[96] S. Adamo Muscettola, 'Nuove letture borboniche: i Nonii Balbi e il Foro di Ercolano', *Prospettiva* 28 (1982) 2–16; P. Zanker, 'Zur Bildnisrepräsentation führender Männer in mittelitalischen und campanischen Städten zur Zeit der späten Republik und der julisch-claudischen Kaiser', in *Les "bourgeoisies" municipales italiennes aux II*^{e} *et I*^{er} *siècles av. J.-C.* (1983: Centre Jean Berard/CNRS: Naples and Paris) 251–66, at 260–3; U. Pappalardo, 'Nuove testimonianze su Marco Nonio Balbo ad Ercolano', *MdI(R)* 104 (1997) 417–33; J. Tanner, 'Portraits, power, and patronage' (above, n.89) 44–5, whose interpretation is flawed, however, because it is based on a hypothesis that fails to take into account discoveries in the 1980s (the statue discussed is corseleted, not nude, and was set up by a freedman Volusianus, not by a Greek community).

[97] Adamo Muscettola, 'Nuove letture borboniche' (above, n.96) fig. 1; *Le collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* I 2 (1989: De Luca Edizioni d'Arte: Rome) no. 106; G. Guadagno, 'Supplemento epigrafico ercolanese II', *CronErcol* 11 (1981) 129–64, at 142 no. 88.

[98] Pappalardo, 'Nuove testimonianze su Marco Nonio Balbo' (above, n.96) pl. 62; *Le collezioni del MNN* (above, n.97) no. 107.

[99] Pappalardo, 'Nuove testimonianze su Marco Nonio Balbo' (above, n.96) 422, pl. 61; Guadagno, 'Supplemento II' (above, n.97) 143 no. 90.

[100] Pappalardo, 'Nuove testimonianze su Marco Nonio Balbo' (above, n.96) 422; Guadagno, 'Supplemento II' (above, n.97) 143 no. 91.

- Marble corseleted statue (inv. 77875). Set up outside Suburban Baths by his freedman, Volusianus, adjacent to funerary altar.[101]
- Marble heroic nude statue (inv. 6102), impression of portrait head (area behind theatre).[102]
- *CIL* X 1427, theatre: perhaps for a *sella curulis.*[103]
- Posthumous decree of honours, inscribed on his funerary altar outside the Suburban Baths: equestrian statue, marble funerary altar, procession, day of athletic games, seat in theatre.[104]
- *CIL* X 1431–2 (by Cretans), 1433 (by Cnossus), 1434 (by *Gortyniei*).
- Fragments of two further honorific dedications.[105]

He acted as a local benefactor, funding the building of a basilica (in *insula* VII, at the corner between *cardo* III and the *decumanus maximus*, named after him as the *basilica Noniana*),[106] gates, and wall.[107] The original locations of his various statues are uncertain because of the lack of clarity in the early excavation reports,[108] but it is clear that he was honoured with statues in different materials (both marble and bronze), in different guises (on horseback, in military costume, in toga, and nude) and in a variety of places (see above for details).[109] In the *basilica Noniana* his togate statue stood alongside those of his father M. Nonius Balbus, mother Viciria Archas, and wife Volasennia Tertia.[110] Their inscriptions specify their relationships to Nonius Balbus, and it appears to be precisely because of their family ties that they were honoured in this way. This reflects the practice elsewhere of a whole family being honoured in a public building paid for by one of its members (compare, for example, the basilica at Paestum, where Mineia, who paid for the building to be constructed, set up statues to herself, her husband, brothers, probably son, and grandson, although this case is also dissimilar to the *basilica* at Herculaneum where the statues were set up by the decurions and *Herculanenses*).[111] Marble equestrian statues set up by the peoples of Herculaneum (see no. 6 below) and Nuceria may have stood in the Forum alongside other statues set up by Cretan towns which he had governed: fragments of a bronze equestrian statue were found alongside an inscription set up by the Cretans, and further honorific inscriptions were set up by the *colonia* at Cnossus, the people of Gortyn, and representatives of Crete as a whole. He was also honoured in the area of the theatre. An impression of a portrait head left in the volcanic material behind the stage has been identified as Nonius Balbus, and has been associated with a heroic nude statue. Finally, an inscription in the theatre on the *tribunal* above the *parodos* is perhaps to be connected to an honorific chair.[112]

---

[101] G. Guadagno, 'Supplemento epigrafico ercolanese', *CronErcol* 8 (1978) 132–55, at 152 no. 50 and 153–4 no. 55; M. Pagano, 'Iscrizione della statua di Marco Nonio Balbo posta davanti alle Terme Suburbane', *RStPomp* 2 (1988) 238–9; Pappalardo, 'Nuove testimonianze su Marco Nonio Balbo' (above, n.96) 422–33, pl. 63 + 425 figs. 5–8; G. C. Ascione and M. Pagano, *The Antiquarium of Herculaneum* (2000: Electa Napoli: Naples) 75–9.

[102] Pappalardo, 'Nuove testimonianze su Marco Nonio Balbo' (above, n.96) pls. 59, 60.

[103] Guadagno, 'Supplemento II' (above, n.97) 142 no. 89. A decree, *AÉpigr* (1976) 144, states that among his honours was the setting up of a chair in his honour at games in the theatre (*et cum in theatro ludi fient sellam eius poni*). This seat may be connected in some way to the honorific inscription on the *tribunal.* The excavator Bardet reported finding in 1741 the remains of a *sella curulis* anchored to one of the *tribunalia*: C. Parslow, *Rediscovering Antiquity: Karl Weber and the Excavation of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae* (1995: Cambridge University Press) 56, 235; see too T. Schäfer, 'Le "Sellae Curules" del teatro di Ercolano', *CronErcol* 9 (1979) 143–51; M. Pagano, 'Il teatro di Ercolano', *CronErcol* 23 (1993) 121–56, at 142.

[104] A. Maiuri, 'Un decreto onorario di M. Nonio Balbo scoperto recentemente ad Ercolano', *RendLinc* 8 (1942) 253–78 = *AÉpigr* (1947) 53; L. Schumacher, 'Das Ehrendekret für M. Nonius Balbus aus Herculaneum (*AÉpigr* 1947, 53)', *Chiron* 6 (1976) 165–84 = *AÉpigr* (1976) 144; *AÉpigr* (1980) 249 + *AÉpigr* (1990) 164; Pagano, 'Iscrizione della statua di Marco Nonio Balbo' (above, n.101); Pappalardo, 'Nuove testimonianze su Marco Nonio Balbo' (above, n.96); Ascione and Pagano, *Antiquarium of Herculaneum* (above, n.101) 75–9.

[105] Guadagno, 'Supplemento', (above, n.101) 144 nos. 16–17.

[106] *Basilica Noniana* is named on a wax tablet from AD 61: G. Camodeca, *I ceti dirigenti di rango senatorio, equestre e decurionale della Campania romana* (2008: Satura: Naples) 178–9 n.41; archaeological evidence summarized by M. Pagano, 'Il foro', in *Gli antichi ercolanesi: antropologia, società, economia*, ed. M. Pagano (2000: Electa Napoli: Naples) 86–7; M. P. Guidobaldi, 'Le ricerche archeologiche nell'area della Basilica Noniana (VII, 16)', in *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana*, eds. P. G. Guzzo and M. P. Guidobaldi (2008: Studi di Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei 25: Bretschneider: Rome) 410–13.

[107] *CIL* X 1425: no. 9 below.

[108] There is continuing debate over the location of the pair of marble equestrian statues: Guadagno, 'Supplemento II' (above, n.97) 142 no. 88 suggests that they belong on bases still

After his death, a funerary altar was set up in honour of Nonius Balbus where his ashes were interred, inscribed with a decree of the town council

---

visible at the far north of the current site, outside the so-called 'basilica', opposite the *aedes Augustalium*; Pesando, 'Appunti sulla cosiddetta Basilica di Ercolano' (above, n.75) 332 argues that only fragments of statues were found here.

[109] Discussions of the problems surrounding the statues and inscriptions for Nonius Balbus found during the Bourbon excavations: Adamo Muscettola, 'Nuove letture borboniche' (above, n.96) 2–16; A. Allroggen-Bedel, 'Das sogennante Forum von Herculaneum und die Borbonischen Grabungen von 1739', *CronErcol* 4 (1974) 97–109; Pagano, 'Il teatro di Ercolano' (above, n.103) 121–56, at 145. Documents relating to the excavations are presented by U. Pannuti, 'Il "Giornale degli scavi" di Ercolano (1738–1756)', *MemLinc* ser. 8, vol. 26, fasc. 3 (1983) 163–410; M. Pagano, 'Gli scavi di Ercolano nelle "Memorie" del Padre Piaggio', *CronErcol* 24 (1994) 147–52, at 147, 150.

[110] M. Nonius Balbus, *pater* – *CIL* X 1439 + headless togate statue that has been restored with a youthful head; Viciria Archas, *mater* – *CIL* X 1440 + inv. 6168 = Adamo Muscettola, 'Nuove letture borboniche' (above, n.96) figs. 16–17; Volasennia Tertia, *uxor* – *CIL* X 1435–7.

[111] M. Torelli, 'Donne, *domi nobiles* ed evergeti a Paestum tra la fine della Repubblica e l'inizio dell'Impero', in *Les élites municipales de l'Italie péninsulaire des Gracques à Néron*, ed. M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni (1996: Collection Centre Jean Berard 13/ *CÉFR* 215: Naples and Rome) 153–78, at 154–6.

[112] See n.103 above.

outlining further honours for him, alongside a corseleted marble statue set up by one of his freedmen, Volusianus, outside the Suburban Baths.[113] It is unknown when the statue was set up; it may have been dedicated while Nonius Balbus was still alive, with the funerary altar being added alongside it after his death. Although he is not the only man to receive multiple honours in a town around the Bay of Naples, the character of his honours, especially those granted after his death, appears to belong to a transitional moment during the Augustan period, after which outstanding honours of this nature increasingly came to be reserved for the emperor and members of the imperial family (compare, for example, the honours decreed for Germanicus in AD 19).[114] As well as being an outstanding figure during his lifetime, freedmen and descendants of Nonius Balbus remain prominent in the epigraphic evidence of Herculaneum until the time of the eruption.[115]

6 Equestrian statue and honorific inscription of M. Nonius Balbus, Herculaneum, 20s BC: Figs. 1.9–10

CIL X 1426 = *ILS* 896 + MANN inv. 6104

G. Fiorelli, *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale di Napoli: raccolta epigrafica – iscrizioni latine* (1868: Stabilimento tipografico in S. Teresa: Naples) 130 no. 1174; S. Adamo Muscettola, 'Nuove letture borboniche: i Nonii Balbi e il Foro di Ercolano', *Prospettiva* 28 (1982) 1–16, figs. 1–11, 13–14; P. Zanker, 'Zur Bildnisrepräsentation führender Männer in mittelitalischen und campanischen Städten zur Zeit der späten Republik und der julisch-claudischen Kaiser', in *Les "bourgeoisies" municipales italiennes aux II^e^ et I^er^ siècles av. J.-C.* (1983: Centre Jean Berard/CNRS: Naples/Paris) 261, pls. 17–18, 21–2; *Le collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* I.2 (1989: De Luca Edizioni d'Arte: Rome) no. 106; U. Pappalardo, 'Nuove testimonianze su Marco Nonio Balbo ad Ercolano', *MdI(R)* 104 (1997) 422.
Now in Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli; autopsy March 1994.
Photographs: DAI 76.1084; Naples Museum neg. 21778

M(arco) Nonio M(arci) f(ilio) / Balbo pr(aetori) pro co(n)suli / Herculanenses

'To Marcus Nonius Balbus, son of Marcus, praetor, proconsul, the people of Herculaneum.'

A slab of grey-veined bardiglio Luna/Carrara marble (height 8.8 cm, width 7.65 cm) broken into three pieces, found together with an equestrian statue

---

[113] See n.104 above.
[114] Crawford, *Roman Statutes* (above, n.20) I no. 37.
[115] Camodeca, *I ceti dirigenti* (above, n.106) 191.

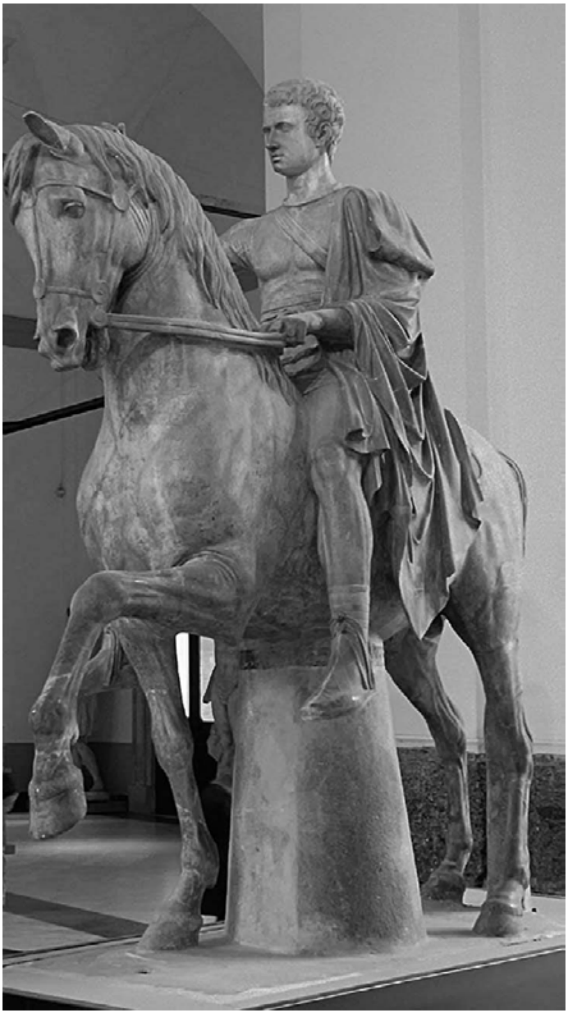


Fig. 1.9 Equestrian statue of M. Nonius Balbus, Herculaneum (photo: L. H. Davies)

(height 256 cm) just outside the theatre.[116] This inscription and statue illustrate some of the difficulties encountered in working with material from Herculaneum; the brief notes in *CIL* are not always accurate with regard to the findspots of inscriptions.[117] After its discovery in 1746, this statue had pride of place

---

[116] Camodeca 'Due nuovi cavalieri ercolanesi' (above, n.34) 168–9 with n.5 notes that bardiglio is the customary marble used at Herculaneum for honorific inscriptions during the Augustan era.

[117] For example *CIL* X 1428, 1439–40 are not from the theatre, but from the *basilica Noniana.*

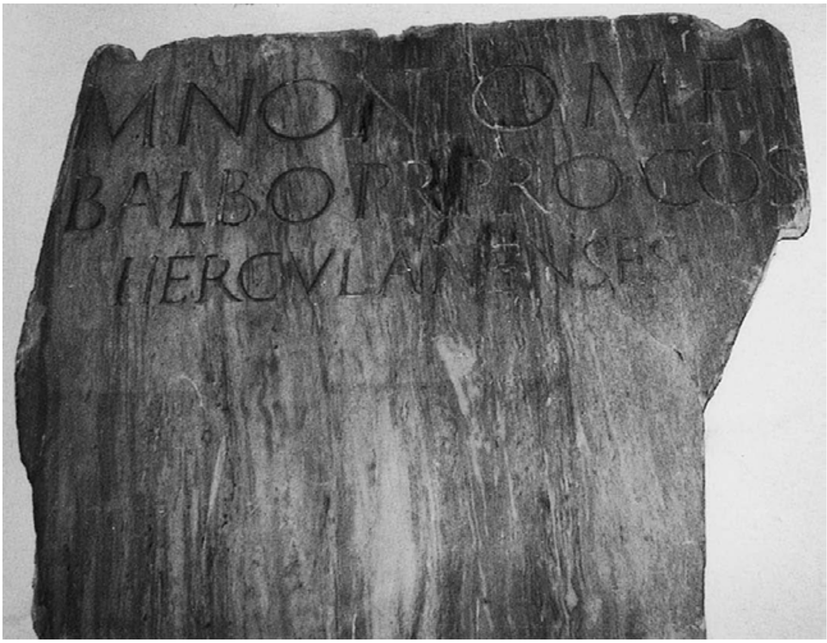


Fig. 1.10 Honorific inscription of M. Nonius Balbus, Herculaneum – *CIL* X 1426 (photo: A. E. Cooley)

in the vestibule to the royal collection at Portici Palace,[118] along with another marble equestrian statue, also honouring Nonius Balbus. Both statues were much admired by visitors in the second half of the eighteenth century, but because of the Bourbon king's embargo on his antiquities being copied, drawings of the statues were necessarily made only from memory. This statue was damaged by cannon-shot in 1799, and was subsequently repaired with a new head fashioned by the sculptor Brunelli. His creation of a youthful head for the statue has provoked some criticism by those who consider that Nonius Balbus should have a mature portrait (and has led to the two statues being wrongly identified as belonging to father and son). Recent analysis of an impression of a portrait head left in the volcanic material that engulfed the theatre, and of the portrait head of Nonius Balbus found outside the Suburban Baths, show him in a mature, veristic style. Nevertheless, contemporary descriptions of the equestrian statue before it was damaged repeatedly allude to its youthful appearance, and a miniature version of the statue produced with royal sanction by the royal porcelain factory in *c.*1780 also supports this. The other marble equestrian statue was found headless, and was mistakenly completed by a head that copied the mature portrait of a togate statue, thought to represent Nonius Balbus (inv. 6167). This togate statue does indeed seem to represent Nonius Balbus, but he evidently had two portrait types, a youthful one from the 20s BC and a more mature version from towards the end of his lifetime. In short, this equestrian statue was set up by the people of Herculaneum in the 20s BC probably at the same time as an identical statue set up by the people of Nuceria.

---

[118] A. Allroggen-Bedel and H. Kammerer-Grothaus, 'Das Museo Ercolanese in Portici', *CronErcol* 10 (1980) 175–217, at 180.

This case-study offers an interesting snapshot of honorific practice at Herculaneum, but it is important to add that the character of inscriptions accompanying honorific monuments changed over time. All of the inscriptions on statue bases for Nonius Balbus are relatively brief, identifying the honorand and dedicator of the statue. From the first century AD, the practice emerged whereby the honorand's career was often outlined, step by step in what are often problematically called *cursus* ('career') inscriptions. Inscriptions containing this type of information during the Republic had generally appeared only as epitaphs, but during the Augustan era they began to be set up during their lifetimes by senators, and they then spread down into other social groups, such as equestrians, freedmen, soldiers, and even actors.[119] For example, the statue bases dedicated at Puteoli to the *pantomimus* L. Aurelius Pylades begin with a type of abbreviated account of his career to date.[120] The language of inscriptions on statue bases also gradually changed during the first three centuries AD.[121] During the first and second centuries AD, honorands were praised primarily for their financial generosity, whereas from the late second century, a greater variety of language is found, with honorands also being praised for other virtues as well, alongside their generosity. In part, this reflects a general tendency for honorific inscriptions to become increasingly verbose and detailed.[122] Finally, by late antiquity, there was a shift away from mentioning municipal magistracies in inscriptions honouring members of the elite. Members of the local aristocracy who received statues now tended to be senators honoured in their role as civic patrons, whilst newly prominent were senatorial and equestrian officials sent to the area from Rome (such as *consulares Campaniae*, and procurator of the harbour at Puteoli).[123] This reflects the impact of Diocletian's administrative reforms of AD 284 when he divided Italy up into provinces, among them the consular province of Campania, increasing the level of central intervention in Italian towns. From the fourth century many individuals who proclaimed their role in constructing or repairing buildings were now representatives of Rome: the corollary of this is that they were now also common recipients of statues, with the dedicators implicitly acknowledging that the likely source of future benefactions lay beyond the local elite.[124] It was still also regarded as worthwhile setting up statues to members of the imperial family, albeit on recycled bases, with members of Constantine's dynasty receiving statues in Puteoli, Neapolis, and Surrentum.[125] Enthusiasm at Puteoli may be related to Constantine's intervention in the town's grain supply and at Neapolis to his construction of the church of the Saviour or Holy Apostles.[126]

---

[119] W. Eck, 'There are no *cursus honorum* inscriptions: the function of the *cursus honorum* in epigraphic communication', *SCI* 28 (2009) 79–92.

[120] *AÉpigr* (1888) 126, (2005) 337.

[121] Forbis, *Municipal Virtues* (above, n.27), with interesting analysis of how some linguistic changes reflected changes in imperial usage (esp. 24–42, 71–2).

[122] I. Kajanto, 'Un'analisi filologico-letteraria delle iscrizioni onorarie', *Epigraphica* 33 (1971) 3–19; O. Salomies, 'Observations on the development of the style of Latin honorific inscriptions during the Empire', *Arctos* 28 (1994) 63–106.

[123] E. Savino, *Campania tardoantica (284–604 d.C.)* (2005: Epiduglia: Bari) Appendix 4.

- Puteoli: **Septimius Rusticus** (*PLRE* I Rusticus 3: patron, *consularis Campaniae*), **4th/5th c.** – *CIL* X 1707 = *ILS* 5692; **Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus Mavortius** (*PLRE* I Lollianus 5: patron, *consularis Campaniae*, other senatorial posts at Rome and in the provinces), **AD 337/42** – *CIL* X 1695 = *ILS* 1224a, *CIL* X 1696 = *ILS* 1224c, *EphEp* VIII 365 = *ILS* 1224b, *AÉpigr* (1977) 198–9, with G. Camodeca, 'L'ordinamento in *regiones* e i *vici* di Puteoli', *Puteoli* 1 (1977) 62–98, at 62–5; **Iulius Sulpicius Sucessus** (equestrian procurator of the harbour, of local origin), **AD 340?** – *AÉpigr* (1972) 79 – J. H. D'Arms, 'A new inscribed base from fourth-century Puteoli', *PP* 27 (1972) 255–70; **M. Maecius Memmius Furius Baburius Caecilianus Placidus** (*PLRE* I Placidus 2: senatorial patron, posts at Rome and in the provinces), **AD 345/6?** – *CIL* X 1700 = *ILS* 1231; **Tannonius Chrysantius** (*PLRE* I Chrysantius 2: patron), **AD 360–80** – *CIL* X 1813, *AÉpigr* (1976) 141; **Pontius Proserius Paulinus** (*PLRE* II Paulinus 16: patron of local origin, *consularis Campaniae*), **AD 409** – *CIL* X 1702.
- Naples: **Alfius Licinius** (*PLRE* I Licinius 2: patron), **4th c.** – *CIL* X 1680 = *ILS* 6324; **Anicius Auchenius Bassus** (*PLRE* I Bassus 11: *proconsularis Campaniae*, of local origin), **AD 379/82** – *AÉpigr* (1892) 143 = *ILS* 8984; **Nicomachus Flavianus** (*PLRE* I Flavianus 14: *consularis Campaniae*, of local origin, other posts at Rome and in the provinces) **AD 408/31** – *AÉpigr* (1894) 89 = *ILS* 8985. A senatorial *consularis Campaniae* is named (but his name is not preserved) in *CIL* X 1488 as having carried out road-repairs = *ILS* 5888.
- Surrentum: **Fl. Furius Faustus** (*PLRE* I Faustus 8: senatorial patron of local origin), **end 4th c.** – *CIL* X 681 = M. M. Magalhaes, *Storia, istituzioni e prosopografia di Surrentum romana: la collezione epigrafica del Museo Correale di Terranova* (2003: N. Longobardi: Castellammare di Stabia) 137–9 no.10; **M. Ulpius Pupienius Silvanus** (*PLRE* I Silvanus 6: senatorial patron), **4th c.** – *CIL* X 682 = Magalhaes (above) 139–42 no.11.

[124] Forbis, *Municipal Virtues* (above, n.27) 7; F. Millar, 'Italy and the Roman Empire: Augustus to Constantine', *Phoenix* 40 (1986) 295–318, esp. 317.

[125] Imperial statue bases from late antiquity:

- Naples: Constantine – *CIL* X 1482; Helena, mother of Constantine – *CIL* X 1483–4.
- Puteoli: equestrian statues in the Forum for Constantine and his son Crispus – *AÉpigr* (1969/70) 107–8 + *AÉpigr* (1983) 194.
- Surrentum: Fausta, wife of Constantine, AD 324/6 – *CIL* X 678 = Magalhaes, *Surrentum romana* (above, n.123) 135–6 no. 8; Constantine, AD 324/6 – *CIL* X 677 = Magalhaes (above) 134–5 no. 7.

[126] Camodeca, 'Ricerche su Puteoli tardoromana' (above, n.3) 63–5; Arthur, *Naples* (above, n.3) 10.

Dedicating honorific statues, therefore, was often a way of acknowledging financial benefits bestowed upon the town and of encouraging further gifts from the same individual and others. Indeed, there is often a correlation between recipients of honorific statues and donors of prominent public buildings.[127] The funding of public buildings is commonly considered to be a form of euergetism, but it is important to note that during the Republic **building-inscriptions** played a rather more varied role.[128] Some building-inscriptions did not record benefaction at all, but served to record that local magistrates had completed a task delegated to them by the town council, whereby they had organized the construction of a public building, letting out a contract for its construction and overseeing its completion, at public expense. These tend to be Republican in date.

7 Building-inscription for the covered theatre, Pompeii, 70s BC: Fig. 1.11

CIL X 844 = *CIL* I^2 1633= *ILS* 5636 = *ILLRP* 646

G. Fiorelli, *Pompeianarum Antiquitatum Historia* I (1860: Naples) part 2, 56 (29th August and 4th September 1794); G.O. Onorato, *Iscrizioni pompeiane: la vita pubblica* (1957: Casa editrice Sansoni: Florence) no. 43; M. Pobjoy, 'Building inscriptions in Republican Italy: euergetism, responsibility, and civic virtue', in *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2000: BICS Supplement 73: London) 78–9, fig. 5.1; A. E. and M. G. L. Cooley, *Pompeii: A Sourcebook* (2004: Routledge: London) 20 – B9. In situ; autopsy April 1995.
Photograph: www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=$J_D_05636.jpg

C(aius) Quinctius C(ai) f(ilius) Valg(us) / M(arcus) Porcius M(arci) f(ilius) / duovir(i) dec(urionum) decr(eto) / theatrum tectum /[5] *fac(iundum) locar(unt) eidemq(ue) prob(arunt)*

'Gaius Quinctius Valgus, son of Gaius, Marcus Porcius, son of Marcus, *duoviri*, in accordance with a decree of the town councillors, let the contract for the construction of the covered theatre and also approved the work'.

---

[127] For Holconius Rufus and Holconius Celer at Pompeii, who restructured the town's theatre, see *CIL* X 830, 833–5, 837–40, 947–8 = *ILS* 6361b, 5638; J. H. D'Arms, 'Pompeii and Rome in the Augustan age and beyond: the eminence of the Gens Holconia', in *Studia Pompeiana et Classica*, ed. R. I. Curtis (1988: A. D. Caratzas: New Rochelle) I 51–73.

[128] M. Pobjoy, 'Building inscriptions in Republican Italy: euergetism, responsibility, and civic virtue', in *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2000: BICS Supplement 73: London) 77–92, developing work by S. Panciera, 'L'evergetismo civico nelle iscrizioni latine d'età repubblicana', in *Actes du X^e congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine*, eds. M. Christol and O. Masson (1997: Publications de la Sorbonne: Paris) 249–90.

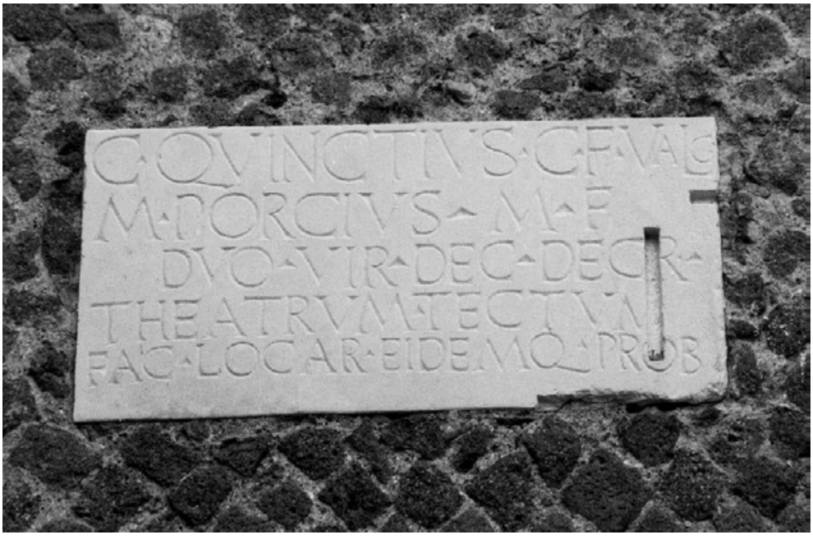


Fig. 1.11 Building-inscription for the covered theatre, Pompeii – *CIL* X 844 (photo: A. E. Cooley)

8 Building-inscription for the amphitheatre, Pompeii, 70s BC: Fig. 1.12

CIL X 852 = *CIL* I^2 1632 = *ILS* 5627 = *ILLRP* 645

G. Fiorelli, *Pompeianarum Antiquitatum Historia* I (1860: Naples) part 3, 175 (14th November 1815), 177 (30th December 1815); G. O. Onorato, *Iscrizioni pompeiane: la vita pubblica* (1957: Casa editrice Sansoni: Florence) no. 44; A. E. and M. G. L. Cooley, *Pompeii: A Sourcebook* (2004: Routledge: London) 20–1 – B10. In situ; autopsy April 1995.

Photographs: DAI 87.1011 www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=$D_05627.jpg;$AP_D_05627.jpg&nr=1www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=$D_05627.jpg;$AP_D_05627.jpg&nr=2

C(aius) Quinctius C(ai) f(ilius) Valgus / M(arcus) Porcius M(arci) f(ilius) duo vir(i) quinq(uennales) coloniai honoris / caussa spectacula de sua / peq(unia) fac(iunda) coer(averunt) et coloneis /[5] *locum in perpetuom deder(unt).*

'Gaius Quinctius Valgus, son of Gaius, Marcus Porcius, son of Marcus, quinquennial *duoviri*, for the colony's honour saw to the construction of the amphitheatre with their own money and gave the space to the colonists in perpetuity.'

The building-inscription for the covered theatre was set up in two copies at different entrances to the building. It records that the building of the theatre was completed under the supervision of the town's two chief magistrates. There has

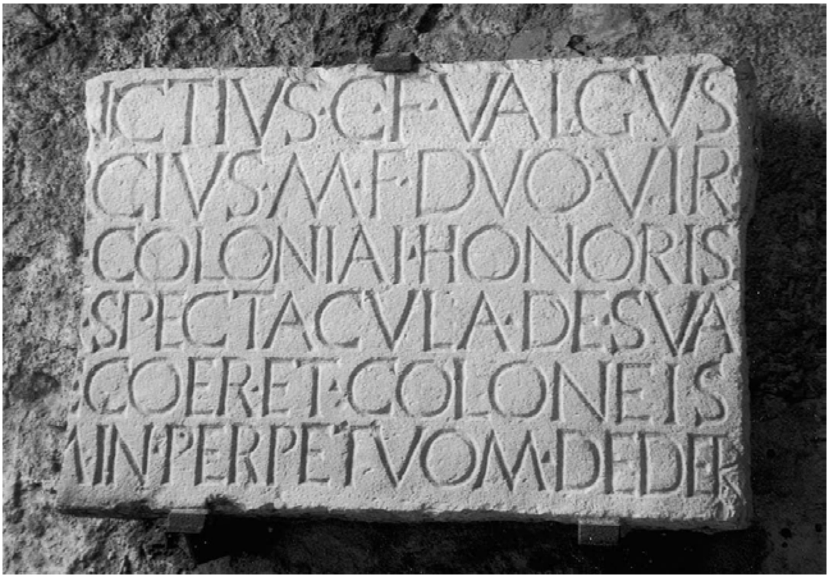


Fig. 1.12 Building-inscription for the amphitheatre, Pompeii – *CIL* X 852 (photo: A. E. Cooley)

been some debate about whether the building should be considered a theatre or political meeting-place, given that the phrase *theatrum tectum* could be applied equally to both.[129] The same pair also paid for building-work at the amphitheatre, a few years later, as quinquennial magistrates. This building-work was also commemorated on two inscriptions, from the western and eastern entrances to the amphitheatre. These two examples thus illustrate nicely the difference between building supervision carried out by magistrates as part of their public duties and voluntary building-work paid for at their own expense. Both projects seem to belong to the early years after the establishment of the *colonia* in the town, and both magistrates were probably relatively new to the town, veteran colonists imposed upon it by Sulla. Quinctius Valgus has been plausibly identified as one of Sulla's partisans, who also oversaw building-work at Frigento and Aeclanum.[130] Marcus Porcius was also involved in dedicating the altar in the Temple of Apollo, and received a grant from the decurions for his burial plot just outside the Herculaneum Gate.[131]

---

[129] P. Zanker, *Pompeji: Stadtbilder als Spiegel von Gesellschaft und Herrschaftsform* (1987: Zabern: Mainz) 19; F. Zevi, 'Personaggi della Pompei sillana', *PBSR* 63 (1995) 1–24, esp. 1–10.

[130] Quinctius Valgus: H. Dessau, 'C. Quinctius Valgus, der Erbauer des Amphitheaters zu Pompeii', *Hermes* 18 (1883) 620–2; P. B. Harvey, Jr, '*Socer Valgus*, *Valgii*, and C. Quinctius Valgus', in *Classics and the Classical Tradition*, eds. E. N. Borza and R. W. Carrubba (1973: Pennsylvania State University: University Park) 79–94. Frigento: *CIL* I^2 3191 = *ILLRP* 598; Aeclanum: *CIL* IX 1140–1 = *ILS* 5318 = *ILLRP* 523.

[131] *CIL* X 800; 997.

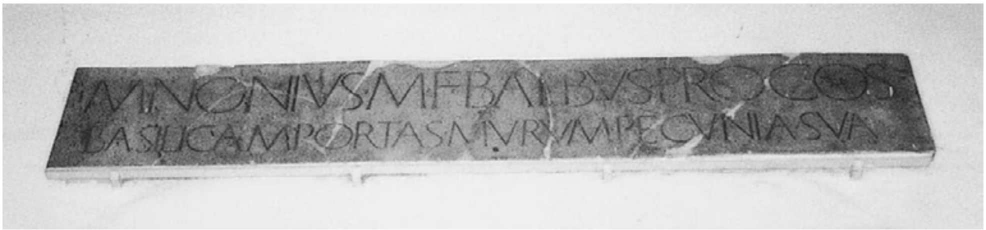

M·NONIVS·M·F·BALBVS·PROCOS
BASILICAM·PORTAS·MVRVM·PECVNIA·SVA

Fig. 1.13 Building-inscription of M. Nonius Balbus, Herculaneum – *CIL* X 1425 (photo: A. E. Cooley)

Such inscriptions were generated by local regulations that required magistrates to spend money on public building projects or games during their year in office, and regulations of this kind were also adopted by other institutions of lower status than town councils, such as *pagi* and *vici*. Once again, we can see how particular characteristics of epigraphic culture – in this case, the setting up of building-inscriptions to adhere to local regulations – were initiated by a high-status institution (here, a town council), and then imitated by institutions of lower status. Such inscriptions are, therefore, designed primarily for accountability, demonstrating that the magistrates have executed the task entrusted to them, although at the same time, of course, it allows their names to appear in a prestigious context.

It is, however, true that some buildings were voluntarily funded by private individuals as acts of benefaction, and this is a feature of civic life for a couple of hundred years starting roughly from the Augustan period. At Herculaneum, for example, the generosity of M. Nonius Balbus in paying for the construction of the town's *basilica*, gates, and wall was prominently commemorated in large letters upon an architrave.

9 Building-inscription of M. Nonius Balbus, Herculaneum, 20s BC: Fig. 1.13

CIL X 1425 = *ILS* 5527

MANN inv. 3737; autopsy March 1994.
Photograph: Naples Museum neg. 21769.

M(arcus) Nonius M(arci) f(ilius) Balbus proco(n)s(ul) / basilicam portas murum pecunia sua

'Marcus Nonius Balbus, son of Marcus, proconsul (built) the *basilica*, gates, and wall at his own expense.'

This is inscribed upon an architrave, 350 cm wide. Nonius Balbus received lavish honours both during his lifetime and on his death in acknowledgement of his generosity towards the town (see above). In decreeing extraordinary posthumous honours to him, the town council claimed that it was acting because *M. Nonius Balbus, quo hac vixerit parentis animum cum plurima liberalitat(e) singulis universisque praistiterit* ('Marcus Nonius Balbus, as long as he lived, displayed the care of a father with the greatest generosity to individuals and everyone all together').[132] He had not been acting in a capacity as local magistrate – his career followed a rather more elevated path upon an empire-wide stage – but he had become patron of the town, and presumably resided there.

In cases like these, where the inscription specifically states that the individual paid for the work out of his or her own money, there is no problem with defining such activity as euergetistic. The dedication of buildings could be heralded with further gifts, such as a feast or distribution of money, ensuring that people's attention was focused upon the benefactor's generosity at least at the moment of the building's completion.[133] Only the financial sponsor was eligible to have his or her name inscribed upon the building: *inscribi autem nomen operi publico alterius quam principis aut eius, cuius pecunia id opus factum sit, non licet* ('And it is not lawful for any name to be inscribed on a public building other than that of the emperor or of the man by whose money it was built').[134] Many public buildings, therefore, originally bore inscriptions recording the name(s) of their builder(s) upon them, and in some cases we find the donor dedicating the building in her own name and that of her husband or son. At Pompeii, Eumachia dedicated her building on the Forum in her own name and that of her son Numistrius Fronto, whilst at Misenum, we find Cassia Victoria dedicating the *pronaos* of the *Augustales* in her own name and that of her husband, Laecanius Primitivus.[135] Given the imprecision of chronological data, we can only speculate about whether such joint dedications were designed to promote the career of the male relative: Numistrius Fronto is known to have been elected as *duumvir* at Pompeii in AD 3, whilst Laecanius Primitivus was *curator Augustalium* at Misenum by AD 161, but whether these posts were rewards for the benefactions made in their names remains uncertain.[136] The opposite could also be true, as seen at Herculaneum where money for building-work was given explicitly in return for appointments as *flamen* and decurion.[137] What is certain is that displaying an individual's name upon a public building was a jealously guarded prerogative of the donor, and these joint dedications appear to be canny circumventions of the rules that only financial sponsors could have their names inscribed.

---

[132] See n.104 above.

[133] Feast and distribution of money at Misenum, presumably to the *Augustales*, mid 2nd century AD: *AÉpigr* (1993) 477. Cash distribution to decurions, *Augustales*, and townsfolk at dedication of imperial statues and temple of Venus at Herculaneum, early Flavian era – Ascione and Pagano, *Antiquarium of Herculaneum* (above, n.101) 90 n.24, with further details in G. Camodeca, 'Le iscrizioni di dedica', in *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana*, eds. P. G. Guzzo and M. P. Guidobaldi (2008: Bretschneider/Studi di Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei 25: Rome) 562–3; a feast for decurions and *Augustales* perhaps to mark the dedication of the meeting-place of the *Augustales* at Herculaneum, Augustan era: *AÉpigr* (1979) 169 = Guadagno, 'Supplemento epigrafico' (above, n.101) 133–4 no. 1.

[134] *Dig.* 50.10.3.2 (Macer, *Duties of Pronconsul* bk 2); cf. *Dig.* 50.10.2 for the idea of the inscription as reward for munificence: Mommsen and Krueger, *Digest* (above, n.67).

[135] Eumachia – *CIL* X 810–11 = *ILS* 3785; Cassia Victoria – *AÉpigr* (1993) 477.

There was, furthermore, a legal requirement for the name of the original builder to be retained in later phases of the same building, when it was repaired or rebuilt: *ne eius nomine, cuius liberalitate opus exstructum est, eraso aliorum nomina inscribantur et propterea revocentur similes civium in patrias liberalitates, praeses provinciae auctoritatem suam interponat* ('The governor of the province must use his authority to prevent the erasure of the name of the man by whose liberality a building was erected and the substitution of other names and as a result the withdrawal of similar gifts by citizens to their native city').[138] Nevertheless, paying for extra embellishments might win a benefactor the right to have his/her name inscribed alongside that of the original donor: *si quis opus ab alio factum adornare marmoribus vel alio quo modo ex voluntate populi facturum se pollicitus sit, nominis proprii titulo scribendo: manentibus priorum titulis, qui ea opera fecissent, id fieri debere senatus censuit* ('If someone undertook to decorate a building erected by someone else with marble or to do it in some other way according to the will of the people, with his name to be included in the inscription and the inscriptions to remain of the earlier benefactors who had erected the building, the senate decreed that the project should go ahead').[139] Commemorative building-inscriptions, therefore, were regarded as a valuable reward for donors, and it is not surprising to find that such texts sometimes give a markedly upbeat assessment of the contribution made by the sponsor, whether by listing all the various elements in a new building and its decoration or by emphasizing the magnitude of the job involved in repairing a building. For example, at Herculaneum the dedicatory inscription commemorating repairs to the Temple of Venus during the early Flavian era gives the impression that the donors have done more than the minimum required to set it to rights: *[a]edem Ven[eris vetustate corr]uptam/ [impe]nsa sua refectam adornaverunt pronaio a solo fa[ct]o* ('they repaired at their own expense the temple of Venus that had been damaged by old age and decorated it with a *pronaos*, built from the base up').[140] Building- and rebuilding-inscriptions were designed to put the best possible gloss upon the benefaction, and sometimes may have exaggerated the contribution, but that is not to assert that claims made in such inscriptions were so exaggerated as to bear no resemblance to the real input of the donor.[141]

---

[136] Numistrius Fronto – *CIL* X 892; Laecanius Primitivus – *CIL* X 1880 = *ILS* 6328a, *AÉpigr* (1993) 470 = *AÉpigr* (1994) 426c, AD 161.

[137] Camodeca, 'Le iscrizioni di dedica' (above, n.133): *ob flamoni[u]m et dec[urionatum].*

[138] *Dig.* 50.10.2.2 (Ulpian, Book 3 *Opinions*): Mommsen and Krueger, *Digest* (above, n.67).

[139] *Dig.* 50.10.7.1 (Callistratus, *Judicial Examinations* bk 2): Mommsen and Krueger, *Digest* (above, n.67).

Non-magistrates paying for public building-work were a new phenomenon of the Augustan era, which emerged at the same time as another major innovation, namely the emperor sponsoring building-work in numerous towns beyond Rome.[142] Several inscriptions in the Bay of Naples record various emperors' activities as donors.[143] In some cases, an emperor evidently sponsored building- or rebuilding-work, as in the case of the Temple of the Mother of the Gods at Herculaneum, which was rebuilt by Vespasian following earthquake damage,[144] and there is no striking difference between these imperial inscriptions in terms of size or material used and other building- and rebuilding-inscriptions.[145] In other cases, however, the emperor's name apparently occurs for purely honorific reasons, without his having been involved in the building-work at all, as in a fragmentary inscription from Pompeii's *basilica*, where Augustus' name appears in the dative case at the start of an inscription relating to some kind of decorative building-work paid for, it seems, by three *socii* ('partners').[146] We might suspect that the individuals who set up the inscription wanted to gain kudos for themselves by associating their names with that of the emperor.

---

[140] Camodeca, 'Le iscrizioni di dedica' (above, n.133).

[141] Over-sceptical but thought-provoking article by E. Thomas and C. Witschel, 'Constructing reconstruction: claim and reality of Roman re-building inscriptions from the Latin West', *PBSR* 60 (1992) 135–77, with criticism by G. G. Fagan, 'The reliability of Roman rebuilding inscriptions', *PBSR* 64 (1996) 81–93 and M. Horster, *Bauinschriften römischer Kaiser: Untersuchungen zu Inschriftenpraxis und Bautätigkeit in Städten des westlichen Imperium Romanum in der Zeit des Prinzipats* (2001: Historia Einzelschriften 157: Steiner: Stuttgart) 19–20.

[142] G. Alföldy, 'Euergetismus und Epigraphik in der augusteischen Zeit', in *Actes du X^e congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine*, eds. M. Christol and O. Masson (1997: Publications de la Sorbonne: Paris) 293–304.

[143] Horster, *Bauinschriften römischer Kaiser* (above, n.141) catalogues imperial building-inscriptions down to AD 284: 281–87 (Herculaneum, Misenum, Naples), 288–91 (Puteoli), 292–4 (Surrentum). For later imperial building, see below.

[144] *CIL* X 1406.

[145] Horster, *Bauinschriften römischer Kaiser* (above, n.141) 248–9.

[146] *CIL* X 805.

In some respects, this inclusion of the emperor's name in building-inscriptions with which he had no personal connection foreshadows a characteristic of building-inscriptions during late antiquity. Like texts on statue bases, these demonstrate the same tendency towards rhetorical expansion. One feature of this is to include phrases that are unnecessary to the function of the inscriptions as commemorative building-inscriptions, but which serve to underline the dedicator's loyalty to the current regime. Towards the end of the fourth century AD, repair work was carried out on the harbour-front at Puteoli, with one distinguished senator taking charge of the actual construction work, and another presiding over its dedication. Both individuals prefaced their rebuilding-inscriptions with remarks celebrating current good fortune.

10 Repairs to the harbour-front at Puteoli, AD 394/5: Fig. 1.14

CIL X 1692

C. Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* (1907: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome: Paris) 265–7; G. Camodeca, 'Ricerche su Puteoli tardoromana (fine III–IV secolo)', *Puteoli* 4–5 (1980/1) 85–8 + fig. 7; F. Demma, *Monumenti pubblici di Puteoli: per un'archeologia dell'architettura* (2007: Bretschneider: Rome) 78 b1, 113.

pro beatitudine temporum / felicitatemque publici status imp(eratorum) / ddd(ominorum) nnn(ostrorum) Theodosi Arcadi et Honori / perennium Augustorum /[5] *ripam macelli dextra lebaque / ad gratiam splendoremque / civitatis Puteolanae instructum* (sic) */ dedicavit Fabius Pasiphilus v(ir) c(larissimus) / agis* (sic) *vicem praefectorum praetorio /*[10] *et urbi.*

'In accordance with the blessedness of the times and the good fortune of the public position of the emperors our masters Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius, everlasting Augusti, Fabius Pasiphilus, most distinguished senator, acting in substitution for the praetorian and urban prefect, dedicated the quay on the right and left side of the market that had been built for the attractiveness and splendour of the town of Puteoli.'

In AD 394/5, the harbour-front at Puteoli suffered storm damage, prompting two different officials to advertise their involvement in its repair. This inscription (not found in situ) commemorated the dedication of the repair-work by Fabius

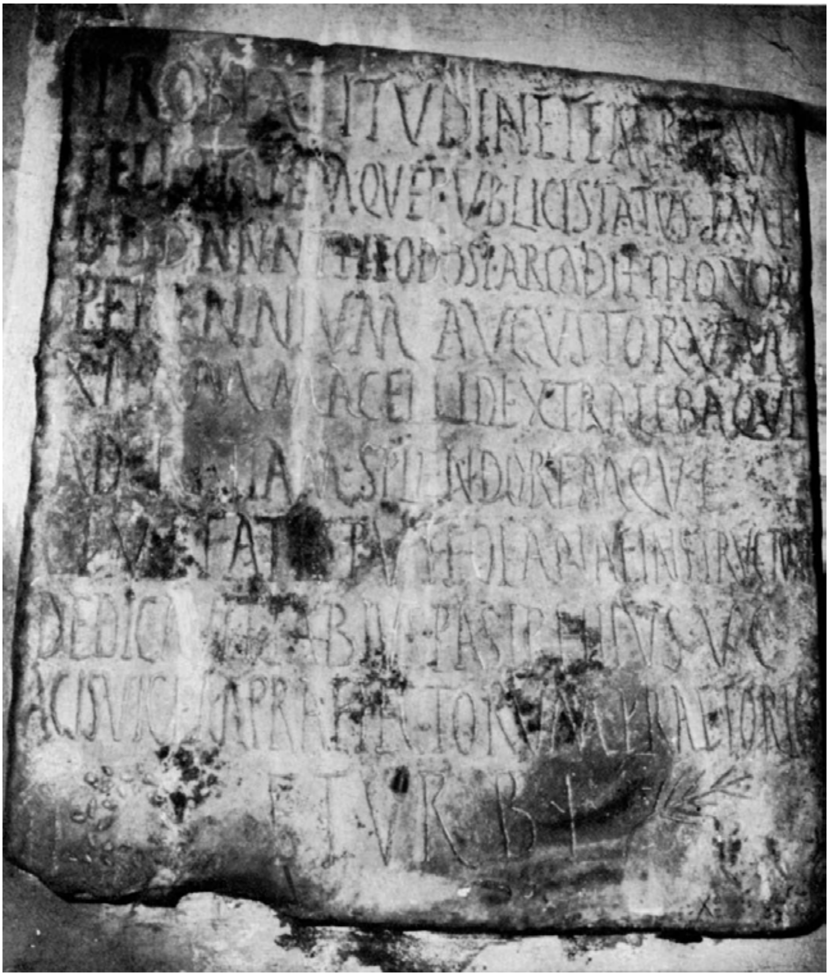


Fig. 1.14 Repairs to the harbour-front at Puteoli – *CIL* X 1692 (from G. Camodeca, ‘Ricerche su Puteoli tardoromana (fine III–IV secolo)’, *Puteoli* 4/5 (1980–1) 87 fig. 7)

Pasiphilus.[147] It was complemented by two near-identical inscriptions (one for the left side of the quay, the other for the right) that commemorated the inauguration and completion of the building-repairs under the auspices of Valerius Hermonius Maximus, *consularis Campaniae.*[148] His inscriptions begin with the words *pro felicitate dominorum / Augustorumque / nostrorum* (‘in accordance with the happiness of our masters and emperors’).[149] Effusive expressions of happiness at the current political situation may have been particularly pointed against the background of the failed revolt against Theodosius by Eugenius in

---

[147] *PLRE* I Pasiphilus 2.

[148] *PLRE* I Maximus 37.

[149] *CIL* X 1690–1 = *ILS* 5895/a. Similar language at Naples, AD 323/4 – *AÉpigr* (1939) 151.

AD 394, and the disgrace of the two Nicomachi Flaviani (father and son) who had supported him, given that their family was one of the most important in the Naples region.[150] Indeed, it is possible that this repair-work had actually been started by Nicomachus senior, but remained incomplete at his death. The fact that Fabius Pasiphilus states that he is working as a substitute for the urban prefect is also suggestive, given that this had been a post held by the younger Flavianus in 394. It seems likely that Pasiphilus was appointed by Theodosius in the immediate aftermath of the battle of the Frigidus as a temporary measure to replace Flavianus. The complex was subsequently abandoned at some point during the fifth century, but these inscriptions provide clear evidence of the continuing interest in the harbour by Rome's central authorities at the end of the fourth century.

Finally, inscriptions relating to building-work were found beyond urban centres too. Municipal magistrates might commemorate their efforts on behalf of the town beyond its walls, as illustrated by the following inscribed marker of lava found embedded in the ground at Scafati (two miles distant from the walls of ancient Pompeii): *M(arcus) Antonius M(arci) f(ilius) C[———] / C. Coranus C.f. Tuscu(s) / IIII vir(i) aed(iles) / viam pontis et / substructiones / de sua pecun(ia) refec(erunt)* ('Marcus Antonius C? son of Marcus, Gaius Coranus Tuscus son of Gaius, quattuorviral aediles, repaired the way over the bridge and its substructures with their own money').[151] Even though the marker was set up nearer to Pompeii than Nuceria, it must have been beyond the boundary of territory controlled by Pompeii, since it was set up by Nucerian magistrates. This marker was located next to a milestone indicating the seventh mile of the road between Nuceria and Pompeii, a type of inscription that is difficult to characterize, given that milestones not only served the functional purpose of indicating distance, but also acted as a sub-category of building-inscription in revealing who was responsible for the road-building or repair, as well as having honorific undertones. Milestones found in this region illustrate a shift in emphasis, as over time the honorific connotations of this category of inscription became more explicit. The following two examples both share the aim of clearly marking the distance, but whereas the Hadrianic example is expressed in the form of a building-inscription, the fourth-century example is more honorific in character, presenting the emperor's name in the dative case.[152] This shift towards milestones acting as a means of honouring emperors rather than of commemorating building-work reflects trends noted elsewhere in the empire too.[153] The focus on the emperor is similarly illustrated by a cipollino milestone of the emperor Julian at Neapolis, which does not even indicate the distance upon it.[154] Indeed, it is entirely possible that some milestones from the fourth century onwards did not have any links with road-building or repair at all.

---

[150] Flavianus senior: *PLRE* I Flavianus 15. Flavianus junior: *PLRE* I Flavianus 14, honoured as *patronus originalis* at Naples – *ILS* 8985 = *AÉpigr* (1894) 89.

[151] *AÉpigr* (1997) 310 = *AÉpigr* (2001) 815. M. M. Magalhaes, 'Iscrizioni nuove o riedite di Nuceria', in *Pompei tra Sorrento e Sarno*, ed. F. Senatore (2001: Bari Editore: Rome) 267–96, at 288–92, revising text published by M. de' Spagnolis Conticello, *Il pons Sarni di Scafati e la via Nuceria-Pompeios* (1994: Bretschneider: Rome) 48–52, figs. 42–3; cf. F. Senatore, '*Quattuorviri aediles* nella colonia romana di Pompei?', *ZPE* 119 (1997) 283–91, tav. I.

11 Milestone at Stabiae, AD 120/1: Fig. 1.15

CIL X 6939

M. Pagano 'La rinascita di *Stabiae* (dal 79 d.C. al tardo impero),' *RStPomp* 14 (2003) 252 fig. 8; M. M. Magalhaes, *Stabiae romana: la prosopografia e la documentazione epigrafica: iscrizioni lapidarie e bronzee, bolli laterizi e sigilli* (2006: N. Longobardi: Castellammare di Stabia) 32, 87 no. 5 + fig. 4.

XI / Imp(erator) Caes[a]r / dìvì Traia[ni] / Parthici [f(ilius)] /[5] *dìvì Nerva[e n(epos)] / Traianu[s] / Hadrianus / Augustus / pontif(ex) maximus /*[10] *trib(unicia) pot(estate) V, co(n)s(ul) III / fecit.*

'11. Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of deified Nerva, greatest pontiff, in his fifth year of tribunician power, consul for the third time, constructed (this).'

On this cylindrical column of travertine found beneath the modern Duomo (overall height 169 cm) the text is enclosed within a simple frame, height 107 cm, width 64 cm. Letter heights range from 12.5 cm for the numeral in l.1 to between 11 and 6.5 cm for the letters in other lines. Hadrian's imperial titles indicate a date between 10th December AD 120 and April 121. The milestone appears to be connected with renovations to the road network linking Nuceria and Stabiae with Neapolis. The stated distance of eleven miles corresponds to the distance to the western wall of Nuceria, and so it is likely that the milestone was originally located not far from where it was found.

---

[152] Other milestones in the region, with emperor in nominative case – *CIL* X 6926–8, 6931, 6939 (Trajan), 6940 (Hadrian), 6929 (Septimius Severus and Caracalla); with emperor in dative case – *CIL* X 6930, 6932–3 (Constantine), 6934 (Julian), 6935–6 (Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius); 6937–8 combines Maxentius in genitive, and Constantine in dative.

[153] C. Witschel, 'Meilensteine als historische Quelle? Das Beispiel Aquileia', *Chiron* 32 (2002) 325–93.

[154] Camodeca, 'Ricerche su Puteoli tardoromana' (above, n.3) 94 n.95.

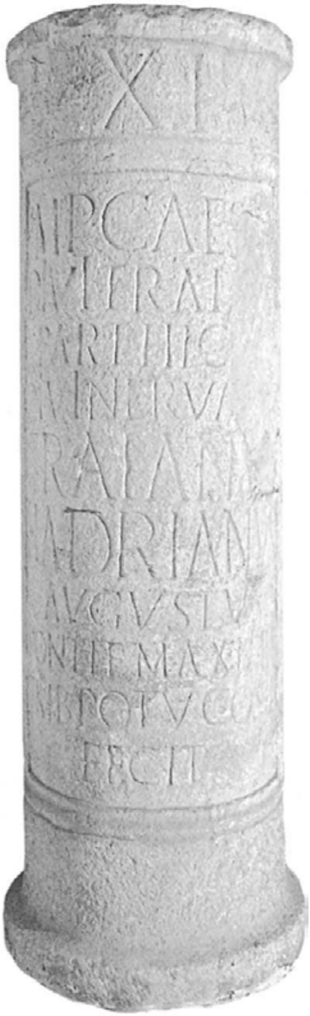


Fig. 1.15 Milestone at Stabiae – *CIL* X 6939 (from M. M. Magalhaes, *Stabiae romana: la prosopografia e la documentazione epigrafica: iscrizioni lapidarie e bronzee, bolli laterizi e sigilli* (2006: N. Longobardi: Castellammare di Stabia) 179 fig. 4)

12 Milestone at Surrentum, AD 307/12: Fig. 1.16

M. M. Magalhaes, *Storia, istituzioni e prosopografia di Surrentum romana: la collezione epigrafica del Museo Correale di Terranova* (2003: N. Longobardi: Castellammare di Stabia) 132–3 no. 6, fig. 49.

XXV / Imp(eratori) [Caes(ari)] / M(arco) Aur(elio) [Val(erio) M–] /axen[tio] /^{5} *Pio [Felici] Inv[icto] / A[ugusto].*

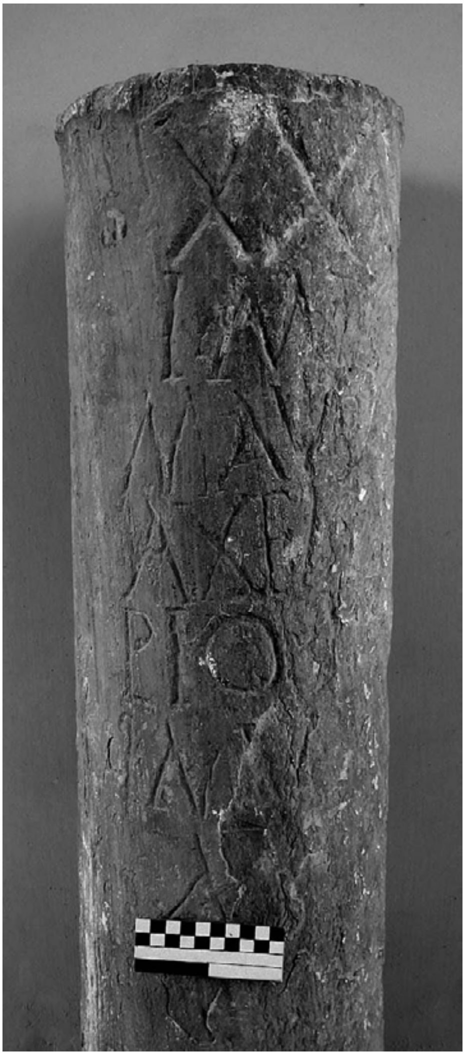


Fig. 1.16 Milestone at Surrentum – Magalhaes (2003) 132–3 no. 6 (photo: L. H. Davies)

‘25. To Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maxentius Righteous Fortunate Unconquered Augustus.’

This cylindrical column of cipollino marble, found reused in a convent (overall height 183 cm), can be dated from between the time when Maxentius assumed the title Augustus in 307 and his death on 28th October 312. Its letters range in height from 10 cm for the numeral in l.1 to between 6.0 and 6.7 cm for the other lines.

The stated distance of twenty-five miles corresponds to the distance from the eastern side of Surrentum to the western wall of Nuceria. It was associated with work on the road linking Nuceria, Stabiae, and Surrentum. Another milestone with dedications to Maxentius and Constantine was found near the site of Herculaneum, showing that road-repairs extended towards Neapolis too.[155]

Whereas there has been a tendency to explain the rise of the 'epigraphic habit' by some universalizing motivation,[156] this examination of epigraphic practice around the Bay of Naples has suggested that a fruitful line of approach to analysing the 'epigraphic habit' may be to examine more closely the motivations for different types of inscriptions (and not just epitaphs), and the ways in which the impetus for setting up many types of inscriptions appears to have resulted from social competition. Ways of governing, honouring, and building that resulted in public inscribed monuments can be seen as originating from town councils imitating Rome's senate, and then other social and political groups (such as *Augustales*, *vici*, and *pagi*) imitating the local council in their turn. By far the vast majority of all inscriptions from the Roman world, however, are epitaphs, and it is to these that we should now turn.

1.3 Personal inscriptions

Inscribed **epitaphs** are by far the most common type of inscription to survive from any site. Even so, they do not give us an accurate overview of the demographic character of a particular society, but instead give insights into commemorative practices in the Roman world.[157] For example, children – especially infants under a year old and girls – are notably under-represented in the epigraphic record, whilst young married women are over-represented.[158]

---

[155] *CIL* X 6937–8.

[156] Classic discussions of the 'epigraphic habit' remain as follows, however: R. MacMullen, 'The epigraphic habit in the Roman Empire', *AJP* 103 (1982) 233–46; E. Meyer, 'Explaining the epigraphic habit in the Roman Empire: the evidence of epitaphs', *JRS* 80 (1990) 74–96; G. Woolf, 'Monumental writing and the expansion of Roman society in the early Empire', *JRS* 86 (1996) 22–39.

[157] T. G. Parkin, *Demography and Roman Society* (1992: Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore) 5–18; K. Hopkins, 'Graveyards for historians', in *La mort, les morts et l'au-delà dans le monde romain*, ed. F. Hinard (1987: Université de Caen) 113–26.

[158] K. Hopkins, 'On the probable age structure of the Roman population', *Population Studies* 20.2 (1966) 245–64; M. King, 'Commemoration of infants on Roman funerary inscriptions', in *The Epigraphy of Death: Studies in the History and Society of Greece and Rome*, ed. G. J. Oliver (2000: Liverpool University Press) 117–54, at 123–9.

Nor can the information about ages at death offered by inscriptions be accepted at face value: there is a distinct tendency towards age-rounding, with numbers in multiples of 5 and 10 being over-represented after the ages of 20 and 70 respectively. In some places the number of recorded ages over 100 years (with one woman even dying aged 140) causes pause for thought.[159] Furthermore, some sections of society practised funerary epigraphy more than others. For a start, the cost involved in commissioning a tomb monument with inscription would simply have been beyond the financial means of many people, and those who were completely illiterate would have been unlikely to see the point of an inscribed epitaph. Many burials therefore remained unmarked by any inscription. Others again may originally have borne painted inscriptions that have since perished.[160] The few surviving painted inscriptions give some hint of what may have faded away elsewhere. At Puteoli, for example, terracotta ash-urns have been found bearing inscriptions painted on their outside: one found on the *via Domitiana* bears an inscription, which identifies the ashes within as those of M. Aulius Secundus, and gives a consular date, probably AD 32: *M(arci) Auli(i) Secundi / idibus Decembr(ibus) / Cn(aeo) Domitio co(n)s(ule)* ('Of Marcus Aulius Secundus, on the ides of December in the consulship of Gnaeus Domitius').[161]

As well as the financial means, however, individuals required the motivation to leave an inscribed epitaph. From the Augustan era, freedmen and women and their immediate descendants, as well as slaves, are noticeably prominent in the epitaphs of the city of Rome, and this pattern is replicated elsewhere.[162] Indeed, it has even been claimed that funerary commemoration was the norm only for freedmen and first-generation freeborn citizens in imperial Italy.[163] It is possible that freedmen and their families were particularly eager to leave funerary monuments recording their new-found status in society as respectable citizens.[164] Slaves at Rome perhaps aped the epigraphic practices of the freed; certainly the epitaphs of slaves and their de facto families show a desire to parade their claims to status when possible, even if that was not always citizen status, and suggests that for them, too, the chance to advertise some sort of status was a motivating factor in the decision to set up epitaphs.[165] The idea that funerary monuments constructed rather than simply reflected status within society has been further explored through the concept of 'status dissonance': a sense of being outsiders in a given community may have been an important factor in motivating certain groups (*seviri*, gladiators, veterans, auxiliary soldiers, and *peregrini*, in addition to freedmen) to set up eye-catching tombs, as a sort of compensation for their marginalization during their lifetimes.[166]

---

[159] Hopkins, 'On the probable age structure' (above, n.158) 253; M. Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead: Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western Europe* (2006: Oxford University Press) 175–8.

[160] Hopkins, 'On the probable age structure' (above, n.158) 247.

[161] W. Dennison, 'Some new inscriptions from Puteoli, Baiae, Misenum, and Cumae', *AJA* 2.5 (1898) 373–98, at 376 no. 7 = Tuck, *Latin Inscriptions in the Kelsey Museum* (above, n.23) 64 no. 82, with photograph = *ILS* 7845. Compare three other jars – Dennison (above) 385 no. 30, from the *via Campana*, probably dating from the late first century BC = Tuck (above) 119 no. 182; A. Sogliano, 'XI. Pozzuoli – Urna fittile con epigrafe dipinta', *NSc* (1892) 479, also with a consular date (AD 28), from the *via Campana*, containing cremated remains = *ILS* 7844; Caldelli, 'Le iscrizioni della via Puteoli–Neapolis' (above, n.7) 437, a jar from a niche in *columbarium* 17 along the *via Puteoli–Neapolis*, from the second half of the first century AD, bearing the painted inscription *Eglogis*.

[162] King, 'Commemoration of infants' (above, n.158) 121–3.

[163] H. Mouritsen, 'Freedmen and decurions: epitaphs and social history in imperial Italy', *JRS* 95 (2005) 38–63 and 'Freedmen and freeborn in the necropolis of imperial Ostia', *ZPE* 150 (2004) 281–304.

If we examine funerary inscriptions for insight into commemorative culture rather than actual demography, however, we can see how funerary monuments played an important part in shaping local identity. One particular type of funerary monument, known by modern archaeologists as *columellae*, is characteristic of a small part of this region, roughly corresponding to the area of the ancient Nucerian confederation.

13 *Columella* of Vibia Sabina, Pompeii: Fig. 1.17

S. De Caro, 'Nuovi rinvenimenti e vecchie scoperte nella necropoli sannitica di Porto Ercolano', *CronPomp* 5 (1979) 179–91, at 190–1 + fig. 16; SAP inv. 12656. Autopsy March 1995, in the storeroom next to the Forum.

Vibia / Sabina sibi

'Vibia Sabina for herself.'

This *columella* of white marble was found intact in 1960 near the 'villa of Diomedes' beyond the Herculaneum Gate at Pompeii. It shows clearly the hole at its base for fixing it into the ground via a prop going crossways. Its dimensions are height 45 cm, width 17.5 cm, depth 2.8 cm, with letters height 2.3–1.9 cm;

---

[164] L. R. Taylor, 'Freedmen and freeborn in the epitaphs of imperial Rome', *AJP* 82.2 (1961) 113–32, at 129–32; Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead* (above, n.159) 247–53.

[165] M. B. Flory, 'Where women precede men: factors influencing the order of names in Roman epitaphs' *CJ* 79.3 (1984) 216–24.

[166] V. M. Hope, *Constructing Identity: The Roman Funerary Monuments of Aquileia, Mainz and Nîmes* (2001: British Archaeological Reports International Series 960: Archaeopress: Oxford) and 'Fighting for identity: the funerary commemoration of Italian gladiators', in *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2000: BICS Supplement 73: London) 93–114.

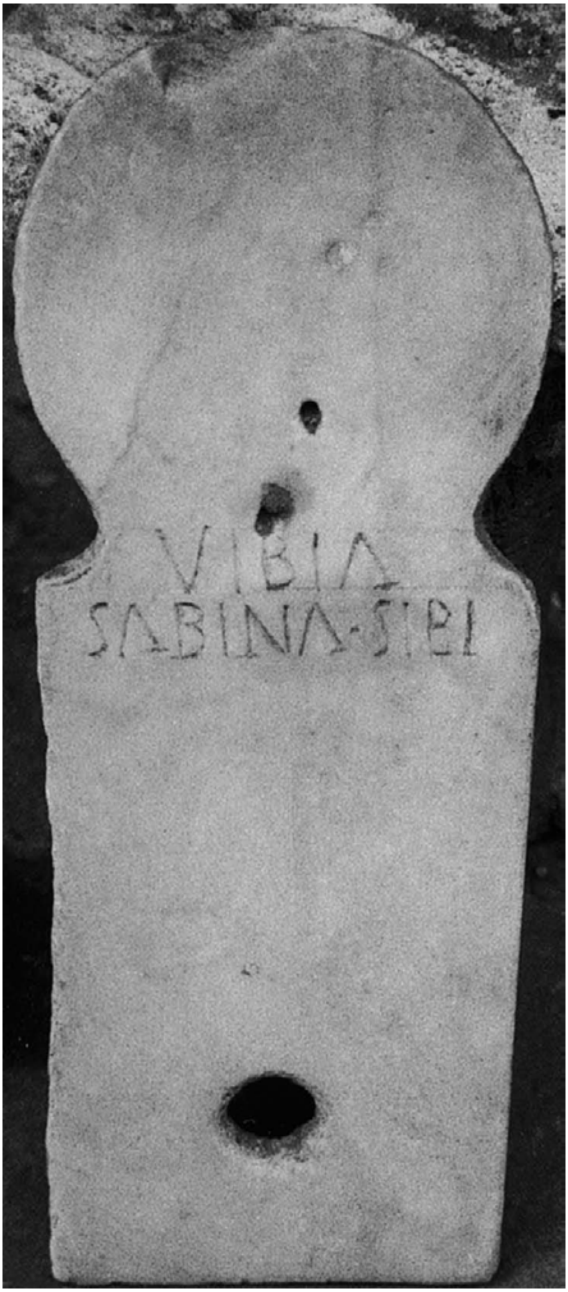

VIBIA
SABINA·SIBI

Fig. 1.17 *Columella* of Vibia Sabina, Pompeii – De Caro (1979) 190–1 (photo: A. E. Cooley)

guiding lines are still faintly visible. Capital As lack their crossbar. A Vibia Sabina, daughter of Gaius, probably a priestess of Julia Augusta, is known from another funerary inscription. If this is the same woman, it would help date the burial to some time after the Claudian period when Livia was deified.[167]

Columellae have been found at Herculaneum, Pompeii, Stabiae, Sarno (probably), Salerno, Nuceria, and Surrentum.[168] They are carved out of different types of stone, with the earliest ones in the local Sarno limestone, Nocera tufa, and Vesuvian lava (probably dating from the second and first centuries BC), and later ones in marble, from towards the end of the first century BC onwards. Inscriptions are more often found on marble than on the volcanic stones, given its greater suitability for carving letters, and perhaps given an increased desire for epigraphic display from the Augustan era onwards.[169] For example, of the fifty *columellae* found in an area outside Pompeii, *c.*80 m to the east of the amphitheatre, the vast majority are uninscribed and of tufa, with only three of white marble preserving traces

---

[167] *CIL* X 961: *Vibiae C(ai) f(iliae) S[abinae] / [sacer]doti Iu[liae Aug[ustae?] // [———] C(ai) f(iliae) Sabin[ae ———].*

[168] A. Varone, 'Note di archeologia Sarnese: i cippi funerari a stilizzazione antropomorfa', *Apollo* 6 (1985–8) 195–260 provides a general discussion of the monument-type, in publishing examples in the Museo dell'Agro Nocerino at Nocera Inferiore, which are thought to have been found in **Sarno**; M. Frederiksen, 'Republican Capua: a social and economic study', *PBSR* 27 (1959) 80–130, at 104–5 offered some observations on 'native forms of burial at Pompeii', which have rather been superseded by later finds. Only a handful of funerary inscriptions have been excavated at **Herculaneum**, one of which is a marble *columella*: M. Pagano, 'Nuove iscrizioni da Ercolano', *RStPomp* 3 (1989) 268–73, who suggests that *CIL* X 2900–2 probably also originated from the town. General discussion of **Pompeii**: V. Kockel, *Die Grabbauten vor dem herkulaner Tor in Pompeji* (1983: Philipp von Zabern: Mainz) 16–18. **Nuceria**: M. Della Corte, 'XI – S. Egidio Monte Albino', *NSc* (1932) 318. At **Stabiae**, two groups of *columellae* have been published by J. M. Reynolds, 'A group of inscriptions from Stabiae. 1. The texts', *PBSR* 40 (1972) 127–34, at 127–31 and M. M. Magalhaes, 'Le iscrizioni e l'area funeraria dei *Q.* et *C. Poppaei* a *Stabiae* (loc. Calcarella di Privati)', *RStPomp* 10 (1999) 224–35; cf. also F. Di Capua 'Contributi all'epigrafia e alla storia della antica Stabia', *RendNap* n.s. 19 (1938/9) 81–124, at 99 and 103. **Nuceria Alfaterna**: M. De' Spagnolis, 'Costumi funerari romani nella necropoli monumentale romana di Pizzone a Nocera Superiore', in *Römischer Bestattungsbrauch und Beigabensitten in Rom, Norditalien und den Nordwestprovinzen von der späten Republik bis in die Kaiserzeit*, ed. M. Heinzelmann (2001: Palilia 8: Ludwig Reichert: Wiesbaden) 169–77. For the *columellae* at **Surrentum,** republished with photographs by Magalhaes, *Surrentum romana* (above, n.123), see discussion below.

[169] V. Kockel, 'Im Tode gleich? Die sullanischen Kolonisten und ihr kulturelles Gewicht in Pompeji am Beispiel der Nekropolen', in *Römische Gräberstrassen: Selbstdarstellung, Status, Standard*, eds. H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker (1987: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Munich) 183–98, at 188–95.

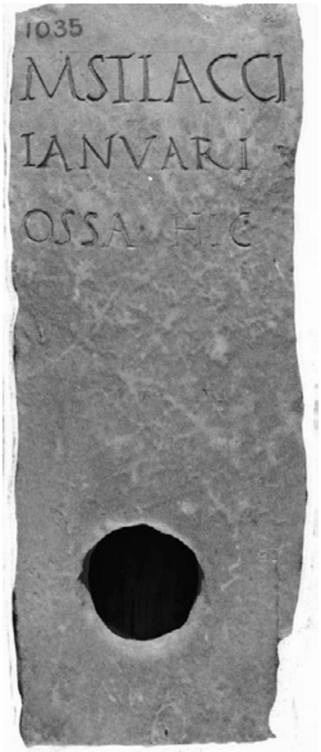


Fig. 1.18 Funerary *cippus*, Puteoli – *CIL* X 2975 (from S. L. Tuck, *Latin Inscriptions in the Kelsey Museum: The Dennison and De Criscio Collections* (2005: University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor) 133 no. 205)

of inscriptions.[170] *Columellae* are a variation upon the simple markers, or *cippi*, often used elsewhere to identify burials, and at first glance they share some similarities with them.

14 Funerary *cippus*, Puteoli, first century AD: Fig. 1.18

CIL X 2975

S.L. Tuck, *Latin Inscriptions in the Kelsey Museum: The Dennison and De Criscio Collections* (2005: University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor) 133 no. 205, with photograph Mich. no. 1035, now in Kelsey Museum.

M(arci) Stlacci / Ianuari / ossa hic

---

[170] A. D'Ambrosio, 'Scavi e scoperte nel suburbio di Pompei', *RStPomp* 9 (1998) 197–9.

'Here are the bones of Marcus Stlaccius Ianuarius.'

This is a standard *cippus* of fine-grained light grey marble in the form of a rectangular marker (height 38.7 cm, width 15 cm, depth 3 cm), with a hole at its base for fixing it into the ground via a prop going crossways. It probably dates from the first century AD.

Columellae, however, have a more complex function than merely identifying a burial-place. The earliest examples of *columellae* consist of a small vertical marker that is square in section, designed to be planted in the ground (often with a circular hole at its base for fixing it with a wooden pole, as with the *cippus* described above), with a rounded top intended to resemble a human head. At its rear, this rounded top has a hairstyle carved upon it, distinguishing male (short back and sides) from female (with bun). Its aim is to represent a stylized portrait fully in the round. With the introduction of marble, the appearance of *columellae* was slightly modified, becoming a 'silhouette-herm', a thin rectangular slab of marble topped by a disc reminiscent of a human head. At the same time, marble *columellae* became less individualized, with the hairstyle increasingly being omitted, and in some instances with the shape of a human head being simply incised upon the marker rather than carved in the round.[171] In one case of a six-year-old slave called Terpnos, the personification of the marker was made even more explicit, by carving facial features as well as a hairstyle.[172] Recent chemical analysis of a sample of seventeen *columellae*, some marble and others lava, from the Porta Nocera necropolis at Pompeii has revealed that all retain traces of paint pigments over a wide area, suggesting that the markers may have been further individualized through the use of colour painted on them.[173] It is possible that the humanized markers were intended to represent the divine spirit (*genius* for males, *iuno* for females) of the departed, but inscriptions explicitly referring to these divine entities are rare.[174]

---

[171] Frederiksen, 'Republican Capua' (above, n.168) 105; Varone, 'Note di archeologia Sarnese' (above, n.168) 259–60.

[172] G. Stefani, 'La necropolis del Fondo Azzolini', in *Pompei oltre la vita: Nuove testimonianze dalle necropoli* (1998: Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei: Naples) 93–105, at 94, who also mentions another anthropomorphic female marker, which lacks an inscription, however. F. Senatore, 'Necropoli e società nell'antica Pompei: considerazioni su un sepolcreto di poveri', in *Pompei, il Vesuvio e la Penisola Sorrentina*, ed. F. Senatore (1999: Bardi: Rome) 91–121, at 117 fig. 21b. Compare a similar *columella* of tufa from the area of Stabiae or Nuceria, possibly early Augustan in date, where the eyes, nose, and mouth have been engraved on the head section: M. M. Magalhaes, *Stabiae romana: la prosopografia e la documentazione epigrafica: iscrizioni lapidarie e bronzee, bolli laterizi e sigilli* (2006: Longobardi: Castellammare di Stabia) 107 no. 27.

[173] M. Saldías, 'Pompeii, the ritual space of the columella gravestones: a report of the investigation of the burial plot of the *gens Calventii* (Porta Nocera)', in *Nuove ricerche*

These markers were usually placed within a funerary enclosure belonging to a particular household, embedded in the ground, and they marked the spot where the ashes of the deceased were interred in a lidded jar below, along with other remnants from the funerary pyre (such as remains of the funerary couch) and offerings such as coins, glass perfume-flasks, and various pottery vessels.[175] A circular hole at their base would have been used to secure them in position with a wooden pole going crossways. A length of tubing was also often inserted into the ground, for the pouring of libations. Not all *columellae* were inscribed, but those that are briefly give the names and sometimes the number of years lived of the deceased; they do not offer long accounts of the deceased's accomplishments, career, or position within the family: such details belonged more naturally to inscriptions displayed on the façade of tombs rather than on these more private monuments, seen only by visitors to the interior of the tomb. More impressive funerary display could still take place, in the form of a large inscription on the façade of the enclosure, but these *columellae* were personal markers. *Columellae* commemorated children and adults, slave, freed, and free, male and female alike, and there is some variation in the relative sizes of the markers to reflect the ages of the deceased. Despite the unostentatious appearance of the markers, they were not primarily the preserve of the 'humbler classes', but were used by local elite and freedmen alike.[176] Indeed, within a small necropolis at Stabiae, nine *columellae* belonging to freed(wo)men and slaves of the *gens Poppaea* from the Tiberian period were juxtaposed with non-monumental types of burial, such as half-buried *amphorae* and cappuccino burials, which probably belonged to individuals of lesser status and wealth.[177] As a type

---

archeologiche nell'area vesuviana, eds. P. G. Guzzo and M. P. Guidobaldi (2008: Studi di Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei 25: Bretschneider: Rome) 389–96.

[174] *CIL* X 1023, a fragmentary *columella* dedicated to the *iuno* of Tyche, slave of Julia Augusta; cf. *CIL* X 1009 = *ILS* 8055. Varone, 'Note di archeologia Sarnese' (above, n.168) 252; Kockel, *Die Grabbauten vor dem herkulaner Tor* (above, n.168) 17.

[175] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead* (above, n.159) 59–60. Specific burials with ritual traces: A. De Franciscis, 'Sepolcro di M. Obellius Firmus', *CronPomp* 2 (1976) 246–8; Magalhaes, 'Le iscrizioni e l'area funeraria dei *Q.* et *C. Poppaei* a *Stabiae*' (above, n.168); De' Spagnolis Conticello, 'Sul rinvenimento della villa e del monumento funerario dei Lucretii Valentes' (above, n.43) 154–60; Saldías, 'Pompeii, the ritual space of the columella gravestones' (above, n.173).

[176] Contra Frederiksen, 'Republican Capua' (above, n.168) 105 who did, however, note *CIL* X 1008 for the magistrate Cn. Melissaeus Aper.

[177] Magalhaes, 'Le iscrizioni e l'area funeraria dei *Q.* et *C. Poppaei* a *Stabiae*' (above, n.168); photographs of the *columellae* in situ: P. Miniero, 'Stabiae: indagini, rinvenimenti e ricerche nell'ager Stabianus', *RStPomp* 1 (1987) 178–90, at 184–5, figs. 64–5.

of funerary monument, therefore, the *columella* was integral to the rituals practised in this region. It is worth emphasizing that the earliest of these markers pre-date Roman colonization in the area, and so represent a local cultural and religious tradition that persisted even after the Romans' intervention in the area.

Other burials in the town for non-Pompeians that use the more common form of markers illustrate clearly how culturally specific to this one area the *columella* was felt to be. Four soldiers from the praetorian guard were buried together outside the Porta Nola, all with standard inscribed grave-markers (rectangular markers with a rounded top), like those found elsewhere.[178] Elsewhere at Pompeii, another outsider, a soldier from the Syrian town of Carre, also has as his memorial a marble *stele* with a rounded top, bearing the inscription *L(ucius) Mettius M(arci) f(ilius) Poll(a tribu) / Martialis Carr(?) / specul(ator) mil(itavit) an(nos) X vix(it) an(nos) XXX* ('Lucius Mettius Martialis, son of Marcus, of the Polla voting-tribe, from Carre(?), scout, served in the army for 10 years, lived for 30 years').[179] By contrast, another praetorian, C. Caelius Secundus, was commemorated with a *columella* in a different necropolis, at the *fondo Santilli*, because he belonged to a local family.[180] The decision whether or not to use *columellae*, therefore, was not an unthinking reflex.

A final refinement to our picture of the use of *columellae* can be explored at Surrentum, where *columellae* dating mainly from the Julio-Claudian period have been found in the necropoleis excavated around the town (Fuorimura to the south-east, Parsano Nuovo to the south, and Sottomonte to the east).[181] Almost all of their inscriptions commemorated members of the imperial household – freed(wo)men and slaves – who presumably lived on an estate, or estates, belonging to the emperor, located nearby. In the case of imperial slaves, several inscriptions refer to their specific job within the imperial household, including the posts of *aedit(uus)* ('guardian of a shrine'), *a possessio(nibus)* ('estate manager'), *a valetudin(e)* ('medic'), *a memor(ia)* ('secretary'), *vilicus* ('estate administrator').[182] The status of a *verna* (a slave born in the household) is also recorded.[183] Some of the freed(wo)men also record their jobs, including *opstetrix* ('midwife').[184] This reflects the desire on the part of these privileged slaves (some of whom, like imperial slaves elsewhere, were themselves slave-owners) to make some claim to status, based upon the duties they performed for the emperor. It also revealed status differentiation even within the imperial household. In this respect, the content of the funerary inscriptions is similar to those set up for members of the imperial household elsewhere, notably at Rome.[185] At Surrentum, however, we see the use of a locally established type of funerary monument by individuals with a dual identity, who wished to commemorate their roles within the imperial household in terms of their status and profession, since that was a source of particular prestige, as well as to insert themselves into the local ritual context. One *columella*, which was found at Piano di Sorrento, in a slightly different area from the others, dates from a later period (end of the first or early second century AD): *d(is) m(anibus) / Germo Aug(usti) / lib(ertus) vix(it) ann(os) / LXXXV* ('To the departed spirits. Germo, freedman of the emperor, lived for 85 years').[186] It reflects changing epigraphic fashions, since the opening formula *dis manibus* only became popular after the Julio-Claudian period, and is important in demonstrating that the setting up of this type of monument did persist beyond AD 79.[187]

---

[178] S. De Caro, 'Scavi nell'area fuori Porta Nola a Pompei', *CronPomp* 5 (1979) 61–101; Senatore, 'Necropoli e società' (above, n.172) 104–5; Kockel, 'Im Tode gleich?' (above, n.169) 195; Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead* (above, n.159) 9.

[179] A. D'Ambrosio, 'Suburbio orientale', *RStPomp* 10 (1999) 180–2, at 182.

[180] Senatore, 'Necropoli e società' (above, n.172) 104.

[181] Magalhaes, *Surrentum romana* (above, n.123) nos. 21–5, 27–31, 33, 35–6, 38–9, with photographs. Another *columella* was found reused in a convent in the town, but probably also derives from one of these necropoleis: M. M. Magalhaes and M. Russo, 'Iscrizioni inedite di Surrentum: un'obstetrix imperiale e un nuovo classiario', *Epigraphica* 67 (2005) 408–21.

[182] *aedit(uus)*, *AÉpigr* (1929) 151 = Magalhaes, *Surrentum romana* (above, n.123) no. 36; *a possessio(nibus)*, *AÉpigr* (1929) 153 = Magalhaes, *Surrentum romana* no. 28; *a valetudin(e)*,

Other than these examples from southern Campania, a group of similar funerary markers has been found at Adria, perhaps suggesting the migration there of Campanian families, who took their distinctive funerary customs with them. Alternatively it might merely reflect an independent and unrelated development.[188] This impression of a localized epigraphic tradition creating distinctive funerary monuments is typical of funerary epigraphy

---

CIL X 703 = Magalhaes, *Surrentum romana* no. 27; *a memor(ia)*, *AÉpigr* (1929) 152 = Magalhaes, *Surrentum romana* no. 24; *vilicus*, *AÉpigr* (1929) 155 = Magalhaes, *Surrentum romana* no. 21.

[183] *AÉpigr* (1929) 152 = Magalhaes, *Surrentum romana* (above, n.123) no. 24, cf. no. 30.

[184] Magalhaes and Russo, 'Iscrizioni inedite di Surrentum' (above, n.181) no. 2.

[185] P. R. C. Weaver, Familia Caesaris: *A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves* (1972: Cambridge University Press).

[186] Magalhaes, *Surrentum romana* (above, n.123) no. 29, with photograph.

[187] Contra Frederiksen, 'Republican Capua' (above, n.168) 105, who stated that the type of monument died out during the Julio-Claudian period. Compare another inscribed *columella* for a slave property-administrator, probably from the Trajanic period: Magalhaes, *Surrentum romana* (above, n.123) no. 20.

[188] B. F. Tamaro, 'Iscrizioni inedite di Adria', *Epigraphica* 18 (1956) 50–76, at 56–69 nos. 12–39; cf. Varone, 'Note di archeologia Sarnese' (above, n.168) 244 on *CIL* X 8340 from Strongoli, described by G. Fiorelli, 'Strongoli', *NSc* (1881) 197 as 'un titoletto sepolcrale di marmo bianco, di forma semicircolare superiormente'.

more widely. *Columellae* provide the best case-study for the Bay of Naples, but other studies have illuminated the local character of funerary inscribed monuments in other regions too, whether the style of funerary altars from Roman Macedonia, or the transformation of pre-existing stone bulls and boars with epitaphs in Lusitania.[189]

In addition to the contribution made by funerary inscriptions to shaping local identity, funerary monuments could also play a part in the expression of other forms of identity, both professional and religious. Distinctive epigraphic styles emerged among Jews and Christians at Rome from the end of the second/early third century AD. Although Jewish and Christian epitaphs in Italy were not readily identifiable before then, from that time burial practices and commemorative habits played an important role in asserting the distinctiveness of those groups' identities.[190] In the case of Christian epitaphs, new linguistic expressions were adopted that reflected the fundamentally distinctive attitude to death among Christians of this period.[191] Death was regarded as the moment of true birth, bringing about, after a period of sleep, the reunification of soul with body in heaven, where the individual would then enjoy everlasting life-after-death. This conception of the afterlife lent new importance to the moment of death, with the result that it was now often considered important to record the exact time of death and burial: the moment of death became the focus of celebration and annual ritual at the graveside. Instead of being content with recording the lifespan of the deceased, Christians were more concerned with recording the moment when the deceased entered his or her true life. Another innovation in Christian epitaphs was the recording of the date of burial (*depositus*), presumably in those cases where some days had lapsed between death and burial.[192] It is something of a paradox that alongside this new precision, Christian epitaphs also appear to have first adopted the formula *vixit . . . plus minus* ('lived . . . more or less' a certain number of years). This entered common usage during the fourth century, and appears to be an acknowledgement that there might often be a degree of uncertainity about exactly how long an individual had lived.

---

[189] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead* (above, n.159) 96–7; I. Spiliopoulou-Donderer, *Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens* (2002: Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Griechenlands und Zyperns 15: Bibliopolis: Mannheim); J. Edmondson, 'Writing Latin in the province of Lusitania', in *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin? Literacy and Epigraphy in the Roman West*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2002: *JRA* Supplement 48: Portsmouth, R.I.) 41–60.

[190] D. Noy, *Foreigners at Rome: Citizens and Strangers* (2000: Duckworth/The Classical Press of Wales: London) 187–97, 256–87; Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead* (above, n.159) ch. 10.

[191] M. A. Handley, *Death, Society and Culture: Inscriptions and Epitaphs in Gaul and Spain, AD 300–750* (2003: British Archaeological Reports International Series 1135: Archaeopress: Oxford) ch.2.

[192] B. D. Shaw, 'Seasons of death: aspects of mortality in imperial Rome', *JRS* 86 (1996) 100–38, at 102–5.

15 Christian epitaph, Stabiae, AD 535/6

CIL X 786 = *ILCV* 3029a

A. Ferrara, 'L'*area Christianorum* della Cattedrale e la presenza paleocristiana a Stabiae', in *Pompei tra Sorrento e Sarno*, ed. F. Senatore (2001: Bardi: Rome) 321–56, at 351 no. 10; M. M. Magalhaes, *Stabiae romana: la prosopografia e la documentazione epigrafica: iscrizioni lapidarie e bronzee, bolli laterizi e sigilli* (2006: N. Longobardi: Castellammare di Stabia) 120–1 no. 58; G. Liccardo, Redemptor meus vivit*: iscrizioni cristiane antiche dell'area napoletana* (2008: Il Pozzo di Giacobbe: Trapani) no. 175. Current location unknown.

⊂ chi–rho ⊃ *hic requiesc(it) in / pac(e) b(onae) m(emoriae) Alexan/dria, qui (!) vixit ann(os) / pl(us) m(inus) XL, d(e)p(ositio) /⁵ eius G k(a)l(endas) M(a)r/tias p(ost) c(onsulatum) Pâulini iun(ioris) / v(iri) c(larissimi)*

l.2 *b m* could also represent *bene merenti*; l.3 *qui* has been inscribed for *quae*; l.5 numeral VI is indicated by G; abbreviations are indicated with a line above KL, MR.

'Here rests in peace Alexandria, of good memory, who lived for 40 years more or less; her burial was on 24th February after the consulship of Paulinus the younger, most distinguished senator.'

This epitaph, inscribed upon a marble slab, was found with other inscriptions in a tomb in the Varano district, but is now lost. It displays several of the characteristics distinctive of Chrisitian funerary epigraphy, namely the concept of the deceased sleeping peacefully, the reference to the date of burial, the inclusion of the chi–rho symbol, and the inclusion of the formula *plus minus*, here possibly an awareness of age-rounding, given the neat number forty. Paulinus was consul in 534.[193] In terms of visual appearance, the abbreviations in l.5 foreshadow a striking feature of Christian inscriptions, which in time adopted increasingly curtailed abbreviations.[194]

The emergence of a distinctively Christian epigraphic culture was a very gradual process.[195] Like Christian funerary art, which adopted and adapted the meaning of traditional images, such as the good shepherd, the formulae of epitaphs shared features with pagan ones, and even the phrase *dis manibus* continued to be used occasionally.[196] Christian epitaphs, therefore, show a combination of epigraphic traits shared by non-Christian inscriptions, and elements that were distinctively Christian in character, being inextricably bound up with Christian burial rites and the religious beliefs that underpinned them.[197]

---

[193] *PLRE* IIIB Paulinus I.

[194] For the more mature style of extreme abbreviation in later Christian epitaphs, compare an epitaph from Cumae, sixth/seventh century: G. Camodeca, 'Schede epigrafiche', *Puteoli* 12/13 (1988/9) 211–29, entry by A. Parma 221–2 no. 8, starting *[hic requiescit in pac]e famulus d(omi)ni Ih(es)v X(h)r(ist)i Brunculus.*

[195] Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine* (above, n.20) I 272–87.

Like Christian epitaphs, Jewish funerary epigraphy also included characteristics related to other epigraphic practices alongside its distinctive elements.[198] Indeed, several formulae generally regarded as distinctively Christian have also been found in apparently Jewish contexts. The extent to which Jewish epigraphy was distinctive may be illustrated by means of a case-study of the epitaphs of Jews living in fifth/sixth-century AD Neapolis: by this time one might expect a distinctively Jewish identity to have matured. Indeed, this community does seem to have used the medium of funerary epigraphy as a way of promoting its collective identity.[199] In common with Jewish epitaphs elsewhere, we find at Neapolis the display of the Hebrew language (especially for wishes of peace) and pictures of Jewish sacred objects, notably the menorah (seven-branched candelabrum), shofar (ram's horn), lulab (palm branch), and etrog (citrus fruit). The importance of their Jewish identity emerges from identifying the deceased as *Ebrea* or *Ebreus* ('Hebrew') (a less problematic term than the adjective *Iudaea/us/*, which can be interpreted in a geographical as well as a religious sense).[200] Otherwise, however, the epitaphs share characteristics with Christian ones, with references to dates of death and burial and use of the 'peculiarly Christian' formula *vixit plus minus*.[201]

---

[196] Art: J. Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph* (1998: Oxford University Press) 152–8. Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead* (above, n.159) on *d(is) m(anibus)* 266–7, on art 270–2.

[197] Other Christian epitaphs from the Bay of Naples: Puteoli – *CIL* X 3298–3305, 3308–13, 3316, 3320 + G. Camodeca, 'Schede epigrafiche', *Puteoli* 7/8 (1983/4) 295–312, entry by A. D'Ambrosio 308–9 no. 8. Naples – *CIL* X 1518–43, catacomb of St Ianuarius. Naples and Stabiae – G. Liccardo, Redemptor meus vivit. *Iscrizioni cristiane antiche nell'area napoletana* (2008: Il Pozzo di Giacobbe: Trapani).

[198] R. S. Kraemer, 'Jewish tuna and Christian fish: identifying religious affiliation in epigraphic sources', *HTR* 84.2 (1991) 141–62.

[199] E. Sarrao, 'Nuove iscrizioni da un sepolcreto giudaico di Napoli', *Puteoli* 12/13 (1988/9) 103–17.

[200] *Ebreus*: Serrao, 'Nuove iscrizioni' (above, n.199) no. 4 = *JIWE* I no. 33, + no. 37; *Ebrea*: inscription no. 13. *Iudaea/us*: Kraemer, 'Jewish tuna and Christian fish' (above, n.198) 144.

[201] Shaw, 'Seasons of death' (above, n.192) 104 on this formula. *CII* I 558 = *JIWE* I no. 27 resembles Christian epitaphs in its language and themes: it starts with *hic requiescit in pace*, and proceeds to include the formula *vixit annos pl(us) m(inus) XVIII* and then the precise date for the *depositio*, but it ends with a sentence in Hebrew, accompanied by an image of a

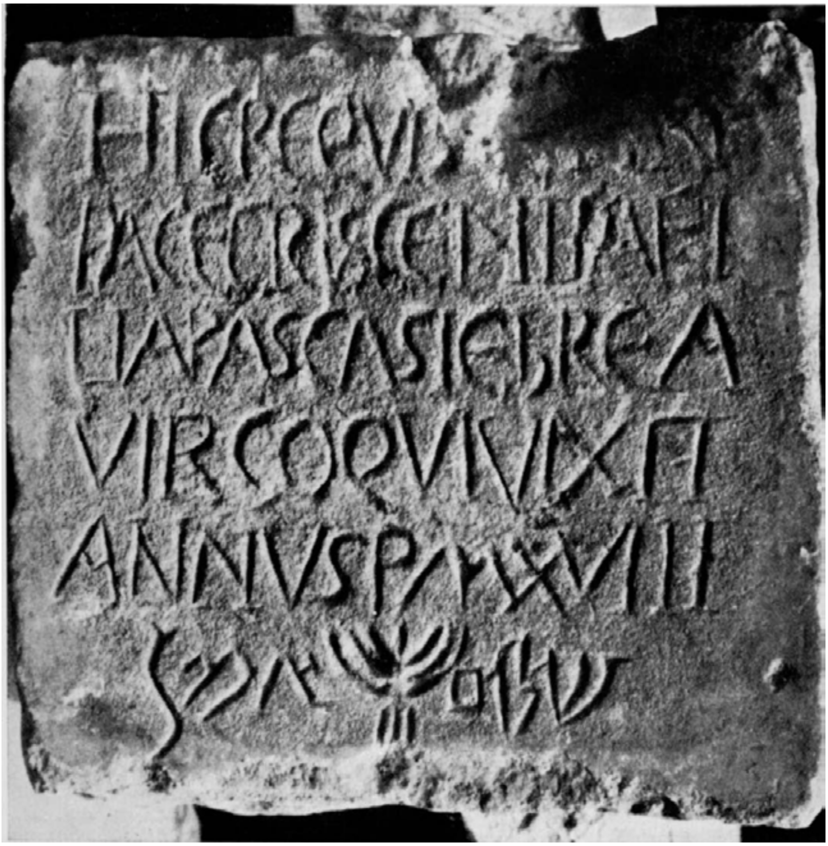


Fig. 1.19 Jewish epitaph, Neapolis – *AÉpigr* (1990) 163 (from E. Sarrao, 'Nuove iscrizioni da un sepolcreto giudaico di Napoli', *Puteoli* 12/13 (1988/9) 114–16 no. 6)

16 Jewish epitaph, Neapolis, fifth century AD: Fig. 1.19

AÉpigr (1990) 163

E. Sarrao, 'Nuove iscrizioni da un sepolcreto giudaico di Napoli', *Puteoli* 12/13 (1988/9) 114–16 no. 6, with photograph; H. Solin, 'Analecta epigraphica', *Arctos* 25 (1991) 155–6; D. Noy, *JIWE* I *Italy (excluding the City of Rome), Spain and Gaul* (1993: Cambridge University Press) no. 35. Now in Naples Museum.

menorah. For the formula *vixit plus minus* in Jewish epitaphs, see also *CII* I 559 = *JIWE* I no. 28; Serrao, 'Nuove iscrizioni' (above, n.199) no. 2 = *JIWE* I no. 31; Serrao, 'Nuove iscrizioni' no. 3 = *JIWE* I no. 32 (which also includes precise date of death); Serrao, 'Nuove iscrizioni' no. 5 = *JIWE* I no. 34.

hic requi(e)s[cit] in / pace Criscentia fi/lia Pascasi (h)ebrea / virgo qui (!) vixit /[5] *annus (!) p(lus) m(inus) XVIII / Šlwm* ⊂ menorah ⊃ *'mn.*

l.2 Criscentia is equivalent to Crescentia; l.4 *qui* has been inscribed for *quae*; l.5 *annus* has been inscribed for *annos*.

'Here lies in peace Criscentia, daughter of Pascasus, Hebrew. A virgin, who lived for more or less 18 years. Peace, amen.'

On this marble slab (height 28 cm, width 29 cm, depth 7 cm), inscribed in Latin and Hebrew (letters height 3 cm), the two Hebrew words in the final line are separated by a picture of a menorah. This epitaph illustrates how the same monument can be both distinctively Jewish, and yet at the same time also contain characteristics of Christian epitaphs. The opening motif of resting in peace is common to both Jewish and Christian inscriptions, but the expression *vixit annos plus minus* is more often a feature of Christian epitaphs.

What we see in these cases is the creative development of a distinctive epigraphic culture in response to the need to express a particular group identity. Although the distinction between Jewish and Christian (and sometimes even 'pagan') epitaphs is not always clear-cut,[202] it is still true that both groups were evidently creative in their use of epigraphy, both in terms of the language used and of the images accompanying it, and that this innovativeness stemmed from their desire to shape existing epigraphic practices to fit their own religious beliefs.

These are perhaps the clearest examples from the Bay of Naples of how particular groups adapted epigraphic culture as a means of creating and consolidating their distinctive identities. In the case of both Jewish and Christian communities, the emergence of their individual epigraphic cultures was at least partly facilitated by the development of communal cemeteries, where symbols and linguistic peculiarities could be understood by an audience of initiates. Such behaviour is not just apparent in the Bay of Naples, nor is it relevant only to religious communities. Similar coherence is observable in the tombstones set up by the emperor's bodyguard of *equites singulares* at Rome. They shared a communal burial area on the *via Labicana* until their dissolution at the hands of Constantine as a penalty for having supported Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge, when their graveyard was destroyed to make way for the new Lateran basilica. Their grave *stelai* are strikingly coherent in terms of the overall shape of monument and choice of decorative motif (most commonly, the deceased reclining at a banquet above, and below the rider's groom leading up his saddled horse).[203] This style of grave-*stele* became widespread among the soldiers during the second century AD, and they were commonly set up by fellow-guardsmen. Although the relief-motifs appear originally to have come from the Lower Rhine area, from where many of the cavalrymen were recruited, the fact that *equites singulares* of other origins (for example from Mauretania Caesariensis, Syria Palaestina, and Arabia) also adopted the same type of monument suggests that this epigraphic practice was a reflection of their identity as a military unit at Rome, and not just a repetition of the epigraphic culture of their homeland.[204] Similar clusters of distinctive funerary monuments have also been identified among other military units in the provinces.[205]

---

[202] Kraemer, 'Jewish tuna and Christian fish' (above, n.198).

Apart from epitaphs, the other main context for the use of monumental inscriptions by private individuals was the **religious sphere**. Writing had especial power in religion, in negotiating the relationship between individuals and their gods.[206] Individuals set up small altars, statuettes, or reliefs to deities, sometimes in fulfilment of a vow, in response to a prayer having been fulfilled by the deity, or prompted by a dream.[207] Not every dedication was inscribed (although possibly all dedications made to fulfil a vow *were* accompanied by text or picture), but for those that were, the inscription made an active contribution to their meaning. For example, a small base dedicated to Augustan Isis, of unknown provenance from Pompeii, which originally bore a statuette on its upper surface, represented and commemorated the completion of the vow undertaken by Manilia Chrysa: *Isidi / Aug(ustae) / Manilia / Chrysa / v(otum) [s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)]* ('To Augustan Isis. Manilia Chrysa fulfilled her vow willingly and deservedly').[208] In cases like this, the inscription was crucial to the function of the monument: adding an inscription to such a dedication was an important part of the ritual act since it documented which god was being honoured in this way, and also demonstrated how the individual was fulfilling his or her part of the reciprocal relationship, in making a dedication in response to a prayer which had been answered. Only an inscription could communicate and commemorate the name of both worshipper and deity. Nor was setting up inscriptions just an urban phenomenon: inscribed dedications have also been found in rural contexts, such as at the 'Villa of N. Popidius Florus', where two marble slabs inscribed with dedications to Jupiter, and to Venus, Liber, and Hercules were set up in the courtyard around the *cella vinaria* (wine-store).[209] Inscriptions also commemorated and monumentalized a single religious act in such a way as to create a long-lasting relationship between worshipper and deity.[210] This is particularly evident in the cult of the Magna Mater ('Great Mother'/ Cybele), which seems to have promoted the practice of recording participation by individuals in the goddess' distinctive rites of *taurobolium* and *criobolium* (bull and ram sacrifice) via monumental inscriptions. It was through participation in these sacrifices that individuals might receive promises of personal salvation. Setting up an inscription commemorated the date of such a promise, of significance perhaps because the sacrifice was sometimes repeated after a period of twenty years.[211] In a way, the inscription acted as a guarantee that the individuals had duly performed their obligations to the goddess.

---

[203] M. P. Speidel, *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter Equites Singulares Augusti* (1994: Rheinland-Verlag: Cologne) and *Riding for Caesar: The Roman Emperors' Horse Guards* (1994: Batsford: London) 145; *Supplementa Italica Imagines: supplementi fotografici ai volumi italiani del* CIL *– Roma* (CIL *VI),* vol. 2, *Musei Vaticani I*, eds. I. Di Stefano Manzella and G. L. Gregori (2003: Quasar: Rome) nos. 2716–2810.

[204] Speidel, *Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter* (above, n.203) nos. 607, 206, 265.

[205] Cf. Hope, *Constructing Identity* (above, n.166) ch. 4 for various trends in the funerary epigraphy of different types of military personnel, distinguishing auxiliaries from legionaries, and also 'Fighting for identity' (above, n.166) 93–114, on gladiatorial tombstones.

[206] M. Beard, 'Writing and religion: *Ancient Literacy* and the function of the written word in Roman religion', in *Literacy in the Roman World* (1991: *JRA* Supplement 3: Ann Arbor) 35–58.

[207] Cf. *CIL* X 1560, Puteoli, set up *ex viso*. P. Veyne, '"Titulus praelatus": offrande, solennisation et publicité dans les ex-voto gréco-romains', *RA* (1983) 281–300, at 290–2 argues that all ex-voto offerings would have been accompanied by an explanatory text or image.

[208] B. Schweitzer, *Antiken in ostpreussischem Privatbesitz* (1929: Max Niemeyer: Halle) 195 and 197, no. 21 + Taf. XXVI; V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai sur le culte d'Isis à Pompéi* (1964: De Boccard: Paris) 176 no. 148.

The use of writing in religion was not limited to those of high social status and financial resources. Vows and dedications made by slaves and freedmen have been found scratched or painted next to shrines for the household gods (*lararia*) in Pompeian houses and at neighbourhood-shrines (*compitalia*).[212] The fact that dedications and vows might be recorded in the form of graffiti or dipinti (scratched or painted inscriptions) rather than as expensive monumental inscriptions suggests that writing itself, whatever its medium, was considered an integral component of the religious act.

---

[209] *AÉpigr* (1922) 101; G. Stefani, *Uomo e ambiente nel territorio vesuviano: guida all'Antiquarium di Boscoreale* (2002: Marius edizioni: Pompei) 108–10, with photographs.

[210] Beard, 'Writing and religion' (above, n.206) 46–8.

[211] *CIL* X 1596, Puteoli, AD 134 = *ILS* 4271; R. Duthoy, *The* taurobolium, *Its Evolution and Terminology* (1969: Brill: Leiden) no. 50.

[212] *AÉpigr* (1985) 285, IX.xiii.1–3, 'House of Gaius Iulius Polybius': vow by P. Cornelius Felix and the slave Vitalis; *CIL* IV 9887, II.iv.13, vow by Felix (probably a slave); *CIL* IV 3774, a dedication to Well-being painted above a compital altar. Cf. *CIL* IV 882 for a vow painted next to a painting of Isis.

Such inscriptions imitated the language and format of their monumental counterparts. Mary Beard has commented upon the surprising 'barrenness' of the temples of Pompeii and Herculaneum, where writing appears to have played only a marginal role, since comparatively few inscriptions have been found in them.[213] This misses the point, however, that individuals did not feel obliged to set up their religious dedications in public temples, but felt it entirely appropriate to set them up in their private space as well, in shops, townhouses, and villas.[214] To some extent, it is the inscription that permits this flexibility, and keeps the act of devotion very personal in character.

Writing could of course also be important in public cult. For example, writing completed the rite for expiating a lightning-strike; an inscription declaring something like *fulgur conditum* ('lightning ritually buried'), either in full or in an abbreviated format, would be set up on the site that thenceforth became a sacred shrine (*bidental*), where fragments from the building damaged by lightning were buried.[215] One of the most interesting factors in developing epigraphic practice at Pompeii, however, is the desire by cult officials to be able to demonstrate that they have fulfilled their duties satisfactorily. Some cults offered a chance to slaves and freedmen of local families to play an important role as *ministri* ('attendants'). An obligation was placed upon the *ministri* of the cult of Augustan Fortune to set up a statue each year.[216] The obligation is mentioned in the case of one *minister* who was granted exemption in AD 45 from the terms of the *lex*: he opted to set up two marble bases *pro signo quod e lege Fortunae Augustae ministrorum ponere debebat* ('instead of the statue which in accordance with the regulation of the attendants of Augustan Fortune he was obliged to set up').[217] The activities of the *ministri* were verified by the town's magistrates, and fulfilment of their duty was scrupulously recorded in an inscription on each base, according to a set formula. This started with the names of the *ministri*, continued with a clause of authorization naming the magistrates responsible, and ended with a statement of the consular year.

---

[213] Beard, 'Writing and religion' (above, n.206) 43–4.

[214] Small altar set up in fulfilment of a vow in VII.xii.26 – *CIL* X 863; bronze statuette of Minerva, found in a small niche in the garden of 'House of L. Helvius Severus', Pompeii – inv. 10560, with A. Gallo, *La casa di Lucio Elvio Severo a Pompei* (1994: Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli: Naples) 107–8, no. 25; marble slab set up next to an altar in response to a vision, found in a shop – *CIL* X 930.

[215] C. Pietrangeli, 'Bidentalia', *RendPontAcc* 25/6 (1949/51) 37–44. For example, at Puteoli: *CIL* X 1603; Pompeii: *AÉpigr* (1946) 176, with A. W. Van Buren, 'News items from Rome', *AJA* 45 (1941) 428–75, at 468–71, with fig. 19 – a tile inscribed *fulgur* above the deposit in a house's courtyard.

[216] Another view is that the *ministri* dedicated one statue in the reign of each emperor, and that they served a five-year term in office but, as discussed below, this does not fit comfortably with the surviving evidence: P. Castrén, Ordo populusque Pompeianus: *Polity and Society in Roman Pompeii* (1975: Bardi: Rome) 76–7.

[217] *CIL* X 825 = *ILS* 6385.

17 Dedication by *ministri* of Augustan Fortune, Pompeii, AD 50: Fig. 1.20

CIL X 827 = *ILS* 6384

J. Ward-Perkins and A. Claridge, *Pompeii AD 79* (1976: Imperial Tobacco Ltd: Bristol) no. 205, with photograph; J. Ward-Perkins and A. Claridge, *Pompeii AD 79* (1978: Museum of Fine Arts: Boston, Mass.) 184–5; P. Castrén, Ordo Populusque Pompeianus (1975: Bardi: Rome) 76–8; A. E. Cooley and M. G. L. Cooley, *Pompeii: A Sourcebook* (2004: Routledge: London) E37. MANN inv. 76/248 or inv. 3771; autopsy March 1994.

L(ucius) Numisius Primus / L(ucius) Numisius Optatus / L(ucius) Melissaeus / Plocamus /[5] *ministr(i) Fortun(ae) Aug(ustae) / ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) iussu / L(uci) Iuli Pontici P(ubli) Gavi Pastoris / d(uo)v(irorum) i(ure) d(icundo) / Q(uinti) Poppaei C(ai) Vibi aedil(um) /*[10] *Q(uinto) Futio P(ublio) Calvisio co(n)s(ulibus)*

‘Lucius Numisius Primus, Lucius Numisius Optatus, Lucius Melissaeus Plocamus, attendants of Augustan Fortune; in accordance with a decree of the town councillors, by command of Lucius Iulius Ponticus and Publius Gavius Pastor, duumvirs with judicial power, and of Quintus Poppaeus and Gaius Vibius, aediles, in the consulship of Quintus Futius and Publius Calvisius.’

This marble slab (height 70 cm, width 47 cm, depth 3 cm), set up by three freedmen acting as the cult’s *ministri*, was found in the *basilica*. The lettering is elegantly carved, neatly graded in size from top to bottom (l.1 5 cm, ll.2–3 4.5 cm, l.4 4 cm, l.5 3.5 cm, ll.6–10 3 cm). The two suffect consuls date to AD 50, casting doubt on the theory that the *ministri* set up their dedications at the accession of each new Julio-Claudian emperor.[218]

In this case, therefore, the inscription acted as a public record that the cult’s officials had fulfilled their duties satisfactorily. Several dedicatory slabs have been found from this cult, the earliest from AD 3.[219] The format of

---

[218] Castrén, Ordo populusque Pompeianus (above, n.216) 76–7.

[219] *CIL* X 824 = *ILS* 6382, AD 3; E. Curti, ‘Il tempio di Venere Fisica e il porto di Pompei’, in *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell’area vesuviana*, eds. P. G. Guzzo and M. P. Guidobaldi (2008: Studi di Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei 25: Bretschneider: Rome) 47–60, at 56 for a

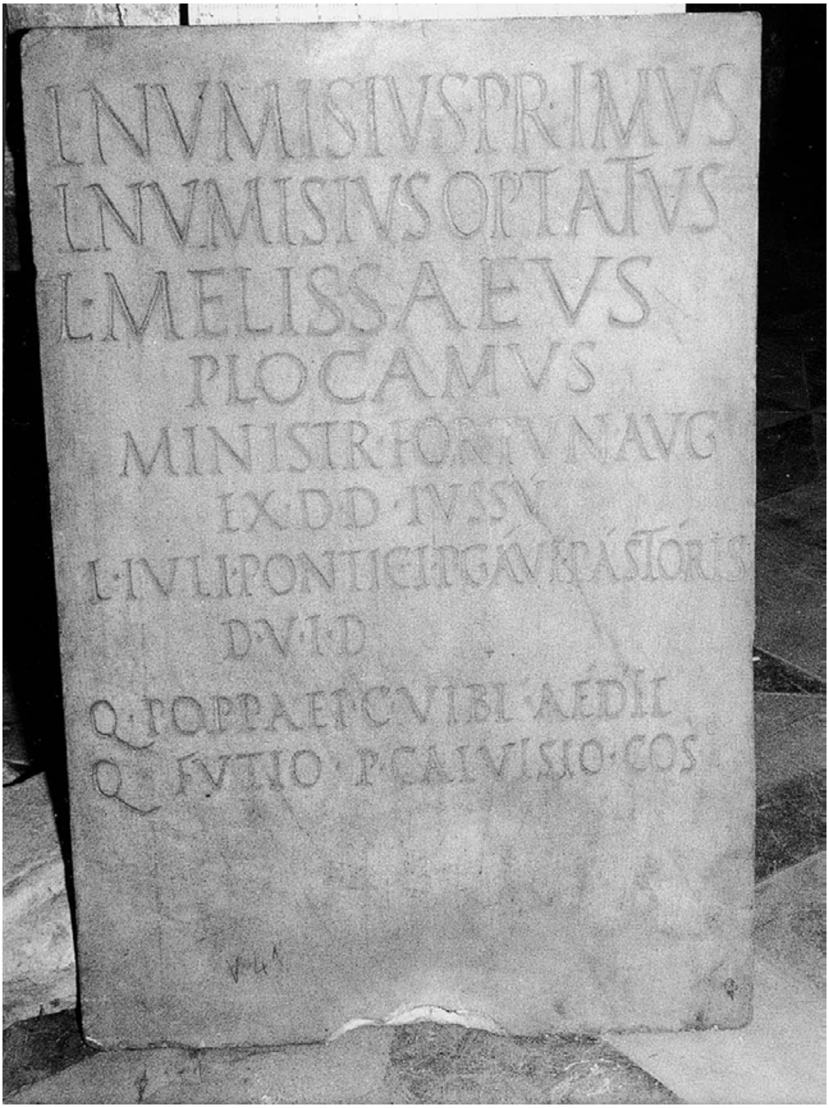

L·NVMISIVS·PRIMVS
L·NVMISIVS·OPTATVS
L·MELISSAEVS
PLOCAMVS
MINISTR·FORTVN·AVG
EX·D·D·IVSSV
L·IVLI·PONTICI·P·GAVI·PASTORIS
D·V·I·D
Q·POPPAE·P·C·VIBI·AEDIL
Q·FVTIO·P·CALVISIO·COS

Fig. 1.20 Dedication by *ministri* of Augustan Fortune, Pompeii – *CIL* X 827 (photo: A. E. Cooley)

the inscriptions set up by these *ministri* imitated those set up previously by the *ministri* – also freedmen and slaves – for the cult of Mercury and Maia (of which the earliest preserved examples date from 14 BC).[220] These

---

slab of cipollino marble inscribed with the dedication for AD 39, recently found in the Temple of Venus; *CIL* X 826, AD 56; *CIL* X 828, fragmentary, found in Temple of Venus.

[220] *CIL* X 885–6, 14 BC.

ministri and their cult gradually metamorphosed at the end of the first century BC, from *ministri Merc(urii) Mai(ae)* ('attendants of Mercury and Maia'), via *ministri Aug(usti) Merc(urii) Mai(ae)* ('attendants of Augustus, Mercury, and Maia'), to just *ministri Aug(usti)* ('attendants of Augustus') by 2 BC.[221] Epigraphic practice within these cults interacted and evolved in similar ways, reflecting the similarity in the personnel and character of the two cults. Although most of the identifiable slabs belong to the cult of Augustus–Mercury–Maia, it is possible that some of the fragmentary inscriptions belong instead to the cult of Augustan Fortune, given that both sets of *ministri* set up similar inscriptions.[222] The large number of dedications found reused, compared with the small number found in situ (and indeed the headquarters of the *ministri* of Mercury–Maia–Augustus have not as yet been identified) also suggests that the impression of the marginality of writing in Pompeii's temples mentioned earlier may be a rather misleading one.

With the passage of the centuries, even as the practice of setting up monumental inscriptions in Latin practically ceased, religion – now Christianity, of course – remained a sphere that could still inspire monumental writing. At Neapolis, a ninth-century calendar inscribed upon two large marble tablets (each roughly 6 m wide, 88 cm high, and 26 cm deep) listed the ritual days of the church in twenty-four columns of Latin.[223] The content of the calendar itself was cobbled together from a variety of sources – Byzantine, Roman, and Neapolitan – which resulted in the duplication of some saints' days, and, as such, was not an attempt to prescribe the year's liturgy for the local church. The tablets were probably displayed incorporated into the architecture inside the church of S. Giovanni Maggiore, where they were rediscovered, as part of the transenna or something similar. By the mid ninth century, however, the skilled craftsmen necessary to inscribe such a text must have been lacking at Neapolis, given that the inscription, carved by several hands, is full of errors where the wrong letter has been cut, suggesting illiterate workmen. Furthermore, even the composer of the text himself appears unfamiliar with Greek and Latin, and experienced difficulties in transcribing Greek names in their Latin forms. The calendar seems unlikely, therefore, to have been intended as a practical document in any sense, but as an ornamental and monumental display of the integration of local saints and martyrs into a wider framework.

---

[221] *CIL* X 887–9, 890 (2 BC), 891 (AD 1); 892 (AD 3); 895 (AD 23); 898 (AD 31), 899 (AD 32); 901 and perhaps 902 (AD 34), 905 (AD 21/2), 907–8, 910.

[222] Compare too other dedicatory slabs, set up by a *minister* of unspecified allegiance *CIL* X 884 + *EphEp* VIII 316 (AD 3) (cf. *CIL* X 900), and other fragments which could belong to either cult: *CIL* X 893 (AD 4), 894 (AD 14), 896 (AD 26), 897 (AD ?29), 903, 904 (AD 40/1), 906, 909, 912–15, 917.

[223] *Monumenta epigraphica Christiana* IV.1 *Neapolis, kalendarium ecclesiae Neapolitanae* tab. 1–6; A. Ferrua, 'Il calendario marmoreo napoletano', reprinted in *Scritti vari di epigrafia e antichità cristiane* (1991: Epiduglia: Bari) 215–23.

Aside from monumental inscriptions, **writing-tablets** could be important for private individuals in their commercial and legal business.[224] Individual tablets could be bound together in twos or threes, as diptychs and triptychs. This form of writing consists of wooden writing-tablets, their inner surface hollowed out and covered with wax, where a text would be inscribed with a metal pen (*stilus*). The text would then be repeated in ink written directly on the tablet's external wooden surface in the case of diptychs, and on a further wax surface for triptychs. In some cases discrepancies in the accuracy of spelling between the two versions indicate that the internal text might be written by the private individual concerned, whereas the exterior text was the work of a professional scribe.[225] Sometimes a brief summary of the document was also written in ink (*atramentum*) or scratched on an external wooden page [Fig. 1.21]. They were sealed with wax and witnessed, with the names of witnesses being listed next to their seals according to their position in the social hierarchy.[226] If the tablet was written in the first person (what is known as a chirograph/*chirographa*), it was sealed by three or more individuals (usually up to five, including even slaves), and twice by its author (in first and last place). If, however, the tablet was written in the third person (a *testatio*), it would be sealed by a mimimum of seven, up to a maximum of thirteen, citizens. The actual physical form of the wax tablets changed during the first century AD, with a shift from the use of diptychs to triptychs, with the former disappearing in the early 60s.[227] The additional third tablet protected the seals of the witnesses, and its new popularity marked a greater value being given to those seals,

---

[224] P. Degni, *Usi delle tavolette lignee e cerate nel mondo greco e romano* (1998: Ricerca Papirologica 4: Sicania: Messina) 40–55; E. A. Meyer, *Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World:* Tabulae *in Roman Belief and Practice* (2004: Cambridge University Press) ch. 6.

[225] J. N. Adams, 'The Latinity of C. Novius Eunus', *ZPE* 82 (1990) 227–47.

[226] J. Andreau, 'Remarques sur la société pompéienne (à propos des tablettes de L. Caecilius Jucundus)', *DialArch* 7.2–3 (1973) 213–54; G. Camodeca, 'Archivi privati e storia sociale delle città campane: Puteoli ed Herculaneum', in *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte: Studien zur Methodik und Erkenntnismöglichkeit der kaiserzeitlichen Prosopographie*, ed. W. Eck (1993: Böhlau: Cologne) 339–50, 'La ricostruzione dell'élite municipale ercolanese degli anni 50–70: problemi di metodo e risultati preliminari', *CCG* 7 (1996) 167–78, reprinted as ch. 9 in *I ceti dirigenti* (above, n.106), 'La società ercolanese alla luce della riedizione delle *Tabulae Herculanenses*' (above, n.59) 9–29.

[227] G. Camodeca, 'Nuovi dati sulla struttura e funzione documentale delle *tabulae ceratae* nella prassi campana', in *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini*, eds. H. Solin, O. Salomies, and U.-M. Liertz (1995: Commentationes humanarum litterarum 104: Helsinki) 59–77; G. Camodeca,

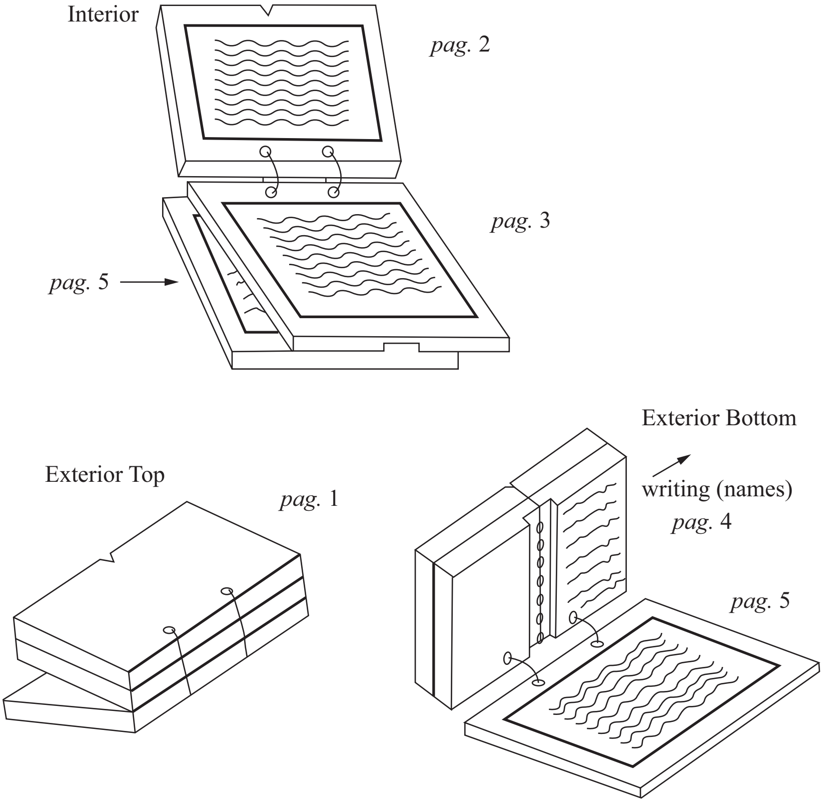


Fig. 1.21 Diagram of the format of a triptych (from E. A. Meyer, *Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World:* Tabulae *in Roman Belief and Practice* (2004: Cambridge University Press) 131 fig. 4)

probably reflecting measures against forgery in the senatorial decree (*SC Neronianum*) of AD 61: *amplissimus ordo decrevit eas tabulas, quae publici vel privati contractus scripturam continent, adhibitis testibus ita signari, ut in summa marginis ad mediam partem perforatae triplici lino constringantur, atque impositae supra linum cerae signa imprimantur, ut exterioris scripturae fidem interior servet. aliter tabulae prolatae nihil momenti habent.* ('The senate decreed that those tablets which contain the written record of a public or a private contract should, when witnesses have been summoned, be sealed as follows: when perforated at the edge of the margin at the middle part they should be bound together with a threefold thread, and seals of wax should

---

Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum: *Edizione critica dell'archivio puteolano dei Sulpicii* (1999: Vetera 12: Quasar: Rome) 31–5; Meyer, *Legitimacy and Law* (above, n.224) 125, with figs. 1–5.

be set on the thread, so that the interior text should preserve the integrity of the writing by means of the exterior text. Tablets produced in any other way shall not be considered to have legal effect').[228] The earliest tablet identified from the region so far that takes this legislation into account via its physical format dates from 14th July AD 62.[229]

Vast numbers of these documents were originally created, but they are rarely preserved.[230] The eruption of AD 79, however, ensured the preservation of several collections of wax tablets at Pompeii and Herculaneum, as well as individual examples, which together total more than 400 in number. The discovery of archives of wax tablets is particularly valuable, since this allows us insights into the business and legal interests of particular individuals over some years.

One hundred and fifty-three tablets found in the 'House of Caecilius Iucundus' at Pompeii (V.i.26) relate to the business activities of the banker (*coactor argentarius*) L. Caecilius Iucundus down to AD 62.[231] The majority of these relate to Iucundus' role as go-between at auction sales involving private individuals, and record that he has fulfilled the financial obligations laid upon him in the course of liaising between seller and buyer. Iucundus would pay a sum to the seller for the goods sold at auction a few days after an auction, and extend short-term credit to the buyer. Most of the documents are 'receipts' from the seller, acknowledging that Iucundus has paid the amount raised by auction and promised by contract. Sixteen other tablets record business between Iucundus and the town, in the form of receipts issued by a public slave confirming that the banker had fulfilled financial obligations resulting from his collection of tax and rental payments on behalf of the town. It would have been in the banker's interests to retain all of these tablets as proof that he had completed the transactions.

The so-called 'Murecine tablets' (or *Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum/TPSulp*) (127 documents), found abandoned in an enigmatic building just outside Pompeii, are more wide-ranging in character, and offer a picture of economic activities pursued by the bankers C. Sulpicius Faustus, C. Sulpicius Cinnamus, and C. Sulpicius Onirus in Puteoli between AD 26 and

---

[228] Paulus *Sent.* 5.25.6; cf. Suet. *Ner.* 17.

[229] *TH* 3, 47: G. Camodeca: 'Per una riedizione delle *Tabulae Herculanenses* II.1 *Nomina arcaria* TH 70 + 71 e TH 74', *Ostraka* 2.2 (1993) 197–209, at 201 n.26.

[230] W. Eck, 'Inschriften auf Holz: ein unterschätztes Phänomen der epigraphischen Kultur Roms', in Imperium Romanum: *Studien zu Geschichte und Rezeption*, eds. P. Kneissl and V. Losemann (1998: Franz Steiner: Stuttgart) 203–17.

[231] *CIL* IV 3340, 1–153; J. Andreau, *Les affaires de Monsieur Jucundus* (1974: École française de Rome: Rome).

AD 61, with texts relating to loans, accounts, auctions, rents, and various judicial proceedings.[232]

Several groups of tablets, around 160 in all, were excavated in eight different houses at Herculaneum, mostly dating from between AD 40/1 and AD 75, and are still awaiting definitive publication (*Tabulae Herculanenses/TH*).[233] Three individuals dominate these archives, none of whom are of elevated social status: L. Cominius Primus, L. Venidius Ennychus, and Calatoria Themis. Some of these tablets relate to loans made directly from an individual's money-chest (*arca*), without the mediation of a banker; in these cases, it was clearly important to be able to establish proof of the financial obligation thereby created between lender and borrower.[234] Another set of three tablets concerns judgment of a property dispute, the issue being whether Cominius Primus has legally removed the 306 wooden stakes that separated off his estate from his neighbour's, in order to challenge the current position of the boundary between them.[235] In the case of Venidius Ennychus, however, what was at issue was nothing less than his right to full Roman citizenship and promotion from status as Junian Latin with only limited citizen-rights (for example, not being permitted to make a will).[236] This depended upon his being able to prove that he had married and produced a child who had survived beyond its first birthday, with the local decurions carrying out an initial assessment of the case which was then verified by the urban praetor, a procedure known as *anniculi probatio* ('proof of a one-year-old').[237] Similarly in the case of Petronia Iusta, wax tablets document the issue over whether she was born a slave or free.[238] In these cases, careful preservation of documents on tablets, such as a decurional decree and edict of the urban praetor at Rome (*TH* 89), was crucial to the individuals' ability to sustain their status in society.

---

[232] Camodeca, Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum (above, n.227), with accessible analysis in English by D. Jones, *The Bankers of Puteoli: Finance, Trade and Industry in the Roman World* (2006: Tempus: Stroud); A. Lintott, 'Freedmen and slaves in the light of legal documents from first-century A.D. Campania', *CQ* 52.2 (2002) 555–65, at 556–9; G. Rowe, 'Trimalchio's world', *SCI* 20 (2001) 225–45.

[233] Initial publication of the tablets by V. Arangio-Ruiz and G. Pugliese Carratelli in various articles in *PP* is being entirely superseded by new work by G. Camodeca, who has so far published preliminary results in various articles: 'Per una riedizione delle *Tabulae Herculanenses* I', *CronErcol* 23 (1993) 109–19 = *AÉpigr* (1993) 460–1; 'Per una riedizione delle *Tabulae Herculanenses* II.1' (above, n.229) = *AÉpigr* (1993) 462a–b; 'Riedizione del trittico ercolanese *TH* 77 + 78 + 80 + 53 + 92 del 26 gennaio 69', *CronErcol* 24 (1994) 137–46 = *AÉpigr* (1994) 416; 'Tabulae Herculanenses: riedizione delle emptiones di schiavi (*TH* 59–62),' in Quaestiones Iuris: *Festschrift für J. G. Wolf*, eds. U. Manthe and C. Krampe (2000: Freiburger Rechtsgeschichtliches Abhandlungen 36: Duncker and Humblot: Berlin) 53–76; 'Per una riedizione dell'archivio ercolanese di L. Venidius Ennychus', *CronErcol* 32 (2002) 257–80; 'Per una riedizione dell'archivio ercolanese di L. Venidius Ennychus II', *CronErcol* 36 (2006) 189–211; 'Dittici e trittici nella documentazione campana (8 a.C. – 79 d.C.)', in Eburnea diptycha: *i dittici d'avorio tra Antichità e Medioevo*, ed. M. David (2007: Edipuglia: Bari) 81–107, at 93–5 for a fragment from 8 BC, so far the earliest tablet deciphered from the region.

[234] *TH* 70, 71, 74, with Camodeca, 'Per una riedizione delle *Tabulae Herculanenses* II.1' (above, n.229).

[235] Camodeca, 'Riedizione del trittico ercolanese' (above, n.233), with J. Crook, 'Three hundred and six stakes', in Quaestiones Iuris: *Festschrift für J. G. Wolf*, eds. U. Manthe and C. Krampe (2000: Freiburger Rechtsgeschichtliches Abhandlungen 36: Duncker and Humblot: Berlin) 77–81.

Finally, there have been some sporadic finds, such as the two tablets found carefully wrapped up in the furnace-area of the Palaestra Baths at Pompeii, which deal with the sale of slaves offered as security on a loan. It is likely that the creditor, Dicidia Magaris, kept the two tablets to show that she had acted within her rights in selling the two slaves which Poppaea Note had temporarily transferred into her ownership as security once the latter had defaulted on repaying the loan.[239]

18 Appointment of a judge: writing-tablet, Sulpicii archive, AD 35: Figs. 1.22–3

TPSulp 22

F. Sbordone, 'Preambolo per l'edizione critica delle tavolette cerate di Pompei', *RendNap* 51 (1976) 153 + photograph pl. VII = *AÉpigr* (1978) 124; G. Camodeca, *L'archivio puteolano dei Sulpicii* I (1992: Jovene: Naples) 97–104 = *AÉpigr* (1992) 272; G. Camodeca, Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum: *Edizione critica dell'archivio puteolano dei Sulpicii* (1999: Vetera 12: Quasar: Rome) 75–8 + II 472–5 illustrations (photographs + line drawings); J. G. Wolf, 'Der neue pompeijanische Urkundenfund', *ZSav* 118 (2001) 96–8 = *AÉpigr* (2001) 70 + 806; D. Jones, *The Bankers of Puteoli: Finance, Trade and Industry in the Roman World* (2006: Tempus: Stroud) 147–8.

TABLET I, PAGE 2 – TABLET II, PAGE 3 (INTERIOR TEXT, ON WAX):
C(aio) Ce[stio] M(arco) Servilio Noniano co(n)s(ulibus), / [– – –Feb]ruar(– – –). / A(ulus) C[astricius Celer] scripsi mi[h]i

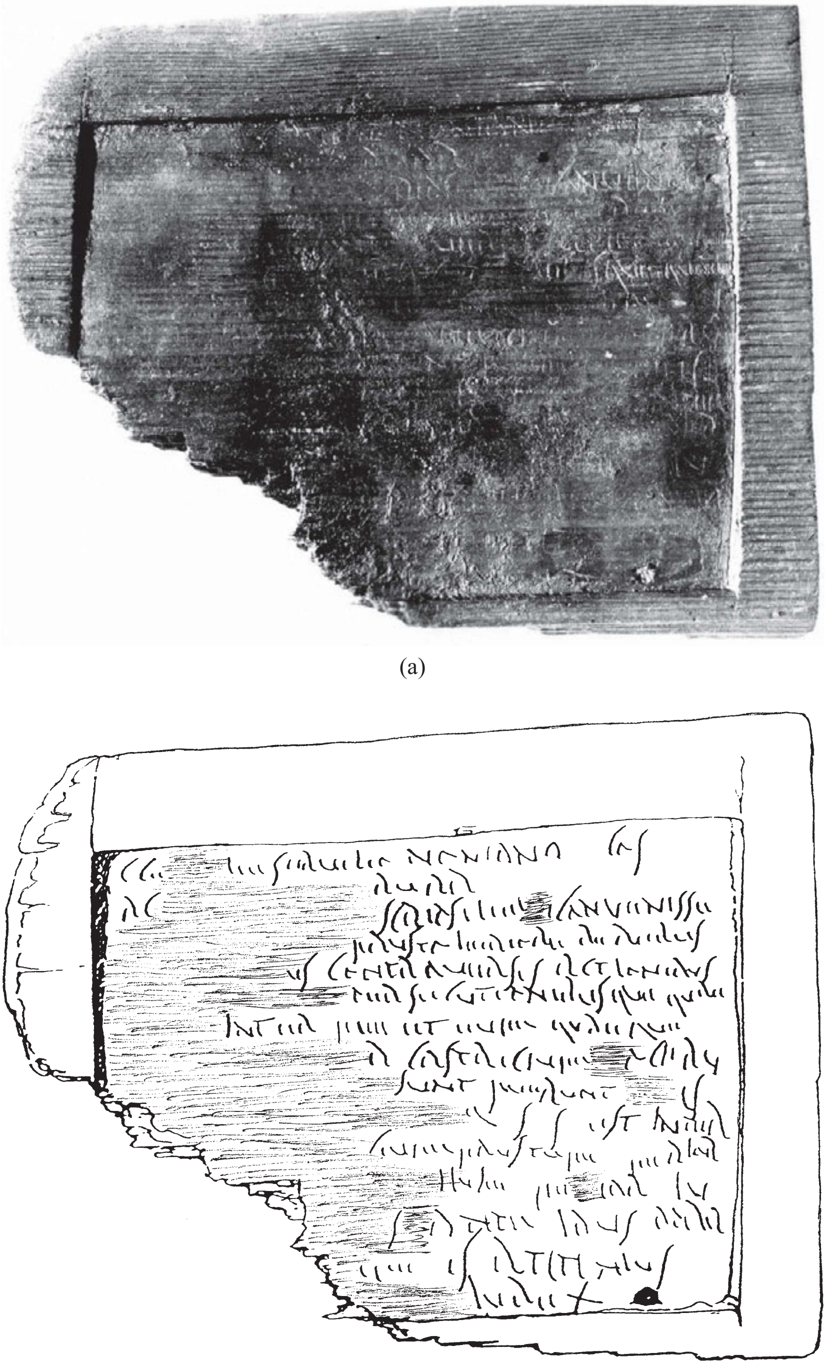
---

[236] Gai. *Inst.* 3.56–71; P. R. C. Weaver, 'Where have all the Junian Latins gone? Nomenclature and status in the early Empire', *Chiron* 20 (1990) 275–305.

[237] Gai. *Inst.* 1.29. *TH* 5 + 99 (AD 60), ined. (AD 61), 89 (AD 62); Camodeca, 'Per una riedizione dell'archivio ercolanese di L. Venidius Ennychus' (above, n.233) 262–4 and 'Per una riedizione dell'archivio ercolanese di L. Venidius Ennychus II' (above, n.233).

[238] *TH* 16–18, 20, 23–4; Lintott, 'Freedmen and slaves' (above, n.232) 560–5.

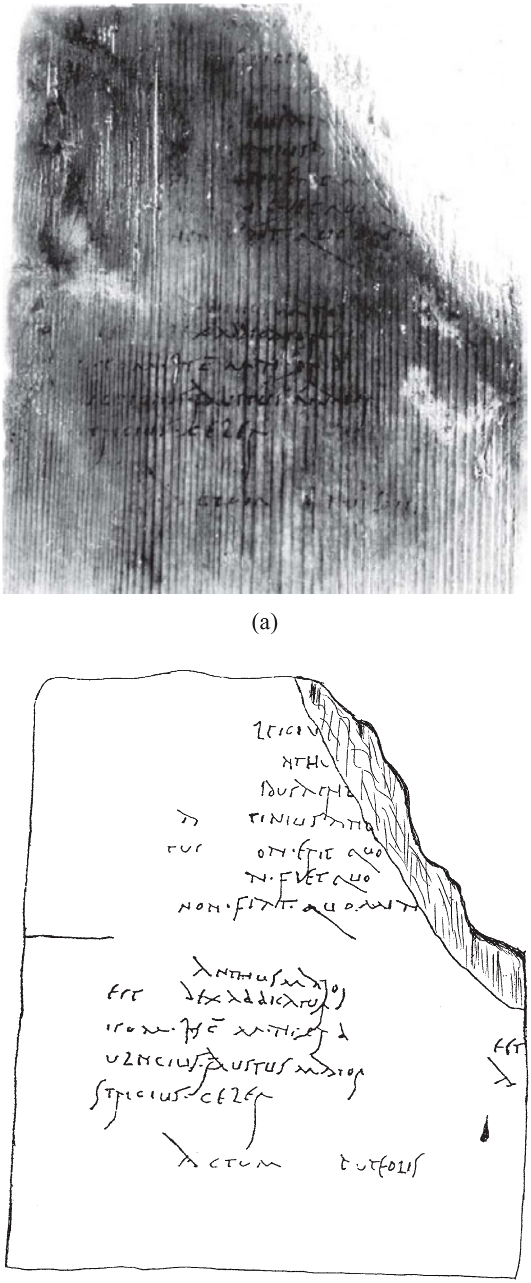
[239] *CIL* IV 3340.154–5.



(a)

(b)

Fig. 1.22 Appointment of a judge: writing-tablet, Sulpicii archive – *TPSulp* 22, Tab. 1, p. 2: photograph and line drawing (from G. Camodeca, Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum: *Edizione critica dell'archivio puteolano dei Sulpicii* (1999: Vetera 12: Quasar: Rome) II 473)



(a)

(b)

Fig. 1.23 Appointment of a judge: writing-tablet, Sulpicii archive – *TPSulp* 22, Tab. 1, p. 1: photograph and line drawing (from G. Camodeca, Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum: *Edizione critica dell'archivio puteolano dei Sulpicii* (1999: Vetera 12: Quasar: Rome) II 475)

convenisse / [cum C(aio) Sulpicio] Fausto maiore de rebus /5 [rationib]us controversis actìonibus / [petitionibus] persecutionibusque, quae / [sunt] ìnter me et eum quaeque / [inter eum et] A(ulum) Castricium [Is]ochry/[sum –] sunt fuerunt ++ is /10 [–], q(ui) s(upra) s(criptus) est ìnter / [me et C(aium) Sulpi]cium Faustum maìor(em) / [A(ulum) Titinium Ant]hum m[a]ior(em) ìu/[dicem futurum es]s[e] ante ìdus April(es) / [primas. si aut]em is A(ulus) Titinius /15 [Anthus maior, q(ui) s(upra) s(criptus) est,] ìudex ‖ [addictus non er]it, quod per me / [heredemve meum] non fiat, q[uod] / [per me heredemve] meum d(olo) m(alo) / [non fiat q]uominus is A(ulus) Titinius /5 [Anthus maior, qui supr]a [scriptus] est, / [iudex] addicatur, tum se[ster]tia / [cen]tum millia nummum / [p(roba)] r(ecte) d(ari) stipulatus est C(aius) / [S]ulpicius Faustus \`maior´, spopondi A(ulus) /10 Castricius Celer. [S)?] / actum Puteolis.

TABLET I, PAGE 1 (INK):
[– – –] ++ [– – –] +++ [– – –]/ [inter me et C(aium) Su]lpiciu[m Faustum maio]/[rem A(ulum) Titinium A]nthu[m maiorem iudicem] / [futurum esse] a[nte] ìdus April[es primas. si] /5 [autem is] A(ulus) [Ti]tinius Ant[hus maior q(ui) s(upra) s(criptus) est] / [iudex addic]tu[s n]on erit, quo[d per me he]/[redemve meum no]n fiet, quo[d per me here]/[demve meum d(olo) m(alo)] non fiat quomin[us is A(ulus)] / [Titinius] Anthus maìor, [qui supra scrip]/ 10 [tus] est, [iu]dex addicatur, [tum?] / [de h]is om(nibus)(?) HS C m(ilia) n(ummum) p(roba) r(ecte) d(ari) [stipulatus] est / [C(aius) S]ulpicius Faustus maior [spopondi] A(ulus) / [Ca]stricius Celer. / actum Puteolis.

Page 3 l.2 *non fiet* (Wolf)
Page 1 ll.7–8 *quo[dsi per me heredemve meum dolo malo {non} fiat quomin[us is A Titinius] Anthus maior [qui supra scriptus] est [i]udex addicatur* (Wolf)

'In the consulship of Gaius Cestius and Marcus Servilius Nonianus, ? February. I, Aulus Castricius Celer, have written that I have made an agreement with Gaius Sulpicius Faustus the elder concerning the matters, accounts, disputes, suits, claims, and actions, which exist between me and him, and which there are and have been between him and Aulus Castricius Isochrysus . . . who is mentioned above; that between me and Gaius Sulpicius Faustus the elder, Aulus Titinius Anthus the elder will be the judge before the 13th April next; but if that same Aulus Titinius Anthus the elder who is mentioned above is not assigned as judge, because through me or my heir it is not done, because through me or my heir through evil fraud it is not done, that the same Aulus Titinius Anthus the elder who is mentioned above is assigned as judge, then Gaius Sulpicius Faustus the elder has stipulated and I, Aulus Castricius Celer, have promised that 100 000 sesterces be duly paid in good coin. Transacted at Puteoli.

Between me and Gaius Sulpicius Faustus the elder, Aulus Titinius Anthus the elder will be the judge before the 13th April next; but if that same Aulus Titinius Anthus the elder who is mentioned above is not assigned as judge, because through me or my heir it is not done, because through me or my heir through evil fraud it is not done, that the same Aulus Titinius Anthus the elder who is mentioned above is assigned as judge, then concerning all these things Gaius Sulpicius Faustus the elder has stipulated and I, Aulus Castricius Celer, have promised that 100 000 sesterces be duly paid in good coin. Transacted at Puteoli.'

This is a diptych, the first tablet of which is damaged at its bottom left corner (height 8.5 cm, width +13.6 cm), the second at the top left (height 9.1 cm, width +13.5 cm). Page 1 has writing in ink upon wood, whilst pages 2–3 bear traces of the writing originally inscribed upon wax; no traces remain on page 4, where the witness list would have been written in ink, along with the start of the exterior copy of the text, which is continued on page 1. It is written in the first person, in the form of a chirograph. Its contents relate to litigation, and contain an agreement concerning the appointment of a judge, made by a magistrate in consultation with both parties concerned, Castricius Celer and Sulpicius Faustus. This proceeding follows an initial investigation into the case by the magistrate, who would then present a summary of his findings to the judge. It dates from between 14th January and 13th February AD 35. The language used here leaves nothing to chance, and consistently repeats full names of the parties involved, uses a list of synonyms to cover every eventuality, and even makes the agreement binding not just on Aulus Castricius Celer, but even upon his heir, just in case he should die in the interim before the case was heard. The agreement is repeated on the exterior of the tablet.

The style of language used on writing-tablets tended towards an archaizing, formal style, with repetition, including the common use of synonyms in asyndeton, as in the example above.[240] This stylistic trait contributed to an impression of precision that was suitable to a legal context. Like monumental inscriptions, these texts often used abbreviations extensively, reflecting the formulaic character of the language. The different types of documents also each had a set format and content.

Wax tablets were, therefore, used for recording a wide range of formal documents. The documents that have been preserved do not represent random jottings of transitory significance, but important texts that needed to be kept carefully intact. The format of the tablets relates to this function. Above all, once sealed, the internal text was well protected: any unauthorized opening of the tablet would have been perceptible and the wax surface would betray any tampering with the text.[241] Inevitably, however, the character of what has been preserved is rather more circumscribed than what must once have existed: the use of wax tablets for school writing-exercises, literary composition, and letter-writing is well attested, for example, but no such tablet survives from our region.

---

[240] Meyer, *Legitimacy and Law* (above, n.224) ch. 3.

The format of wax tablets was also imitated in bronze in the case of so-called diplomas, official extracts of larger documents displayed on the Capitol at Rome, granting citizenship and other rights to auxiliary veterans at the end of their terms of service. Each bronze diploma was personalized, and remained in the possession of the veteran as proof of his status; it is likely that wooden tablets were used for the same purpose. Given the vicinity of the fleet stationed at Misenum, it is unsurprising that a couple of examples have been found in this area, including the earliest one so far discovered, at Stabiae.[242] These small bronze tablets share some similarities in form and function with wax tablets: both have texts repeated on their interior and exterior; both are sealed with witnesses, and in both cases there is a concern to protect and authenticate the interior text.

What all of these tablets reveal, therefore, is the extensive use of writing-tablets by individuals, often of relatively humble status. Not only do they show the necessity of engaging in the minutiae of Roman law, but also the willingness even of individuals whose grasp of written Latin may not have been very confident to undertake to write out extensive documents in their own hands.[243] Legal and economic concerns clearly played a large part in stimulating this aspect of epigraphic culture in the Campanian towns.

1.4 Inscriptions and the economy: texts of production, distribution, and ownership

The phrase *instrumentum domesticum* is commonly used to denote a whole range of different inscriptions, and there is some degree of subjectivity involved in deciding what to include and what to exclude from this category.[244] According to Roman law, the phrase referred to any item essential for activities linked with production.[245] For example, a farm's *instrumentum* included things like tools (ploughs, mattocks, hoes), working-animals (oxen), and personnel (stewards, overseers).[246] The word *instrumentum* was used in contrast to *ornamenta*: *instrumenta* were essential, whereas the latter were purely for pleasure.[247] The following types of artefact are included in *CIL* XV, the volume devoted to *instrumenta*: stamps and painted inscriptions upon *amphorae*; stamps on bricks, tiles, and other building materials; *dolia* (large pottery storage vessels, usually embedded in the ground), bowls (*pelves*); lamps; pottery table- and kitchenware; glassware; metal objects (whether gold, silver, bronze, iron, or lead); and seal-stamps. In general, the objects can be divided into two main categories: vessels for storing or transporting other goods (such as *amphorae*, *dolia*, and wooden barrels), and objects that existed in their own right (such as fine pottery, bricks and tiles, and lead ingots). The category includes portable objects that did not usually derive meaning from the spatial context in which they were displayed, in contrast to the monumental inscriptions we have examined so far. Another characteristic is for inscriptions to appear repeated in identical fashion on mass-produced goods, via the use of a stamped template. The category is usually considered to exclude writing on coins, writing-tablets, *ostraka* (sherds of pottery), papyrus, and parchment.[248] Crucially, however, the phrase did not refer exclusively to inscribed objects. As such, the category of *instrumentum domesticum* is not likely to help illuminate epigraphic practice. Instead, it is more useful to think about the different roles played by inscriptions on objects that were generally portable and non-monumental, which often had some sort of link to economic activities. Their inscriptions can relate to production, distribution, and ownership.

---

[241] Meyer, *Legitimacy and Law* (above, n.224) 2.

[242] *CIL* XVI 1 = *CIL* X 769, AD 52; *CIL* XVI 7 = *CIL* X 770, AD 68; *CIL* XVI 8 = *CIL* X 771, AD 68. Magalhaes, *Stabiae romana* (above, n.172) nos. 14–16.

[243] Adams, ‘The Latinity of C. Novius Eunus’ (above, n.225).

This section illustrates the variety of functions performed by inscriptions present upon such objects. As a result of the archaeological conditions existing in the wake of Vesuvius' eruption, the Bay of Naples offers a wide range of *instrumentum domesticum*, a discussion of a sample of which will help to illustrate the range of interpretative possibilities raised by these short and deceptively simple-looking inscriptions. The inscriptions can be divided into two main groups: those that were created during the manufacturing of the object itself (usually stamps), and those that were added at a later stage (dipinti and graffiti) that relate to the object's use, distribution, and ownership.[249] In some cases, the inscription was integral to the object's function (as in the case of seal-stamps), whereas in others, inscriptions may have been tangential to the object's function. Writing could also play a crucial role in acting as proof of official authorization and quality control, notably in the case of certifying the accuracy of weights and measures.

---

[244] General analysis in G. Pucci, 'Inscribed *instrumentum* and the ancient economy', in *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions*, ed. J. Bodel (2001: Routledge: London) 137–52.

[245] *Dig.* 33.7: Mommsen and Krueger, *Digest* (above, n.67).

[246] *Dig.* 33.7.7–8: Mommsen and Krueger, *Digest* (above, n.67).

[247] *Dig.* 33.7.16: Mommsen and Krueger, *Digest* (above, n.67).

[248] W. V. Harris, 'Concerning this book', in *The Inscribed Economy: Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of* instrumentum domesticum, ed. W. V. Harris (1993: *JRA* supplement 6: Ann Arbor) 7–9, at 7.

The function of writing can be difficult to determine with confidence, however, and the all-important archaeological context is not always recorded in enough detail to allow for the objects' physical context to help decide between different possibilities. Added to this is the problem that the texts are often highly abbreviated, with the result that a name in the genitive case by itself does not indicate clearly whether we should interpret it as 'from the workshop of', or 'property of', or even 'workmanship of' or 'from the benefaction of', to list just a few possibilities. The different names recorded may reflect the specialized roles of different personnel, distinguishing producer from trader. Some inscriptions related to the transport and distribution of the object, whilst others were added by the owner after purchase of the item. Furthermore, a type of writing such as stamped letters does not always perform the same function when it appears in different contexts. Stamps on bricks cannot be explained in the same way as stamps on lead pipes.[250]

There is some temptation to define these inscriptions as primarily functional, but this is something of an oversimplification: these inscriptions too can have a commemorative or promotional aim. Overall, the fact remains that no single or simple explanation can be invoked: inscriptions may record ownership, guarantee the quality of a product or its capacity or dimensions; they may act as publicity; most of all, they may relate to the internal organization of production and distribution in the workshops.[251] It is not even always clear whether the inscriptions are for the benefit of the producer or consumer. A problem common to all categories is the lack of uniformity, since not all products found are stamped. This generates considerable debate about why some items are inscribed, whilst others are not.

---

[249] D. Manacorda, 'Appunti sulla bollatura in età romana', in *The Inscribed Economy: Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of* instrumentum domesticum, ed. W. V. Harris (1993: *JRA* supplement 6: Ann Arbor) 37–54 analyses possible reasons for stamps on a variety of products.

[250] C. Bruun, 'La ricerca sui bolli laterizi: presentazione generale delle varie problematiche', in *Interpretare i bolli laterizi di Roma e della Valle del Tevere: produzione, storia economica e topografica*, ed. C. Bruun (2005: *ActaInstRomFin* 32: Rome) 3–24, at 16.

[251] Manacorda, 'Appunti sulla bollatura' (above, n.249) 51.

Starting with lettering stamped upon **bricks and tiles**, there is chronological variation in the practice of stamping, with sporadic stamping during the first century BC, which became common during the second century AD, only to become infrequent again during the third century AD, then common again at the end of the third and during the early fourth centuries AD.[252] A variety of purposes can be deduced for the different stamps: they may indicate place of production and enable internal control to be exercised over it; they may relate to issues of ownership both at time of manufacture and once purchased; they may provide reassurance that the product is sound in terms of size and quality; they may even on rare occasions record an act of benefaction.[253] Not all stamps were functional: alongside an individual's name, some also bear good wishes for their manufacturer, in the form *valeat qui fecit* or abbreviated as *VQF* ('may the person who has made this fare well').[254] The majority of stamps, however, probably related to the regulation of large-scale commerical production of bricks and stamps, and the variable use of stamps may well reflect changes in the scale and complexity of production. It is not clear why some stamps included consular dates, nor why there was a great surge in the use of such dates in AD 123 on bricks produced around Rome.[255]

At Pompeii, most stamps offer an abbreviated name in the genitive case.[256]

---

[252] Pucci, 'Inscribed *instrumentum*' (above, n.244) 143, 147–51.

[253] The functions of brick-stamps have been much debated, mostly focusing upon production around Rome, with major contributions by T. Helen, *The Organization of Roman Brick Production in the First and Second Century AD: An Interpretation of Roman Brick Stamps* (1975: Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennica, Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 5: Helsinki); E. M. Steinby, 'I senatori e l'industria laterizia urbana', in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* I (1982: Tituli 4: Rome) 227–37 and 'L'organizzazione produttiva dei laterizi: un modello interpretativo per l'instrumentum in genere?', in *The Inscribed Economy: Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of* instrumentum domesticum, ed. W. V. Harris (1993: *JRA* supplement 6: Ann Arbor) 139–44; and D. Manacorda, 'I diversi significati dei bolli laterizi: appunti e riflessioni', in *La brique antique et médiévale: production et commercialisation d'un matériau*, eds. P. Boucheron, H. Broise, and Y. Thébert (2000: *CÉFR* 272: Rome) 127–59.

[254] Helen, *Organization of Roman Brick Production* (above, n.253) 10. Examples: *CIL* XV 117–20, 150, 1096–8, 1100–1.

[255] H. Bloch, *I bolli laterizi e la storia edilizia romana* (1938: reprint from Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale del Governatorato di Roma: Rome) 316–34.

[256] The following owes much to M. Steinby, 'La produzione laterizia', in *Pompei 79*, ed. F. Zevi (1984: Gaetano Macchiaroli: Naples) 265–71.

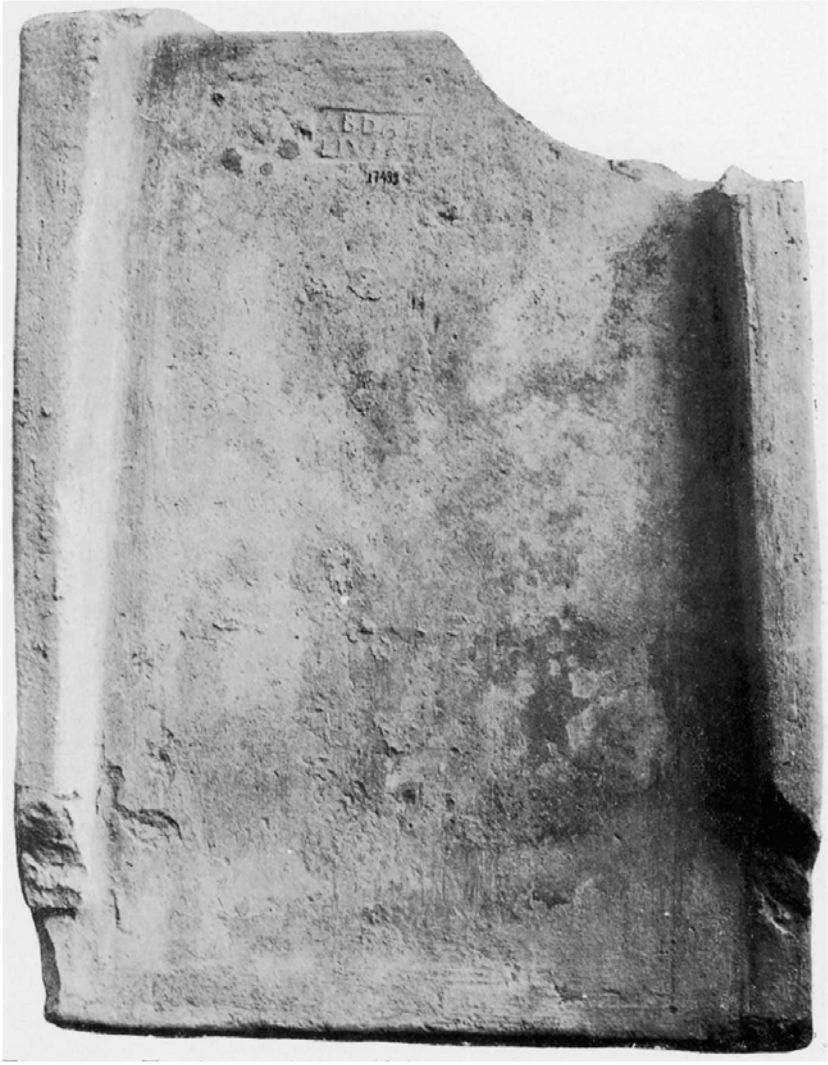


Fig. 1.24 Stamped tile, Pompeii – *CIL* X 8042, 41a (from M. Steinby, 'La produzione laterizia', in *Pompei 79*, ed. F. Zevi (1984: Gaetano Macchiaroli: Naples) 266, fig. 183a)

19 Stamped tile, Pompeii, Augustan era: Figs. 1.24–5

CIL X 8042, 41a

M. Steinby, 'La produzione laterizia', in *Pompei 79*, ed. F. Zevi (1984: Gaetano Macchiaroli: Naples) 266, fig. 183a/b – inv. 17499.

Abdae Liviae

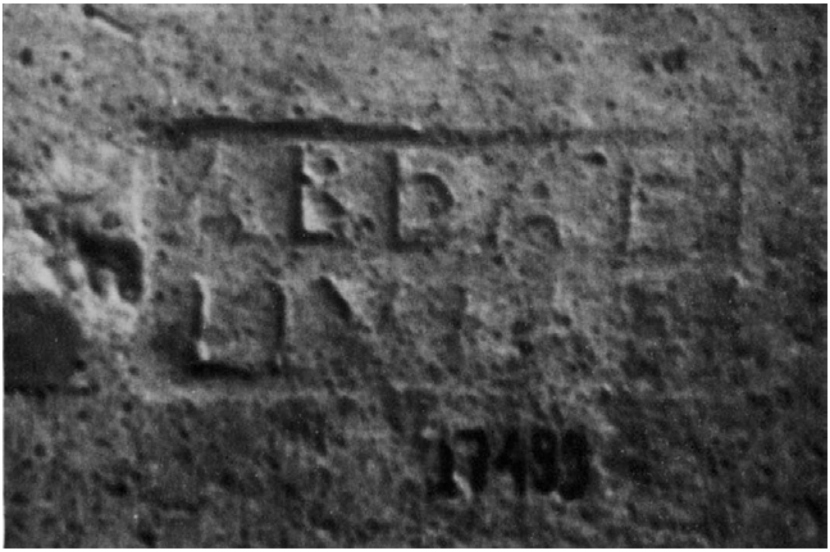


Fig. 1.25 Stamped tile, Pompeii: close-up of stamp – *CIL* X 8042, 41a (from M. Steinby, 'La produzione laterizia', in *Pompei 79*, ed. F. Zevi (1984: Gaetano Macchiaroli: Naples) 266, fig. 183b)

'Of Abda, slave of Livia.'

Bricks and tiles have been found in the Bay of Naples area stamped with the names of three slaves owned by Livia, wife of Augustus, who must have owned clayfields somewhere in Latium and/or Campania. The tiles are particularly prominent at Pompeii and Herculaneum, but tiles marked with the same stamp have also been found at villa A at Oplontis, S. Marco villa at Stabiae, Capua, Cumae, Lipari, and perhaps Capreae.[257] Stamps of another of her slaves, from the Tiberian period when she was known as Iulia Augusta, have been found at the S. Marco and Arianna villas at Stabiae, as well as at Capreae, Torre del Greco, Neapolis, and Capua.[258] Tiles marked with the name of a third slave, Dama, have been found at a rustic villa at S. Antonio Abate, Pompeii, and Herculaneum, as well as further afield at Minturnae.[259]

---

[257] At Herculaneum, 196 tile-stamps have been idenitifed: stamps associated with Livia's workshops are prominent in the town, with 12 stamped with the name of Abda, 8 with Hilarus, and 6 of Dama: M. Pagano, 'Tegulae campanae ad Ercolano', *CronErcol* 20 (1990) 157–76. S. Marco villa: P. Miniero 'Produzione laterizia', in *La Villa San Marco a Stabia*, eds. A. Barbet and P. Miniero (1999: Collection Centre Jean Berard 18/*CÉFR* 258: Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei: Naples and Rome) 66 no. 17 = ACS inv. 60382.

[258] *CIL* X 8042, 60a–h = Magalhaes, *Stabiae romana* (above, n.172) 54, 147 no. 28 + *Capri antica dalla preistoria alla fine dell'età romana*, eds. E. Federico and E. Miranda (1998: Edizioni La Conchiglia: Capri) 357 E51, 57–9 – *Yacinthi Iuliae August[ae]*. P. Miniero 'Produzione laterizia' (above, n.257) 66 no. 133 = ACS inv. 6022.

Whether these relate to the landowner of the claypit (*dominus*) or workshop manager (*officinator*) can sometimes be surmised from the nomenclature, since in general *domini* were of higher status than *officinatores*.[260] For example, tiles marked with the servile name *Abdae Liviae* ('of Abda, slave of Livia') refer to the *officinator*, whereas other tiles marked with the name of Faenius Rufus, Nero's praetorian prefect, designate the *dominus*.[261] Distinguishing between them can be difficult, however, given that *officinatores* could vary in status from slave to equestrian, and given that an *officinator* could also be an independent agent renting claylands rather than an employee of the *dominus*.[262] Essentially, stamps indicated ownership of the product at the time of manufacture, and cannot be used on their own to deduce ownership of the property where they were found in use: although it is tempting to deduce that a villa at Boscotrecase was owned by Agrippa Postumus on the basis of three tiles stamped *pupil(li) Agrip(pae) Tub(erone et Fabio cos* ('of young Agrippa, in the consulship of Tubero and Fabius (11 BC – i.e., the year after Agrippa's birth)), along with other graffiti and painted inscriptions in the villa mentioning slaves belonging to him, tiles marked with his name have been found in two other properties in Pompeii as well that are much less likely to have belonged to him.[263] His estate must have produced tiles for commercial marketing as well as for use on his property.

A very few stamps are concerned neither with production nor distribution, but are more akin to monumental inscriptions recording acts of benefaction. A tile dating from the late Republic or early Augustan era found in the Temple of the Public Lares in Pompeii's Forum bears the stamp *Cn(aeus) Domitius M(arci) f(ilius) Calvinus coloneis dedit* ('Gnaeus

---

[259] *CIL* X 8042, 41b–c = Magalhaes, *Stabiae romana* (above, n.172) 148 no. 33; M. Della Corte, 'Le iscrizioni di Ercolano', *RendNap* 33 (1958) 239–308, at 258 no. 155, from IV, 6; 281 nos. 536–9 from *Insula Orientalis* II n.2.

[260] Bruun, 'La ricerca sui bolli laterizi' (above, n.250) 7–8.

[261] Abdae Liviae: above, no. 16; Faenius Rufus (*PIR*^{2} F102): *CIL* XV 1136–7.

[262] J. Bodel, *Roman Brick Stamps in the Kelsey Museum* (1983: University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor) 3–4.

[263] 'VIII. Pompei – Scavi eseguiti da privati nel territorio di Pompei (secondo rapporto). XI. La villa rustica "Ti. Claudi Eutychi, Caesaris l(iberti)", esplorata dall sig. cav. Ernesto Santini, nel fondo di sua proprietà alla contrada Rota (Comune di Boscotrecase), negli anni 1903–1905', *NSc* (1922) 459–78, at 478. Two tiles at Pompeii, with fragmentary stamp: A. Sogliano, 'VII – Pompei – Relazione degli scavi fatti nel mese di marzo 1899', *NSc* (1899) 104.

Domitius Calvinus, son of Marcus, gave (this) to the colonists').[264] This unusual stamp is more similar to monumental building-inscriptions in the town (compare above, no. 8 from the amphitheatre) than to other tile-stamps. The tile, however, is of an earlier date than the building into which it was incorporated, indicating that it must have been salvaged and reused from an earlier structure. A few similar euergetic stamps are also found in southern Latium in the late Republic.[265]

Pottery vessels were commonly used for shipping commodities around the Mediterranean world.[266] Although we tend to think primarily in terms of the liquid cargoes of olive oil, wine, and *garum* (fish sauce), evidence from a shipwreck excavated at Pisa reveals a much wider range of materials transported in this way, including nuts (hazelnuts and chestnuts), a variety of fruits (such as peaches, cherries, plums) and even non-food substances (including red ochre, arsenic sulphide, and volcanic sand). Wreck B, from around the end of the first century BC, contained *amphorae* that were manufactured at different chronological periods and were originally intended to transport wine, but were evidently subsequently reused for a variety of goods.[267] This greater variety resulted from the common practice of reusing *amphorae*, which also meant that inscriptions on *amphorae* did not always keep pace with the actual use made of the vessels, but such discrepancy only emerges if a detailed examination of the *amphora* and its contents is possible. In other cases, the painted inscriptions do exactly that, identifying unusual contents, being stored perhaps rather than transported, in a particular *amphora*. Other *amphorae* sometimes bear multiple painted inscriptions, indicating two different uses for the vessel.[268]

Amphorae bear four main types of inscription, which were stamped, painted, or scratched upon the clay, and stamped onto the stopper.[269] Inscriptions stamped into the clay fabric of the vessel related to the manufacture of the vessel itself, and were perhaps intended to serve as a guarantee of the *amphora*'s soundness.[270] It is perhaps more likely, however, that the stamped inscription simply marked the end of the first stage of production, up until firing. Stamps were added to the stoppers when the amphora was sealed, and included personal names of shipowners (*navicularii*) and traders (*mercatores*), geometric motifs, and signs. Painted inscriptions were added as a record of an *amphora*'s contents and in relation to its shipping. Baetican oil *amphorae* are noted for the particularly full and complex sequence of data recorded on them, including information such as the vessel's weight when empty and full, recording the goods transported, their weight or measurement, a date, and personal and topographical names.[271] Regulating capacity was particularly important to prevent fraud by someone using containers that were manufactured so as to be heavier but less capacious for transporting goods sold by weight. Regulation could possibly be particularly important within the *annona* system, where accountability was crucial to all concerned, whether producer, transporter, or consumer. Nevertheless, no painted inscriptions occur on African *amphorae*, which were also part of the *annona*-system, suggesting that the Baetican practice cannot be accounted for in this way. Finally, painted inscriptions could also identify the *amphora*'s destination. Graffiti scratched upon the clay both before and after firing could relate to the whole life of the vessel, recording the name of its maker(s) or owner. A particular interpretative problem is raised by the fact that not all *amphorae* bore inscriptions. Nor was there consistency of practice within a single area of production, although there was a tendency to stamp if engaged in extensive export into a different region or overseas. One possibility is that only a proportion of any given batch of *amphorae* was stamped, or perhaps that *amphorae* were stamped if they were intended for use by someone else. The practice of stamping *amphorae* continued into late antiquity, but only as a residual practice. Wooden barrels might also have stamps branded onto their stave and stopper, as well as painted inscriptions, but very few survive archaeologically.[272]

---

[264] The same stamp has been found at Tarracina, Circeii, and Formiae: *CIL* X 6314 = 8043,1 = *ILLRP* 430; *AÉpigr* (1991) 424; *AÉpigr* (2001) 748.

[265] Steinby, 'La produzione laterizia' (above, n.256) 267; Manacorda, 'I diversi significati dei bolli laterizi' (above, n.253) 128.

[266] D. P. S. Peacock and D. F. Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman Economy* (1986: Longman: Harlow, UK).

[267] S. Pesavento Mattioli, S. Mazzochin, and M. G. Pavoni, 'Anfore della nave B', in *Le navi antiche di Pisa* (2000: Edizioni Polistampa: Florence) 131–47; cf. J. T. Peña, *Roman Pottery in the Archaeological Record* (2007: Cambridge University Press) ch. 5, who has also argued, however, in 'Two groups of *tituli picti* from Pompeii and environs', *JRA* 20 (2007) 233–54, that a large group of *amphorae* considered to have carried 'irregular contents' in the region of Pompeii were instead Sicilian wine transporters.

[268] Peña, *Roman Pottery in the Archaeological Record* (above, n.267) 99–114; S. Pesavento Mattioli, 'L'epigrafia delle anfore', in *Le navi antiche di Pisa* (2000: Edizioni Polistampa: Florence) 163.

---

[269] D. Manacorda and C. Panella, 'Anfore', in *The Inscribed Economy: Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of* instrumentum domesticum, ed. W. V. Harris (1993: *JRA* supplement 6: Ann Arbor) 55–64.

[270] Manacorda, 'Appunti sulla bollatura' (above, n.249) 39.

[271] E. Rodríguez-Almeida, 'Graffiti e produzione anforaria della Baetica', in *The Inscribed Economy: Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of* instrumentum domesticum, ed. W. V. Harris (1993: *JRA* supplement 6: Ann Arbor) 95–106.

[272] Pucci, 'Inscribed *instrumentum*' (above, n.244) 147; Manacorda, 'Appunti sulla bollatura' (above, n.249) 37–8.

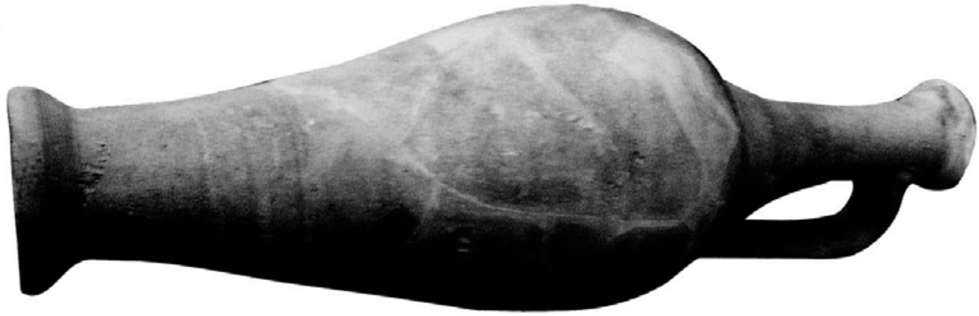


Fig. 1.26 *Urceus*, Villa loc. Petraro, Stabiae – inv. 62806 (from *In Stabiano: cultura e archeologia da Stabiae: la città e il territorio tra l'età arcaica e l'età romana* 2001, 146 no. 281)

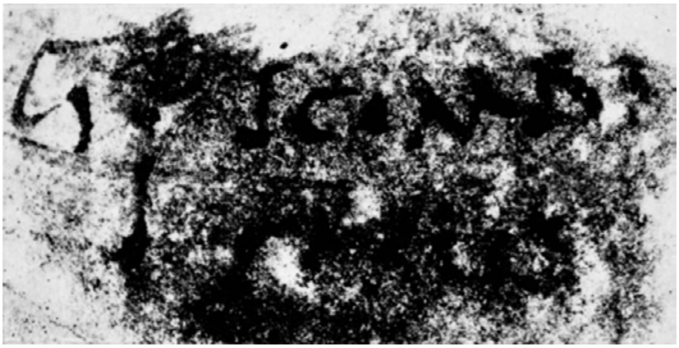


Fig. 1.27 *Urceus*, Villa loc. Petraro, Stabiae – inv. 62806: close-up of painted inscription (from S. De Caro, 'Villa rustica in località Petraro (Stabiae)', *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, ser. 3, 10 (1987) 70 no. 73, fig. 85)

Amphorae found at Pompeii bear painted inscriptions to identify their contents, both usual (wine, oil, *garum*), and, in a total of twenty-seven cases, unexpected (chickpeas, rice, honey, fava bean meal, olives, and *psilothrum*, a depilatory unguent).[273] These inscriptions did not always simply identify their contents, but sometimes also made claims about the quality of the contents.

20 ***Urceus*, Villa loc. Petraro, Stabiae, mid first century AD: Figs. 1.26–7**

S. De Caro, 'Villa rustica in località Petraro (Stabiae), *RivIstArch* ser. 3, 10 (1987) 70 no. 73, with fig. 85; *In Stabiano* (2001) 146 no. 281, *urceus* inv. 62806.

g(ari) f(los) scombr(i) Scaur(i)

---

[273] Peña, *Roman Pottery in the Archaeological Record* (above, n.267) 101–9, with Table 5.4.

'Finest mackerel sauce of Scaurus.'

This inscription appears painted in black on the shoulder of a small one-handled pottery jar (*urceus*) (height 57 cm) found in room 24 of the villa loc. Petraro, at Stabiae.

21 Mosaic *urceus*, house of Umbricius Scaurus, Pompeii, mid first century AD: Fig. 1.28

AÉpigr (1992) 278d

R. I. Curtis, 'A personalized floor mosaic from Pompeii', *AJA* 88 (1984) 557–66 and 'A. Umbricius Scaurus of Pompeii', in *Studia Pompeiana et Classica in Honor of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski*, ed. R. I. Curtis (1988: Caratzas: New York) I 19–50; A. E. and M. G. L. Cooley, *Pompeii: A Sourcebook* (2004: Routledge: London) 166 – H20b. Autopsy.

g(ari) f(los) sco[m(bri)] / Scauri / ex offic[i] / na Scau/ri

'Scaurus' finest mackerel sauce from Scaurus' workshop.'

The *garum* produced by A. Umbricius Scaurus at Pompeii was distributed in small one-handled jars (*urcei*) whose painted inscriptions commonly boasted of the exceptional quality of the *garum* and *liquamen* produced in his workshops, such as *g(ari) f(los) scombr(i) / optimum / ex officina / A(uli) Umbrici Abascanti* ('Best finest mackerel sauce from the workshop of Aulus Umbricius Abascantus').[274] Although it might be possible to interpret these as simply designed to identify which of his *urcei* contain the highest grade of a variety of sauces produced by his workshops (but none survive stating 'low grade fish sauce'!),[275] his rather idiosyncratic decision to adorn the *impluvium* in the *atrium* of his luxurious house (*Insula Occidentalis* 12–15) with four mosaics, one at each corner, depicting a fish-sauce jar, together with a label proclaiming its high quality, suggests that Scaurus may actually have been pursuing a distinctive marketing strategy for his *garum*. If this is so, then he was very successful: judging by the finds of *urcei* in the region, Scaurus dominated the regional market, with over fifty of his containers having been found in Pompeii and its immediate environs, and roughly 30% of the fish sauce containers found in the whole of Campania originating in his workshops. One of his jars has even been found in a shipwreck at Fos-sur-Mer in southern France, intimating that he may also have exported his sauce. His production of *garum* was evidently on a large scale, divided into several separate units. The painted inscriptions refer to various *officinae* run by his freedmen (including Abascantus, Agatho, Agathopus,

---

[274] *CIL* IV 5689 = *ILS* 8599a.

[275] Cf. caution expressed by Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine* (above, n.20) I 446–7.

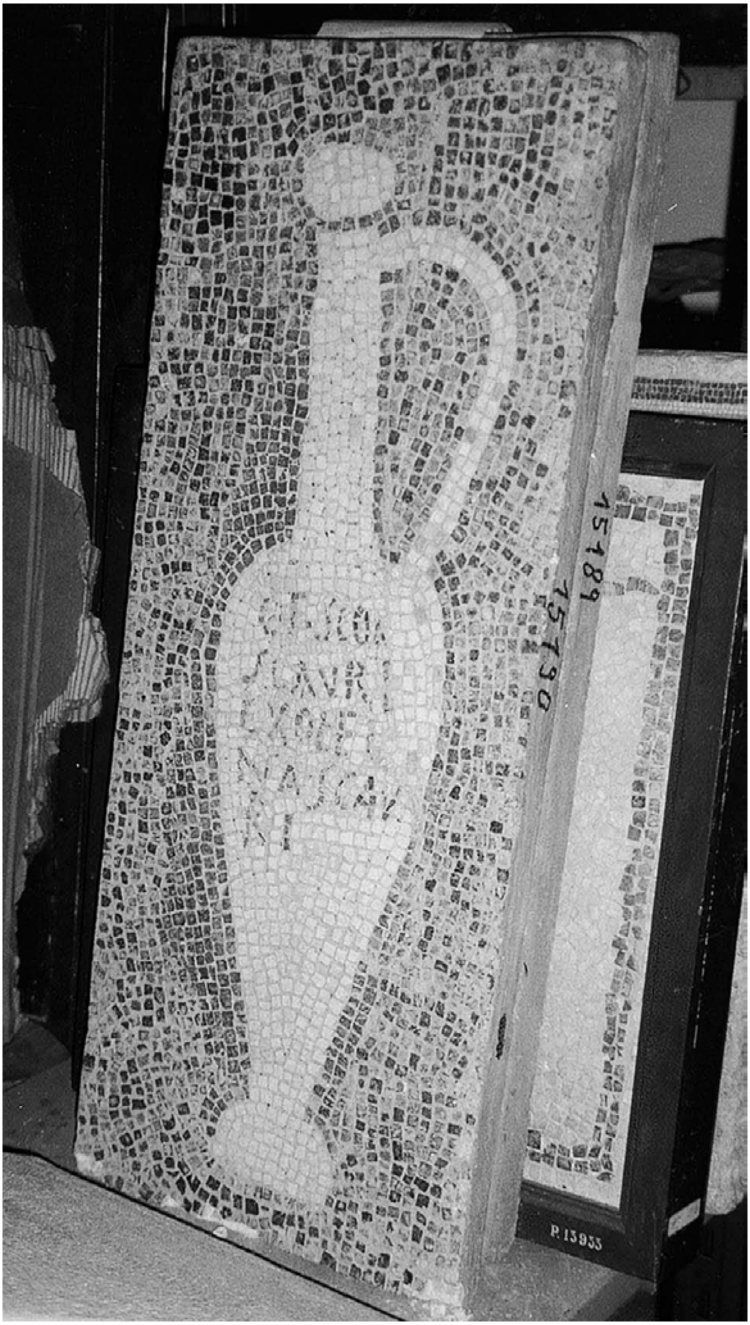

15189
15130
P. 13933

Fig. 1.28 Mosaic *urceus,* house of Umbricius Scaurus, Pompeii – *AÉpigr* (1992) 278d (photo: A. E. Cooley)

Caicthtus, Ninhtus (*sic*)), and to a distribution system managed by various freed(wo)men and slaves.[276]

Although labels on transport jars seem to have been used as an unusually well-developed and coherent marketing tool in the case of Umbricius Scaurus, other painted inscriptions have been found on *amphorae* that also promote their contents, such as a painted inscription on the neck of a Dressel 22 *amphora* that declares *mal(a) Cum(ana) ver(a)* ('real Cumaean fruits'), followed by an indication of the weight of the contents – *LXIIII* ('64 pounds'), and the initials *P.C.Z.* (perhaps referring to the person dispatching the product), with the name *Cornelius* above the tail of the *Z*, perhaps recording the name of the agent who packed the *amphora*.[277] *Amphorae* found in an inn at Herculaneum proclaiming that they contain *choum vet(us) exc(ellens)* ('excellent vintage Choan') may perhaps have encouraged customers to dig deeper into their pockets to buy superior-quality wine.[278] The healing properties of medicinal wine, made from aminea grapes and starch, invented by Musa, doctor to none other than Augustus himself, are advertised on a jar found in VI.xvi.8 at Pompeii, whose painted inscription states: *faecula aminea musea ad varia petita* ('Musa's aminea starch, a suitable remedy for a variety of afflictions').[279] Painted inscriptions could also act as address labels, giving directions for delivery of the jars to specific commercial premises, such as *Pompeis / ad amphitheatr(um) / Euxino coponi(!)* ('At Pompeii, near the amphitheatre, to Euxinus the innkeeper'), or *Caecilio Iucundo ab Sexsto Metello* ('To Caecilius Iucundus from Sextus Metellus') found on an *amphora* in the *taberna* to the south of the main entrance to the 'House of Caecilius Iucundus' (V.i.27).[280]

---

[276] H. Mouritsen, 'Roman freedmen and the urban economy: Pompeii in the first century AD', in *Pompei tra Sorrento e Sarno*, ed. F. Senatore (2001: Bari Editore: Rome) 1–27, at 17. *Ex officina*: *CIL* IV 5689 (Abascantus), *AÉpigr* (1905) 191 (Agatho), *CIL* IV 2580 = 5691, *CIL* IV 5690, 9403–5 (Agathopus), *CIL* IV 5693 (Caicthtus), *CIL* IV 5692 (Ninhtus); *ab*: *CIL* IV 6921 (Agathopus) *CIL* IV 5688 (Umbricia), *CIL* IV 5675 (Umbricia Fortunata), *AÉpigr* (1913) 91, *CIL* IV 9406 (imperial freedman Martialis), *CIL* IV 2576 (Eutyche), *AÉpigr* (1995) 302e (slave of M. Fabius).

[277] Pompei inv. 15450 = J. Ward-Perkins and A. Claridge, *Pompeii AD 79* (1976: Imperial Tobacco Ltd: Bristol) no. 289.

[278] Della Corte, 'Le iscrizioni di Ercolano' (above, n.259) 283 no. 590.

[279] *Pompeii: Life in a Roman Town*, eds. A. Ciarallo and E. De Carolis (1999: Electa: Milan) 252 n.317.

[280] Euxinus: *AÉpigr* (1967) 86d. Iucundus: *CIL* IV 5788, with Andreau, *Les affaires de Monsieur Jucundus* (above, n.231) 36 and A. Karivieri and R. Forsell, 'New results from the campaigns of 2003–2006 in the *Casa di Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1, 22–27)', in *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana*, eds. P. G. Guzzo and M. P. Guidobaldi (2008: Studi di Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei 25: Bretschneider: Rome) 103–8. Compare D. Manacorda, 'Anfore

Huge pottery vessels, ***dolia***, were embedded in the ground for storing foodstuffs, especially for fermenting wine. Rustic villas in the countryside around Pompeii usually had a courtyard (*cella vinaria*) filled with rows of embedded *dolia*. At villa rustica no. 2 in the Comune di Terzigno, twenty-one *dolia* in parallel lines were found in the villa's wine storeroom, and were apparently used over a period of time, given signs of repair on some. Since not all of them had the same volume, their capacities were painted upon the shoulder of the vessels.[281] The other use of inscriptions upon *dolia* was in the form of the impression of a maker's stamp at the production stage, as with other pottery products.[282]

Stamps are also found on red-gloss ware, which was manufactured in large quantities by using standardized moulds. Various types of stamps appeared on different parts of the pots, and served a variety of functions: stamps on the walls of pots indicated the designer of the pattern and were akin to artists' signatures in other media, whereas stamps on the base of pots indicated the workshop manager.[283] Italian ***terra sigillata*** was stamped from the mid first century BC, but then the frequency of this practice declined during the mid second century AD.[284] The use of stamps generally seems likely to have been related to the production process, and it also varied between different production centres.[285] Nevertheless, from *c.*AD 15 there was a large-scale move to stamp Arretine ware with a distinctive footprint mark (*in planta pedis*), which may have been in response to the increased production elsewhere of imitation-ware, and perhaps suggests that the stamps were also now addressed to potential consumers.[286] This possibility is supported by stamps that simply declare *Arreti(num)*, information that arguably has no function within production processes, but which might be intended to lure potential customers. The fact that such stamps appear on products

---

spagnole a Pompei', in *L'instrumentum domesticum di Ercolano e Pompei nella prima età imperiale*, eds. M. Annecchino *et al.* (1977: Quaderni di cultura materiale 1: Bretschneider: Rome) 121–33, at 128 for what appears to be a consignment of Spanish *amphorae* destined for a particular wholesaler at Pompeii.

[281] C. Cicirelli, 'Comune di Terzigno: località Boccia al Mauro, proprietà Cava Ranieri', *RStPomp* 5 (1991/2) 208–11.

[282] *CIL* X 8047.

[283] G. Pucci, 'I bolli sulla terra sigillata: fra epigrafia e storia economica', in *The Inscribed Economy: Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of* instrumentum domesticum, ed. W. V. Harris (1993: *JRA* supplement 6: Ann Arbor) 73–9, at 77.

[284] Pucci, 'Inscribed *instrumentum*' (above, n.244) 143.

[285] Pucci, 'I bolli sulla terra sigillata' (above, n.283) 74; P. Kenrick, *Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum: A Catalogue of the Signatures, Shapes and Chronology of Italian Sigillata* by A. Oxé and H. Comfort (2nd edn, 2000: Habelt: Bonn) 10–12.

[286] G. Siebert, 'Signatures d'artistes, d'artisans et de fabricants dans l'antiquité classique', *Ktema* 3 (1978) 111–31, at 125.

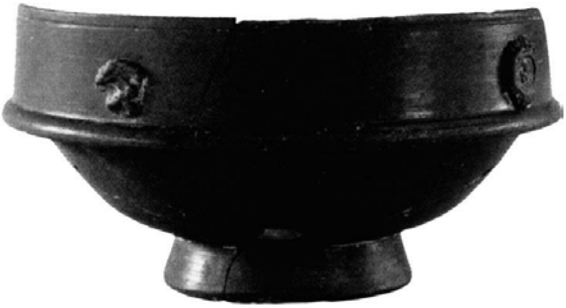


Fig. 1.29 *Terra sigillata* cup, Villa Arianna, Stabiae – inv. 63806 (from *In Stabiano: cultura e archeologia da Stabiae – la città e il territorio tra l'età arcaica e l'età romana* (2001: Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei: Castellammare di Stabia) 133 no. 244)

not actually made at Arezzo, if anything, increases this likelihood.[287] N. Naevius Hilarus, a producer at Puteoli, for example, appears to have tried to pass his pottery off as Arretine, stamping the word *Arreti(num)* upon it, and similar Arretine-imitations were also produced at La Graufesenque in southern Gaul.[288] The use of stamps in these cases may have been as a sort of quality assurance or advertisement. Whatever the aim of redesigning the style of stamp, its introduction seems to have marked a period of new impetus among the producers of Arretine ware.

22 *Terra sigillata* cup, Villa Arianna, Stabiae, first century AD: Figs. 1.29–30

In Stabiano: cultura e archeologia da Stabiae – la città e il territorio tra l'età arcaica e l'età romana (2001: Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei: Castellammare di Stabia) 133 no. 244, previously unpublished: inv. 63806.

L(ucius) R(asinius) P(isanus)

'Lucius Rasinius Pisanus.'

Many pottery products have been found in our region bearing the 'footprint' stamp of Rasinius, who operated a large-scale workshop producing *terra sigillata*

---

[287] As observed by Kenrick, *Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum* (above, n.285) 11, with references to examples of such stamps.

[288] Kenrick, *Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum* (above, n.285) 111 no. 242, cf. nos. 243–4; G. Pucci, 'Le terre sigillate italiche, galliche e orientali', in *L'instrumentum domesticum di Ercolano e Pompei nella prima età imperiale*, eds. M. Annecchino *et al.* (1977: Quaderni di cultura materiale 1: Bretschneider: Rome) 9–21, at 12; Pucci, 'I bolli sulla terra sigillata' (above, n.283) 75.

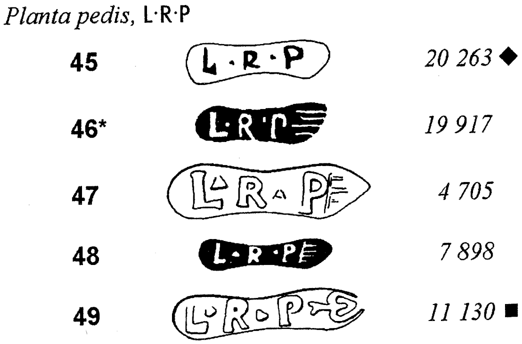


Fig. 1.30 ‘Footprint’ stamps of L. Rasinius Pisanus on *terra sigillata* (from P. Kenrick, *Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum: A Catalogue of the Signatures, Shapes and Chronology of Italian Sigillata*, by A. Oxé and H. Comfort (2nd edn, 2000: Habelt: Bonn) 364 no. 1690/45–9)

ware at Arezzo.[289] This *terra sigillata* cup (height 6.4 cm, diameter 12 cm, type Goud. 38), decorated with dolphins and rosettes, was found in room 14 of the Villa Arianna at Stabiae. The footprint stamp appears on the inside of the base.

Manufacturer’s marks are found stamped on a whole variety of other objects too, some apparently referring to the individual craftsman who actually made the item, and others identifying the workshop where it was produced. Stamps are found on mass-produced terracotta lamps from the first century BC to the third century AD, and it seems that fluctuations in their use relate to changes in the scale and complexity of the organization of their production.[290] It seems likely, for instance, that lamps sold directly from workshops for local use were not stamped, given that none of the lamps found in the lamp-workshop at Pompeii (I.xx.2–3) bear stamps.[291] Two pottery *mortaria*, used for grinding, found in room 11 in the Casa del Fabbro, identify both the workshop and the craftsman (a slave or freedman): each bears a stamp repeated twice at the rim: ⊂corona⊃ *St(ati) Marc(i) Restitut(i)*, plus a single stamp *[L]ucifer fec(it)* ⊂palma⊃ (‘Of Statius Marcius Restitutus; Lucifer made it’).[292] Fifty-five out of 1678 bronze vessels found at Pompeii bear stamps, mostly with names in the genitive, and a few in the nominative. These names variously represent the owners of the workshop, workshop managers, individual craftsmen, or the owner of the item. Despite the fact that the names of L. Ansius Epaphroditus and P. Cipius Polybius recur frequently, no two stamps are identical.[293] Valuable objects can also carry inscriptions that have been interpreted as identifying their owner rather than their manufacturer. One example is an ornate bronze bucket with silver inlaid work, inscribed with the name in the genitive case, *Corneliaes Chelidoni* (‘Of Cornelia Chelido’).[294] Manufacturer’s marks also appear on other less elaborate bronze items, such as cooking-pots.[295] Some of these inscriptions appear to go beyond a mere functional purpose: a number of bronze utensils marked with a craftsman’s name also display the phrase *sors Mercuri* (‘quality of Mercury’), meaning that it is a first-class product.[296]

---

[289] G. Pucci, ‘La produzione della ceramica aretina: note sull’ “industria” nella prima età imperiale romana’, *DialArch* 7 (1973) 255–93, at 266–7; D. P. S. Peacock, *Pottery in the Roman World: An Ethno-Archaeological Approach* (1982: Longman: Harlow, UK) 120–2.

[290] Pucci, ‘Inscribed *instrumentum*’ (above, n.244) 143; C. Pavolini, ‘I bolli sulle lucerne fittili delle officine centro-italiche’, in *The Inscribed Economy: Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of* instrumentum domesticum, ed. W. V. Harris (1993: *JRA* supplement 6: Ann Arbor) 65–71.

[291] G. Cerulli Irelli, ‘Officina di lucerne fittili a Pompei’, in *L’instrumentum domesticum di Ercolano e Pompei nella prima età imperiale*, eds. M. Annecchino *et al.* (1977: Quaderni di cultura materiale 1: Bretschneider: Rome) 53–67; cf. Siebert, ‘Signatures d’artistes’ (above, n.286) 124.

Some lead **water-pipes** (*fistulae*) were stamped with names (and sometimes with numerals and symbols too), although the practice was not all-pervasive, given that it was not a legal requirement for the owners of private water conduits to stamp them with their names.[297] The pattern that emerges from the surviving evidence is a complex one.[298]

---

[292] P. M. Allison, *The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii*, vol. III, *The Finds: A Contextual Study* (2006: Clarendon Press: Oxford) 191 n.1364; cf. *CIL* X 8048, 38–9. Although the single name Lucifer would appear to designate a slave here, a freedman named Statius Marcius Lucifer appears on other stamps. It appears that Lucifer first worked as a slave for Statius Marcius Restitutus, and was then freed by him: Helen, *Organization of Roman Brick Production* (above, n.253) 125–7; H. Bloch, ‘The Roman brick-stamps not published in volume XV,1 of the C.I.L.’, *HSCP* 56/57 (1947) 1–128, at 103–4 no. 525.

[293] S. Tassinari, *Il vasellame bronzeo di Pompei* (1993: Bretschneider: Rome) 203, with tables of stamps by text and type of object on 205–6.

[294] MANN inv. 68854: *Il bronzo dei romani: arredo e suppellettile*, ed. L. P. B. Stefanelli (1990: Bretschneider: Rome) 277 no. 84 + figs. 190–1.

[295] Tassinari, *Il vasellame bronzeo di Pompei* (above, n.293) 127 no. 6, 129 no. 3, 135 no. 17, 136–7 no. 1, 138 no. 24, 138 no. 4, 139 no. 8 + no. 11, 144 no. 22, 146 no. 10.

[296] A. Carandini, ‘Alcune forme bronze conservate a Pompei e nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli’, in *L’instrumentum domesticum di Ercolano e Pompei nella prima età imperiale*, eds. M. Annecchino *et al.* (1977: Quaderni di cultura materiale 1: Bretschneider: Rome) 163–8.

[297] C. Bruun, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome: A Study of Roman Imperial Administration* (1991: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 93: Helsinki) 62.

[298] Bruun, *Water Supply* (above, n.297).

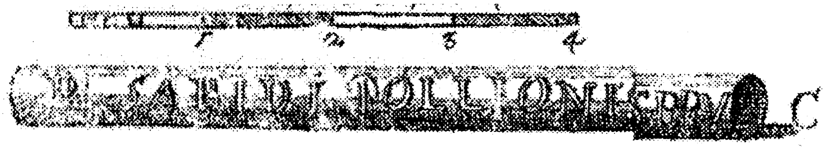


Fig. 1.31 Lead pipe, Stabiae, villa loc. Faiano – *CIL* X 774 (from M. M. Magalhaes, *Stabiae romana: la prosopografia e la documentazione epigrafica: iscrizioni lapidarie e bronzee, bolli laterizi e sigilli* (2006: N. Longobardi: Castellammare di Stabia) 180 fig. 5)

23 Lead pipe, Stabiae, villa loc. Faiano, mid first century AD: Fig. 1.31

CIL X 774

M. M. Magalhaes, *Stabiae romana: la prosopografia e la documentazione epigrafica – iscrizioni lapidarie e bronzee, bolli laterizi e sigilli* (2006: N. Longobardi: Castellammare di Stabia) 88 no. 6, with fig. 5. Now lost.

P(ubli) Sabidi Pollionis pr(aetoris) ur(bani)

'Of Publius Sabidius Pollio, urban praetor.'

This pipe was found with several others among the remains of a villa excavated in the eighteenth century. They were associated with a cistern and possibly a small bath complex. Publii Sabidii are also attested among the elite of nearby Nola,[299] but without further contextual information, it is not possible to be sure whether this use of the genitive indicates that he owned this villa or whether he was involved in commercial production of pipes; other Sabidii are known as *plumbarii* (pipe-manufacturers) in the area of Tibur.[300] Another possibility is that he was the official involved in the installation of the conduit, supplying the expression *sub cura* with the name. The presence of the stamped pipe on this site indicates that the use of stamped pipes was not exclusively an urban phenomenon.

Only some of the pipes in a conduit bore inscriptions, nor did every conduit contain stamped pipes. One explanation of this may be that stamps were not necessary if the conduit existed only on private property owned by the individual. Some names appear in the nominative case, and others in the dative or genitive. Although explanations may be offered for these differences, the use of the various cases was not necessarily consistent everywhere.[301] Names in the nominative case may designate the manufacturer of the pipe or workshop-owner (both known as *plumbarius*),[302] but by the end of the fourth century AD might instead record the name of a benefactor, as illustrated at Surrentum.[303] The much rarer use of the dative case seems to indicate the pipe's destination, whilst more than one explanation may be offered for names in the genitive.[304]

---

[299] Camodeca, 'Ascesa al senato' (above, n.94) 124–5.

[300] Bruun, *Water Supply* (above, n.297) 365.

Names in the genitive can refer to the owner of the right to the water-supply or of the property being supplied by it. A luxury villa near Baiae has been identified as belonging to one of the prominent Calpurnii Pisones during the late Republic/early Principate, on the basis of three stamps upon *fistulae* found in situ within the villa, bearing the words *L(uci) Pisonis* ('Of Lucius Piso').[305] Similarly, a nymphaeum at Baiae, where a whole sequence of lead pipes stamped with the names of emperors (Domitian, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Alexander Severus) has been found appears to have been part of a lavish imperial property there.[306] These also display numerals and symbols whose significance is unclear, but which perhaps relate to the position of the individual pipe within the local network.

The genitive case can also represent an abbreviated version of the phrase *ex officina* ('from the workshop') of someone, and so refer to a manufacturer, or be understood as *sub cura* ('under the management') of someone, thereby identifying the overseer of the works.[307] The potential pitfalls of using water-pipes to identify property ownership may perhaps be illustrated in the case of the 'House of M. Fabius Rufus' (VII.xvi. *Insula Occidentalis* 22) at Pompeii, where a lead pipe in a corridor leading to the kitchen stamped with the words *C.C. Iuliorum Eupli et Pothini* ('Of Gaii Iulii Euplus and Pothinus') has led to the suggestion that M. Fabius Rufus (believed to be the property-owner on the basis of graffiti and a seal-stamp) had bought the property from the C. Iulii. It is more likely, however, that the C.C. Iulii were instead the manufacturers of the pipe.[308]

---

[301] Bruun, *Water Supply* (above, n.297) 22–32, 87–95, 306–7.

[302] Bruun, *Water Supply* (above, n.297) 344–5.

[303] *AÉpigr* (1925) 91 = A. Levi, 'X Sorrento – Sculture greche in marmo', *NSc* (1924) 383–4 = Magalhaes, *Surrentum romana* (above, n.123) 142–3 no. 12 + fig. 55.

[304] C. Bruun, 'Private munificence in Italy and the evidence from lead pipe stamps', in *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini*, eds. H. Solin, O. Salomies, and U.-M. Liertz (1995: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 104: Helsinki) 41–58.

[305] G. Di Fraia, N. Lombardo, and E. Scognamiglio, 'Contributi alla topografia di Baia sommersa', *Puteoli* 9/10 (1985/6) 211–99, at 262, 282–6.

[306] F. Maniscalco, *Ninfei ed edifici marittimi severiani del palatium imperiale di Baia* (1997: Massa: Naples), especially A. Parma, 'Le fistule del ninfeo', 115–25.

[307] J.-J. Aubert, 'Workshop managers', in *The Inscribed Economy: Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of* instrumentum domesticum, ed. W. V. Harris (1993: *JRA* supplement 6: Ann Arbor) 171–81 argues against associating stamps with property-owners. Bruun, *Water Supply* (above, n.297) 371.

In addition, names in the genitive may refer to benefaction rather than ownership, in the form *ex indulgentia/liberalitate* ('in accordance with the indulgence/generosity') of someone, which is only sometimes explicitly stated.[309] A name in the genitive on a pipe supplying a public building, such as baths, does not indicate that the individual named actually owned the public building. Stamps in the name of Septimius Severus at Puteoli, *Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) L(uci) Septimi Severi Pert(inacis) Aug(usti) n(ostri)* ('Of Imperator Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax our Augustus'), are probably to be associated with extensive reconstruction by that emperor of the town's *macellum*, including work on its water-supply; a coherent case for this interpretation of the stamps in the genitive as being related to benefaction rather than ownership or manufacturing can be made in the light of the honorific statue set up to him in the building by the *colonia*.[310] In a few cases, therefore, lead pipes, like brick- and tile-stamps, sometimes went beyond a utilitarian function, and took on the commemorative characteristics more usually associated with monumental inscriptions. Deciding upon whether pipes are stamped with the name of a property-owner or a benefactor is far from straightforward. A water-pipe stamped with *Ulpiae Marcianae* ('Of Ulpia Marciana') probably from Cumae has been interpreted as referring to benefaction rather than property-ownership, on the grounds that Trajan's sister is thought unlikely to have owned property in this area, but this may now seem a doubtful assumption, given the presence of Ulpia Plotina as a property-owner near Herculaneum.[311]

Small rectangular bronze stamps attached to rings (***signacula***), with abbreviated mottos in high-relief retrograde lettering, were used to make impressions upon a whole range of products, from bricks, pottery, and lamps to bread.[312] These were initials or names, usually in the genitive. Roughly two-thirds of the ninety or so examples known from Pompeii bear the names of freedmen, supporting the idea that the stamps are linked with economic and productive activities.[313] For example, some storage-containers (*dolia*) in the wine-store (*cella vinaria*) of the Villa Regina at Boscoreale were found stamped with the letters *M(arci) Pacci Sec(undi)* ('Of Marcus Paccius Secundus'), along with the picture of a small *amphora*, presumably identifying the manufacturer of the vessels.[314] Although there has been some tendency to identify a property's owner on the basis of the findspot of a seal-stamp, this is a risky venture, illustrated by the fact that three different stamps were found in the Villa della Pisanella: one in the peristyle near a cupboard, of Ti. Claudius Amphio; a second one on the threshold of *cubiculum* G, of L. Brittius Eros; and a third in an upper-floor *cubiculum*, of L. Caecilius Aphrodisius).[315] Such small objects could equally well have been simply lost by their owners on a visit to the property. Only in cases where the seal-stamp was found in a place of safe-keeping, such as a strongbox, may the possibility be tentatively raised of the name on the stamp also being that of the property-owner.[316]

---

[308] SAP inv. 18278 = M. Pagano 'Su una fistula di piombo dalla casa di M. Fabio Rufo', *RStPomp* 6 (1993–4) 219; Ciarallo and De Carolis, *Pompeii* (above, n.279) 327 n.419, with inaccurate text.

[309] Bruun, *Water Supply* (above, n.297) 138–9, 256; Bruun, 'Private munificence' (above, n.304); C. Bruun, 'Senatorial owners of what?' *JRA* 13 (2000) 498–505, at 503–5.

[310] *CIL* X 1899: F. Nasti, 'I Severi nei Campi Flegrei', in F. Maniscalco, *Ninfei ed edifici marittimi severiani del palatium imperiale di Baia* (1997: Massa Editore: Naples) 127–36; F. Demma, *Monumenti pubblici di Puteoli: per un'archeologia dell'architettura* (2007: Bretschneider: Rome) 78 (a. 5–6: fragmentary honorific inscription + lead pipes), 81, 82, 91, 112–13: Septimius Severus was honoured along with Alexander Severus and his wife, suggesting that the major restructuring work may have taken a number of years. See Bruun, *Water Supply* (above, n.297) 30–1 for imperial benefactors.

[311] Dennison, 'Some new inscriptions' (above, n.161) 398 no. 67 = Tuck, *Latin Inscriptions in the Kelsey Museum* (above, n.23) 168–9 no. 281. Ulpia Plotina (possibly Trajan's aunt and Hadrian's paternal grandmother): Camodeca, 'Per una riedizione delle *Tabulae Herculanenses* I' (above, n.229) 115–18 on *TH* 79 from AD 69.

24 Bronze stamp (*signaculum*), Villa of Fannius Synistor, Boscoreale: Fig. 1.32

M. J. Milne, 'A bronze stamp from Boscoreale', *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 25.9 (1930) 188–90 (+ photograph).

L(uci) Her(enni) Flo(ri)

'Of Lucius Herennius Florus.'

The stamp is 8.7 cm long, attached to a ring, with retrograde letters. It is unlikely that this find, any more than the inscription upon a bronze jug bearing the name of Fannius Synistor,[317] brings us any closer to identifying the villa's owner.

---

[312] E. M. Loreti, '*Signacula* bronzei dell'Antiquarium Comunale di Roma', in *Epigrafia della produzione e della distribuzione* (1994: *CÉFR* 193: Rome) 645–53.

[313] *CIL* X 8058; H. Mouritsen, 'Roman freedmen and the urban economy' (above, n.276) 5.

[314] Stefani, *Uomo e ambiente* (above, n.209) 126–7.

[315] Inv. 20057, 20059, 20060: G. Stefani, *Uomo e ambiente* (above, n.209) 107. On the problem in general, see H. Mouritsen, *Elections, Magistrates and Municipal Elite: Studies in Pompeian Epigraphy* (1988: Analecta Romana Instituti Danici supplement 15: Bretschneider: Rome) 14–16.

[316] For example, the seal-stamps of the Vettii from the *arca* in the atrium of the 'House of the Vettii': 'XV. Pompei – Giornale degli scavi redatto dagli assistenti', *NSc* (1895) 31–2.

[317] Tassinari, *Il vasellame bronzeo di Pompei* (above, n.293) 192 no. 3, inv. 16994.

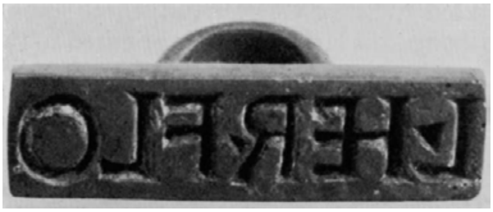


Fig. 1.32 Bronze stamp (*signaculum*), Villa of Fannius Synistor, Boscoreale (from M. J. Milne, ‘A bronze stamp from Boscoreale’, *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 25.9 (1930) 188)

In addition to the actual metal stamps, a batch of eighty-one carbonized loaves of bread was found in an oven in bakery VII.i.36–7, several of which still bore the legible impression of the stamp *[C]eleris Q(uinti) Grani / Veri ser(vi)* (‘Of Celer, slave of Q. Granius Verus’).[318] The purpose of stamping loaves is unclear, given that only some of the loaves in the batch were stamped. The stamp may have indicated the identity of the owner of a bakery and/or of his worker, and may have allowed production rates of a particular worker to be measured; or it could have been a way of distinguishing between different grades of bread, perhaps distinguishing between loaves for selling and those for domestic consumption; or it could suggest that loaves were being brought to this oven for baking from elsewhere. A related object – a limestone mould – was found in the ‘House of the *Sacellum*’, Herculaneum, in a wooden chest on an upper floor. This appears to have been used for creating metal discs for marking personal property: each disc mould is inscribed with LT on one side, and *TITHASI* (‘Of Tithasus’) on the other in a circle.[319]

Inscriptions could play a crucial role in authorizing and identifying different types of **weights and measures**. In its simplest form, a basalt globular weight, with flat ends, is labelled *V* (‘5’), to indicate its unit of measurement, or numbers can be inscribed along the shaft of bronze scales, in order to define the units.[320] Other inscriptions could authorize as well as identify. A bronze balance from Herculaneum displays an inscription punched in dots on its shorter arm, testifying to its official status as an approved measure: *Ti(berio) Claud(io) Caes(are) [IIII L(ucio) Vitel(lio) / III co(n)s(ulibus) exacta ad Artic(uleianam normam) / cura aedil(ium)* ('In the consulship of Tiberius Claudius Caesar for the fourth time and Lucius Vitellius for the third, in conformity with the Articuleian regulation, by supervision of the aediles'). It refers to the consular date AD 47, asserting that its weights were in accordance with specifications laid down in that year by the Roman aediles Marcus Articuleianus and Cn. Turranius.[321]

---

[318] There is considerable confusion about this stamped bread, however: *CIL* X 8058, 18; B. J. Mayeske, ‘A Pompeian bakery’, in *Studia Pompeiana et Classica in Honor of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski*, ed. R. I. Curtis (1988: Caratzas: New York) I 149–65, at 154–5; Manacorda, ‘Appunti sulla bollatura’ (above, n.249) 45. A bronze *signaculum* corresponding to the stamp (but with ‘Crani’, not ‘Grani’) is in the collection of the Antiquarium Comunale at Rome, inv. 14005: Loreti, ‘*Signacula* bronzei’ (above, n.312) 652 no. 4. Bread stamped with this text is also recorded found in the ‘House of the Stags’ (*ins.* IV, 21) at Herculaneum: A. Allroggen-Bedel, ‘Der Hausherr der “Casa dei Cervi” in Herculaneum’, *CErc* 5 (1975) 99–101; Camodeca, ‘La ricostruzione dell’élite municipale ercolanese’ (above, n.226).

[319] Ciarallo and De Carolis, *Pompeii* (above, n.279) 195 n. 246, SAP inv. 76259.

By contrast, other inscriptions appear to have been entirely frivolous and unnecessary. A handful of lead **loom-weights** have been found in different locations around Pompeii (and one from Herculaneum), stamped with the words *eme* (on the front face) and *habebis* (on the rear): 'Buy: you will have.'[322] The conceit of talking loom-weights is not exactly an essential part of their function. Although this is generally interpreted as a sort of advertisement for the cloth produced, attracting customers' attention by addressing them directly, it is more logical to see the inscription as referring to the loom-weights themselves and the process of weaving. The findspots of the talking loom-weights in private houses also undermines the idea that they have any commercial significance. One was found in the 'House of Marine Venus' (II.iii.3), in an assemblage of eighteen weights, with a vertical wooden loom.[323] Another was discovered in the 'House of L. Helvius Severus'.[324] In other words 'Buy (me, the loom-weight); you will have (cloth)' is simply a humorous address to the weaver.

1.5 Inscriptions in art

Texts can perform a variety of functions in art: some inscriptions play an integral part in helping the viewer to interpret the image and bringing a scene to life, whilst others are either entirely extraneous to the meaning of the image or sometimes even contradictory.[325] Writing can also simply appear on images of things in reliefs, paintings, or mosaics that usually have inscriptions in real life, such as writing-tablets; lettering can in effect perform an artistic function.[326]

---

[320] Basalt weight: Ciarallo and De Carolis, *Pompeii* (above, n.279) 300 n. 371, MANN inv. 74192; bronze scales: Ciarallo and De Carolis, *Pompeii* (above, n.279) 301 n. 372, MANN inv. 5749. Similar inscribed scales: MANN inv. 74069, from Pompeii: Stefanelli, *Il bronzo dei romani* (above, n.294) 254–5 figs. 241–2.

[321] MANN inv. 74039 + *CIL* X 8067, 2 = *ILS* 8630: Ward-Perkins and Claridge, *Pompeii AD 79* (above, n.277) n.248. The same regulation is mentioned on other weights too: *ILS* 8631, 8633–5.

[322] *CIL* X 8067, 5a–h.

[323] Ciarallo and De Carolis, *Pompeii* (above, n.279) 142 n.122, SAP inv. 9969a.

[324] Gallo, *La casa di Lucio Elvio Severo* (above, n.214) 123–4 no. 108: inv. 11677, with tav. 22C–D.

In the modern world, **artists' signatures** are bound up with the financial value of their work. By contrast, it is unclear why some artists added their names in antiquity: possibly signing a piece of art reflected a sense of pride on the part of the artist, but it is still true that artists' signatures are unlikely to have been purely for the benefit of the artists themselves, but probably reflected a desire on the part of the customer for their piece of art to be assignable to a particular artist.[327] Signatures are rarely found on wall-paintings; a pair of paintings inspired perhaps by Ovid's *Metamorphoses* – of Narcissus, and Pyramus and Thisbe – in the Pompeian 'House of D. Octavius Quartio' are near to an inscription on a masonry couch, *Lucius / pinxit* ('Lucius painted'), but it is uncertain whether or not this inscription can really be interpreted as an artist's signature.[328] Other examples of artists' signatures from the region include the Greek inscription 'Dioscourides of Samos made (this)' on two mosaics depicting scenes from New Comedy from the 'Villa of Cicero' at Pompeii, and *Iulius Salius fecit* ('Iulius Salius made (this)') on a statue found on Capri, but now lost.[329] Above all, it is essential to distinguish between signatures of artists and those of craftsmen. Whereas names on pottery, such as lamps and *terra sigillata*, are more likely to be related to issues of production, names on mosaics, paintings, and other art objects are more concerned with staking claims to originality and authenticity.

In other cases, inscriptions can bring a scene to life, adding the equivalent of **'speech bubbles'**, providing words supposedly spoken by characters depicted. A painting from the wall of a tavern (VI.xiv.356) at Pompeii contains four scenes depicting activities typical of their location: the first is unclear (two figures meet and embrace, *nolo / cum murtal[– – –]so[-* 'I don't want with myrtle ? . . . '); the second depicts a woman serving drink to two men sitting on stools: one man looking towards her says *hoc* ('Here'), but the other man protests *non / mia est* ('No it's mine'). The waitress then ends the exchange with *qui vol(et) / sumat / Oceane / veni bibe* ('He who wants it, let him take it. Oceanus, come, drink up'). What we may imagine here is that the two men dispute who should be served first, whilst the waitress puts an end to the dispute by calling to another man to come and drink the wine instead. The third scene is a game of dice between two men, one of whom declares *exsi* ('I'm out'), and the other disagrees, saying *non / tria duas / est* ('That's not a three; it's a two,'); and the last scene shows the landlord breaking up the fisticuffs resulting from the dice game, as the two men continue to be at odds, with one saying '*Noxsi / a me / tria eco fui* (roughly, 'Nonsense, that was a three from me. I won'), and the other *or(o) te fellator ego fui* ('I tell you, fucker, I won'), at which point the landlord intervenes strongly, *itis / foris / rixsatis* ('Go, fight it out outside').[330] In each scene, spoken words are written above the heads of different characters, and the everyday character of the images is vividly evoked by the colloquial style of the language 'spoken'. Another painting depicts dialogue at an intimate convivial outdoors banquet.[331]

---

[325] Z. Newby, 'Introduction', in *Art and Inscriptions in the Ancient World*, eds. Z. Newby and R. Leader-Newby (2007: Cambridge University Press) 1–16; M. Corbier, *Donner à voir, donner à lire: mémoire et communication dans la Rome ancienne* (2006: CNRS Editions: Paris) ch. 3, 'L'écriture dans l'image'.

[326] Painting at Pompeii depicting writing implements, with legible lettering: *CIL* IV 879 + Corbier, *Donner à voir* (above, n.325) 101 fig. 61.

[327] Siebert, 'Signatures d'artistes' (above, n.286) 111–31.

[328] *CIL* IV 7535; R. Ling, *Roman Painting* (1991: Cambridge University Press) 213.

[329] Mosaics: MANN inv. 9985, 9987, illustrated in A. and B. Maiuri, *Das Nationalmuseum in Neapel* (1958: Wilhelm Goldmann: Munich) 117, 119. Capri headless statue: Federico and Miranda, *Capri antica* (above, n.258) 344 E18 = *CIL* X 6806. Cf. signature in Greek on a pottery statuette: Della Corte, 'Le iscrizioni di Ercolano' (above, n.259) 282 no. 571.

In other cases, adding text alongside images changes the character of the composition. This is the case in mosaics depicting athletes, for example, where the addition of **labels with names** to identify the competitors transforms the scene from a generic one to one that is ostensibly recording a real event.[332]

25 Mosaic of athletes, Puteoli suburban villa, first half of third century AD: Fig. 1.33

C. Gialanella, 'Puteoli: una villa del suburbio orientale', in *Nova antiqua phlegraea* (2000: Electa Napoli: Naples) 51–5, including photographs.

ABOVE THE HEADS OF THE ATHLETES:

[H]elix *[– – –]* *Magira* *Alexander*

---

[330] *CIL* IV 3494, with F. A. Todd, 'Three Pompeian wall-inscriptions, and Petronius', *CR* 53 (1939) 5–9 = *AÉpigr* (1940) 52: MANN inv. 111482 = Ward-Perkins and Claridge, *Pompeii AD 79* (above, n.277) no. 227, also in colour in A. De Franciscis, *Il Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (1963: Di Mauro Editore: Naples) pl. LXXXI.

[331] *CIL* IV 3442 = Ward-Perkins and Claridge, *Pompeii AD 79* (above, n.277) no. 260.

[332] Z. Newby, 'Greek athletics as Roman spectacle: the mosaics from Ostia and Rome', *PBSR* 70 (2002) 177–203, at 179, 192–9 and *Greek Athletics in the Roman World: Victory and Virtue* (2005: Oxford University Press) 58–67.

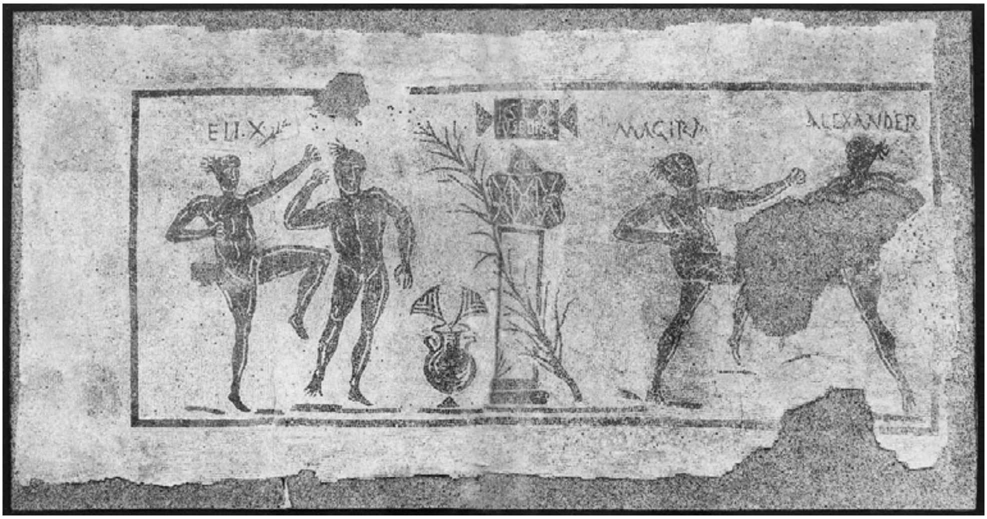


Fig. 1.33 Mosaic of athletes, Puteoli suburban villa (from C. Gialanella, 'Puteoli: Una villa del suburbio orientale', in *Nova antiqua phlegraea* (2000: Electa Napoli: Naples) 54–5)

ON *TABULA ANSATA*:
Iseo / Eusebia

ON PRIZE-MONEY:
CL

'Helix [– – –] Magira Alexander
The quinquennial games at the sanctuary of Isis 150 (*denarii*).'

This black-and-white mosaic was discovered in a small bath complex incorporated within a large suburban villa near Puteoli. It depicts a contest between professionals, and was perhaps chosen as a decorative theme in this location as a kind of encouragement to the viewers/bathers to emulate these athletic stars in their own exercises. It includes two pairs of naked competitors perhaps engaged in a pancration contest, a mixture of boxing and wrestling, given that they are not shown wearing boxing-gloves. They are competing either side of prizes, a palm branch and prize-money, and their distinctive hairstyle – a topknot (*cirrus*) – indicates that these are professional athletes. It is tempting to suggest that the first name should be [H]elix rather than [F]elix, and that this mosaic depicts two famous athletes (also shown together on a mosaic at Ostia), Aurelius Alexander and Aurelius Helix, both prominent competitors at Rome during the

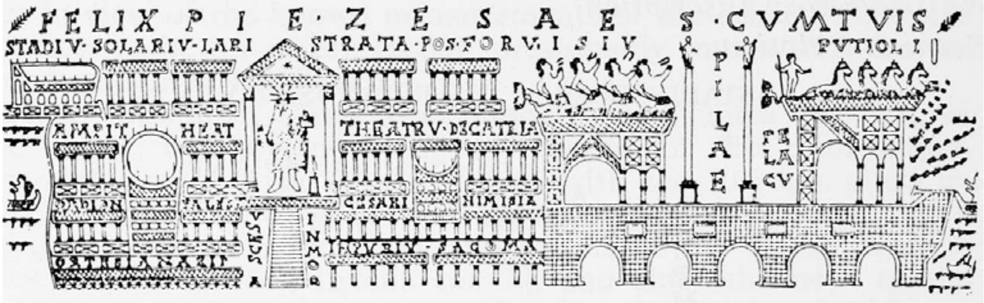


Fig. 1.34 Glass flask (Prague) depicting Puteoli (from S. E. Ostrow, 'The topography of Puteoli and Baiae on the eight glass flasks', *Puteoli* 3 (1979) 79 fig. 1)

early third century.[333] Next to the prizes is a two-handled jar containing two papyrus flowers. The impression of historicity created by the labels with names of athletes is increased by the *tabula ansata* (a rectangular tablet with handles) displayed above the prizes, indicating that the contests depicted are taking place during the quinquennial games in the sanctuary of Isis.

Inscriptions can also serve different functions when incorporated within a single art object. A series of nine small bulbous **glass flasks** found in different parts of the Roman world (Rome, Ostia, Populonia in northern Italy, Cologne, Portugal, Spain, and probably north Africa) have engraved upon them panoramic views of the townscapes of Puteoli and Baiae.[334]

26 Glass flask depicting Puteoli, third/fourth century AD: Fig. 1.34

C. Picard, 'Pouzzoles et le paysage portuaire', *Latomus* 18 (1959) 23–51; K. S. Painter, 'Roman flasks with scenes of Baiae and Puteoli', *JGS* 17 (1975) 58 no. 5; J. Kolendo, 'Parcs à huitres et viviers à Baiae sur un flacon en verre du Musée National de Varsovie', *Puteoli* 1 (1977) 108–27; S. E. Ostrow, 'The topography of Puteoli and Baiae on the eight glass flasks', *Puteoli* 3 (1979) 77–137.

---

[333] Mosaic from the 'Inn of Alexander' (IV.vii), dated to AD *c.*210–35: G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia* IV: *Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei* (1961: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato: Rome) 205–7 no. 391; C. P. Jones, 'The pancratiasts Helix and Alexander on an Ostian mosaic', *JRA* 11 (1998) 293–8.

[334] C. Picard, 'Pouzzoles et le paysage portuaire', *Latomus* 18 (1959) 23–51; K. S. Painter, 'Roman flasks with scenes of Baiae and Puteoli', *JGS* 17 (1975) 54–67; J. Kolendo, 'Parcs à huitres et viviers à Baiae sur un flacon en verre du Musée National de Varsovie', *Puteoli* 1 (1977) 108–27; S. E. Ostrow, 'The topography of Puteoli and Baiae on the eight glass flasks', *Puteoli* 3 (1979) 77–137; *AÉpigr* (2005) 763a–c for a ninth glass flask, found in 2002.

Illustrations: www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=$Puteoli_00001.jpg

⊂ palma ⊃ *felix pie zesaes cum tuis* ⊂ palma ⊃ || *stadiu(m) solariu(m) Lari strata pos(t) foru(m) Isiu(m) Putioli|| pilae|| pe/la/gu(m)* || *amp(h)itheat(rum) theatru(m) decatria* || *(H)ordion(ia) pal(a)es(tra) c(a)esari(um) nimisia* || *(H)orte(n)siana rip(a) / inpuriu(m) sacoma(rium)|| asce(n)su dom(i)ni*

'Fortunate one, drink, may you live with your (loved ones).

Stadium; sundial; Lares; paved streets behind the forum; shrine of Isis; Puteoli; breakwater; open sea; amphitheatre; theatre; region of the thirteen gods; Hordionian region; palaestra; imperial shrine; Numisian region; Hortensian quay; harbour; weigh station; steps of god.'

This glass flask, 10.1 cm in diameter and 13.9 cm high, is now in Prague, but was probably found somewhere in Italy.[335] It is one of five flasks to display a 'dedicatory' inscription as well as its topographical labels. The character of this first inscription is far from straightforward. The problem with the initial inscription is that, potentially, it can be interpreted either as simply a symposiastic invitation to drink, or as a pious hope related to Christian afterlife (see below). The mixture of Latin and Greek transcribed into Latin alphabet (*pie zesaes* is equivalent to πίε ζήσῃς) fits well into the cultural context of the Bay of Naples. The topographical labels are hardly any more straightforward, but Ostrow suggests several plausible readings, that are adopted here.[336]

All of these flasks were probably produced locally at Puteoli during the later third century or first half of the fourth century AD. Three of them identify the scenes specifically as *Putioli* (sic) and *Bai[ae]*, whilst the others add labels to the distinctive buildings that could be viewed from off the coastline. Five of the flasks also display another type of inscription just below their necks. These are in slightly larger lettering, and are marked off at either end by a palm-leaf:[337]

- *anima felix vivas* ('fortunate soul may you live')
- *memoriae felicissimae filiae* ('to the memory of a most fortunate daughter')
- *felix pie zesaes cum tuis* ('fortunate one, drink, may you live with your (loved ones)')
- *[dul]cis anima z[e]ses const[ans?]* ('sweet soul may you live steadfastly')

---

[335] Ostrow, 'The topography of Puteoli and Baiae' (above n.334) 78–9.

[336] Ostrow, 'The topography of Puteoli and Baiae' (above n.334) 94–113.

[337] Flasks from Populonia, Rome, Prague, Mérida, + fragments from Cologne.

The general consensus is that these glass flasks were sold as souvenirs to tourists visiting the area, and that the so-called 'dedicatory' inscriptions were added to the flasks at the request of individual customers.[338] All of the 'dedicatory' inscriptions remain fairly generic in tone, however, making it perhaps unlikely that the inscriptions were individually commissioned. What is especially noteworthy about the dedicatory inscriptions is that they use formulae that are otherwise fairly common in Christian epitaphs, as well as on other glassware.[339] The expression *felix pie zesaes cum tuis* on the Prague flask can be closely paralleled in epitaphs from Italy and from further outposts of the empire such as Britain.[340] The inscription on the Populonia flask can also be placed in a similar Christian context, with its wording *anima felix vivas*, whilst the Warsaw flask is arguably non-committal with its *memoriae felicissimae filiae*.[341] The choice of formulae commonly found in epitaphs makes the findspot of some of the flasks in graves seem less of a coincidence than previously suspected. Rather than findspots in graves simply being the random result of the unlikelihood of finding glassware in other archaeological contexts, it is now clear that the flasks with their inscriptions firmly belong in a burial context. The flasks from Populonia, Ampurias, and Mérida were found in graves, whilst the flask now in Warsaw possibly came from a catacomb.[342] The function of writing on these flasks thus performs two very different tasks: the topographical labels are intended to allow the viewer to identify the scene as a specific one, whilst the 'dedicatory' inscriptions relate to the way in which the flasks are used not so much as touristic mementoes,[343] but as a means of commemorating individuals, in the hope that they are to share in the Christian afterlife. The ambiguity as to whether the glass vessels are Christian, Jewish, or ‘pagan’ in character is typical of the first half of the fourth century more generally, when distinctive Christian epigraphy was only just emerging, and offers some insights into the ways in which new forms of epigraphic culture could emerge, as well as into the lack of clarity between different categories of inscription: should these glass beakers actually be classed as epitaphs?

---

[338] Picard, 'Pouzzoles et le paysage portuaire' (above, n.334) 29 n.3; Ostrow, 'The topography of Puteoli and Baiae' (above, n.334) 77.

[339] Explicitly Christian usage of the formula can be found: *vivas i[n d]eo p(ie) z(eseis)*, on a glass cup depicting Adam and Eve, *AÉpigr* (2000) 1123: Augsburg, Constantinian date; *vivas in (a)eterno z(eses)*, on a glass dish, depicting Abraham and Isaac, with chi–rho symbol, *CIL* XIII 10025, 220 = *ILCV* 2191: Boulogne-sur-Mer; *vivas cum tuis pia zeses*, on a glass cup with chi–rho symbol, from a burial, *CIL* XI 8125, 2, Trasimene. Other glassware with similar formulae include *CIL* XV 7012, *Vincenti pie zeses*; *CIL* XV 7025, *Dedali ispes (=spes) tua [in Deo?] pie zeses*; *CIL* XV 7032, *Luci pie z[e]ses cum tuis*. Cf. Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead* (above, n.159) 265.

[340] Populonia flask: *CIL* IX 6710 no. 18; enough survives of the dedicatory inscription on the fragmentary Cologne flask to suggest a similar text there too: *SE ZESE[S]*. Comparisons = *Hilaris zeses cum tuis Spes*, on a glass beaker with scene of the sacrifice of Isaac, *AÉpigr* (1997) 167, Rome + *Luci pie z[e]ses cum tu[is]*, glass with gilded letters, *CIL* XV 7032, Rome; *vivas cum tuis piae zeses*, glass beaker with chi–rho symbol from a burial, *CIL* XI 8125, 2: Trasimene; *vivas cum tuis pie z(eses)*, glass beaker, *AÉpigr* (1958) 110: Wint Hill, Britain. Cf. *AÉpigr* (1939), 170 (glass flask with Jewish symbols), Cologne; *AÉpigr* (1966) 260, glass beaker, Avenches; *ICUR* 1, 3030, Rocca di Papa; *CIL* X 8062, 11, glass vessel, Olbia, Sardinia.

[341] *CIL* XI 6710 no. 18; *CIL* XV 7008.

[342] Ostrow, 'The topography of Puteoli and Baiae' (above, n.334) 84–7; Mérida – *AÉpigr* (2005) 763a–c.

Last but not least, it remains to explore the world of **graffiti**. Although the nature of the epigraphic habit in the Roman world has been much discussed in the years since MacMullen coined this phrase in his celebrated article, and various explanations have been offered for the impulse to set up monumental inscriptions, much less attention has been given to what we might call the ‘graffiti habit’, the reasons why Romans scratched words and images on walls.[344] To some extent, there is perhaps a tendency to make the assumption that graffiti somehow represent a universal, unchanging phenomenon, and that Roman graffiti do not need any particular explanation, but simply reflect the tendency for people to scribble on walls when bored. The similarities between Roman and modern graffiti can be very striking, but perhaps a reason why the character of graffiti has not received much attention may be the perception that, in contrast to the serious content of monumental epigraphy, which can be used to illuminate weighty historical questions relating to politics and society, graffiti simply represent inconsequential scribblings. Admittedly, it is true that many graffiti, such as the caricature labelled *Rufus est* (‘it’s Rufus’) in the ‘Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii’,[345] *are* self-indulgent scrawls, to which their authors may not have intended anyone else to pay any attention, but this is far from the whole story. There is also a qualitative difference between graffiti consisting of pictures only, and those which include text, since words may serve to personalize graffiti and bestow upon them some sort of a commemorative function. There is a big difference between a simple drawing of a gladiator, and another which labels the gladiator with his name and number of victories.

---

[343] Picard, ‘Pouzzoles et le paysage portuaire’ (above, n.334) 28; Kolendo, ‘Parcs à huitres et viviers’ (above, n.334) 108.

[344] On the epigraphic habit, see above n.156. Some analysis of the ‘graffiti habit’ relating to pictorial graffiti is offered by M. Langner, *Antike Graffitizeichnungen: Motive, Gestaltung und Bedeutung* (2001: Reichert: Wiesbaden). See now J. A. Baird and C. Taylor, eds., *Ancient Graffiti in Context* (2011: Routledge: London and New York).

[345] *CIL* IV 9226.

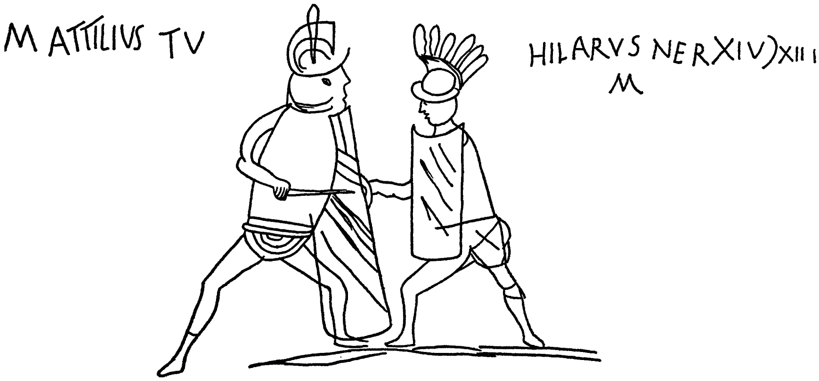


Fig. 1.35 Graffito of gladiatorial combat, Pompeii, Tomb 14EN outside Nucerian Gate – *CIL* IV 10238a (courtesy of *CIL*)

27 Graffito of gladiatorial combat, Pompeii, Tomb 14EN outside Nucerian Gate, mid first century AD: Fig. 1.35

CIL IV 10238a

M. Della Corte, 'X – Pompei: Iscrizioni scoperte nel quinquennio 1951–1956', *NSc* (1958) 77–184, at 151 no. 381; P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, Gladiatorum Paria: *annunci di spettacoli gladiatorii a Pompei* (1980: Tituli 1/ Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura: Rome) 98 + tav. V fig. 1 – photograph, tav. XII – drawing; A. D'Ambrosio and S. De Caro, *Un Impegno per Pompei* (1983: Touring Club Italiano: Milan), tomb 14 EN; A. E. and M. G. L. Cooley, *Pompeii: A Sourcebook* (2004: Routledge: London) 56 – D27a.

M(arcus) Attilius t(iro) v(icit) || Hilarus Ner(onianus) (pugnarum) XIV (coronarum) XII m(issus)

'Marcus Attilius, novice, victor; Hilarus, Neronian, fought 14, 12 victories, reprieved.'

This is one of several graffiti depicting gladiatorial combat on the podium of this tomb in the necropolis outside the Nucerian gate. They all seem to have been created by a single hand, and probably record a particular set of games held at Nola over a number of days, sponsored by M. Cominius Heres (*CIL* IV 10237). The series of pictures depicts at least four pairs of gladiators, as well as a more complex scene showing a central pair of gladiators framed by trumpeters and horn-players. 'Neronian' gladiators were those from the imperial gladiatorial training school at Capua. The single name Hilarus (possibly a 'stage-name') indicates slave status, in contrast to M. Attilius, whose name appears to be that of a freeborn citizen. This particular picture illustrates the successful debut of Attilius, in defeating the experienced gladiator Hilarus, who is depicted elsewhere on the tomb fighting successfully against Creunus (*CIL* IV 10237). Another picture also depicts the continued success of Attilius, in defeating another experienced gladiator, L. Raecius Felix, in his second fight (*CIL* IV 10236a).

MacMullen tentatively offered the idea of a 'sense of audience' as a possible explanation for the rise and fall of the epigraphic habit.[346] To what extent do graffiti show a concern for their potential audience? Many graffiti ostensibly addressed specific individuals by name, with messages of greetings or love. A typical example from Pompeii is a message like *Secundus / Prim(a)e suae ubi/que isse salute(m) / rogo domina / ut me ames* ('Secundus greets his own Prima everywhere. Mistress, I ask you to love me').[347] This is only one of five such greetings from Secundus to Prima.[348] Such texts are not always what they seem, however. Consider the graffito in the *basilica*, which says *Pyrrhus Chio conlegae sal(utem) / moleste fero quod audivi / te mortuom itaq(u)e val(e)* ('Pyrrhus greets his colleague Chius: I grieve because I've heard you are dead; and so farewell').[349] Even where an individual is addressed, therefore, the writer is not necessarily expecting the addressee actually to read the message. Similarly, graffiti that address famous actors with what might appear to be messages such as *Paris invicte nica* 'Unsurpassed Paris, triumph!' are actually unreal greetings that are more akin to acclamations than messages intended to be read.[350] Elsewhere, however, it is perhaps not unduly fanciful to interpret as an exchange of graffiti greetings in the peristyle of the 'House of Fabius Rufus', where *Secundus Onesimo fratri suo p[lu]rimam perpetuamque salutem* ('Secundus to Onesmius his brother very many and everlasting good wishes') seems to echo *Onesimus Secundo fratri suo* ('Onesimus to Secundus his brother').[351] Very rarely a graffito serves almost as a public notice, disseminating information, such as where to find a prostitute,[352] but in general a graffito is not a suitable medium for displaying a message prominently, and a painted notice is the usual format.

Much more common, however, are graffiti that are commemorative in character, recording events of personal importance to the writer, whether a birth, a visit to the brothel, or a victory in the arena.[353] What matters is the fact of commemorating rather than the expectation that the text will be read. Graffiti are in fact comparatively inefficient as a form of communication, but their big advantage is their immediacy: no intermediary is required to create them, they cost nothing, and they can be done on the spot. A sense of audience, therefore, only plays a small part in understanding only a minority of graffiti.

---

[346] MacMullen, 'The epigraphic habit' (above, n.156) 246.

[347] *CIL* IV 8364.

[348] *CIL* IV 2993b–c, 8365–6.

[349] *CIL* IV 1852.

[350] *AÉpigr* (1985) 288.

[351] H. Solin, 'Die Wandinschriften im sog. Haus des M. Fabius Rufus', in *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji*, eds. B. Andreae and H. Kyrieleis (1975: Aurel Bongers: Recklinghausen) 243–72, with examples 263 nos. 9–10.

[352] *CIL* IV 1751, 8356.

One important function of graffiti through the ages is their role as a means of communicating political dissent. There are several well-known literary allusions to graffiti at Rome which voiced opposition to unpopular emperors, such as Domitian,[354] but at Pompeii graffiti reflect regional political issues.[355] Nero's grant of an additional honorific colonial title to Puteoli and his settlement of veterans in a *colonia* at Nuceria prompted graffiti to be inscribed at Pompeii by Puteolans, Pompeians, and perhaps even Nucerians alike. A graffito in praise of Puteoli's new status as Neronian colony was written upon a wall in a *cubiculum* in an inn near the centre of town: *Coloniae Clau(diae) / Nerone(n)si Putiolan(a)e / feliciter / scripsit C(aius) Iulius Speratus / Sperate va(le)* ('Good fortune to the Claudian Neronian *colonia* of Puteoli. C. Iulius Speratus wrote this. Speratus, farewell').[356] Given the location and content of the graffito, it seems a reasonable hypothesis that Speratus was a visitor to the town from Puteoli. A text painted upon the façade of the 'House of the Vettii' offers another perspective upon Nero's colonial grants: it declares *iudicis Aug(usti) felic(iter). Puteolos Antium Tegeano Pompeios hae sunt verae / coloniae* ('Good fortune to the judgements of Augustus. Puteoli, Antium, Tegianum, Pompeii: these are true colonies').[357] This last phrase invites the question, so where is a 'false' *colonia*? The answer is surely Nuceria, where Nero settled veterans in AD 57. Tensions between Pompeii and Nuceria erupted in the bloody riot in the amphitheatre in AD 59, and were reflected in a graffito which appears to commemorate the defeat of the Nucerians, along with the Campani: *Campani victoria una / cum Nucerinis peristis* ('You, Campani, perished along with the Nucerians in a victory').[358] Finally, a multi-authored graffito in the brothel offers an alternative perspective upon regional politics: the graffito started life as simply *Puteolanis feliciter / omnibus Nucerinis felicia* ('Good fortune to Puteolans, good luck to all Nucerians'); a different writer then added *et uncu(m) Pompeianis* ('the executioner's hook to Pompeians'), and a further writer ended the whole with *Petecusanis* ('to the Pithecusans').[359]

---

[353] *CIL* IV 8820, 8149 (birth notice), *CIL* IV 2175 (brothel visit), *CIL* IV 4297, 4342 (victories of gladiator Celadus).

[354] Suet. *Dom.* 13.

[355] R. R. Benefiel, 'Pompeii, Puteoli, and the status of a *colonia* in the mid-first century AD', in *Pompei, Capri e la Penisola Sorrentina*, ed. F. Senatore (2004: Oebalus: Capri) 349–67 = *AÉpigr* (2004) 390.

[356] *CIL* IV 2152 = *ILS* 6326.

[357] *CIL* IV 3525 = *ILS* 6444.

[358] *CIL* IV 1293 = *ILS* 6443a.

These types of graffiti are readily comprehensible to a modern audience, but they represent only a tiny minority of graffiti at Pompeii. Other uses of graffiti are rather more unfamiliar, such as graffiti serving as a sort of aide-mémoire for keeping track of financial affairs or the timing of market-days.[360] Two graffiti appear side by side scratched up on a bedroom wall in VII.ii.30, and probably record an individual's expenses;[361] and another more extensive list, with items listed day by day, found near a serving counter, provides another example of a similar rough-and-ready accounting system.[362] Graffiti may also have helped to keep track of business: one graffito in commericial premises (IX.xii.1–2) states *scripsi coeptum stamini / Decembre VII K(alendas) Ianuarias* ('I have written down that the weaving was begun on 26th December'), whilst another in the same building records *prid(ie) Nonis / Iuli(i)s tunica / HS XV* ('6th July. Tunic 15 sesterces').[363] A similar use of graffiti for recording business transactions is made on cellar walls in the Magdalensberg (Noricum).[364] In the modern world, such jottings would be recorded on scraps of paper and reused envelopes, or even written in pen on someone's hand. Other graffiti relate to the business affairs of the moneylender Faustilla. The conditions of a loan provided by her are recorded in a graffito from an inn, whilst two graffiti from a bedroom in I.viii.13 record items pawned to her – a hooded cloak and a small cloak on 4th July, and on 15th July, some earrings.[365]

Even though, at first glance, graffiti appear very different in character from monumental inscriptions carved on stone, there are perhaps more similarities worth commenting on. The spatial context of monumental inscriptions is crucial to the ways in which the texts could be interpreted by their viewers. The same could be true of graffiti as well. A parody of the opening line of Virgil's *Aeneid* was found at Pompeii on the façade of the house of the fuller M. Fabius Ululitremulus (IX.xiii.5): *fullones ululamque cano, non arma virumque* ('I sing of fullers and an owl, not of arms and a man').[366] The reference to an owl, the *ulula*, does not just allude to Minerva, patron of the fullers, but it also makes a pun upon the fuller's name, Ululitremulus. The humorous character of the graffito is enhanced by its location, since the entranceway is flanked by paintings of Romulus and Aeneas, with the classic scene of Aeneas leading Anchises and Ascanius into safety from Troy; in this way, the graffito's location is integral to its meaning and humour. Finally, it is worth recalling how graffiti and monumental inscriptions may share similar aims in the religious sphere, as noted earlier. The act of writing something down was intrinsically powerful, and was a key component in the relationship between Romans and their gods, being equally true of monumental inscriptions, graffiti, and curse-tablets. A graffito could essentially fulfil the same function as a monumental inscription; the reason why it was a graffito is more likely to lie in the status of the dedicators, social and financial, rather than in the motivations for inscribing the text. In this case, epigraphic and graffiti habits begin to coalesce.

---

[359] *CIL* IV 2183.
[360] Market-days: *CIL* IV 8863, 4182.
[361] *CIL* IV 4888–9.
[362] *CIL* IV 5380.
[363] *CIL* IV 9109, 9108.
[364] R. Egger, *Die Stadt auf dem Magdalensberg: ein Grosshandelsplatz* (1961: H. Böhlaus/Kommissionsverlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Vienna).
[365] *CIL* IV 4528, 8203–4.
[366] *CIL* IV 9131.

Pompeian graffiti share various features in common with graffiti produced in other times and at other places, but they never match the obstrusiveness of the 'tagging' or 'graffiti art' produced nowadays by the spray-can. Graffiti can be aggressive or witty; a striking trait is the personalization of graffiti with proper names, often linked with a commemorative function. Graffiti can derive some of their impact from their overall spatial context, as well as words and images often complementing each other. But three aspects of graffiti at Pompeii are particularly distinctive to the Roman world. Firstly, we find scratching graffiti on walls as a cheap and easy writing medium, where today people would usually use paper and pen. Secondly, the act of writing fulfils an important role in mediating the relationship between human and divine. Lastly, graffiti can simply serve as a cheap, instant, and personal alternative to commissioning a professional stonecutter to engrave a monumental inscription. All of these elements helped to contribute to the development of a graffiti habit, alongside the epigraphic habit.

2 Epigraphic culture in the Roman world

2.1 Defining epigraphy

One answer to the question 'What is epigraphy?' might be 'Material studied by epigraphers'.[1] As Chapter 1 has illustrated, epigraphers do study a whole range of different types of writing: texts carved individually upon stone and metal; texts reproduced in multiple copies by stamps; texts included within pictures on glass or mosaic or painting; painted texts imitating the style and format of monumental texts, but which are public notices of only temporary relevance; a variety of handwritten texts, shallowly incised, in ink, or painted on almost every conceivable surface, some, like writing-tablets, intended to be used for the purpose, and others being used willy-nilly, whether a wall of a public building, private property, or tomb enclosure.

This brief outline already goes well beyond the definition offered by the *Oxford English Dictionary* of epigraphy as the study of inscriptions, with inscriptions being defined as lettering 'traced upon some hard substance for the sake of durability'. On that basis, therefore, one simple way forward would be to focus only on texts written upon a durable surface. Another common feature of inscriptions is the essential artificiality of their style of lettering, which is normally in capitals or majuscule script. The usual exclusion of coins from epigraphy, however, raises immediate questions about the neatness of this solution, given that legends upon coins fulfil both of these criteria. It also does not make sense to include texts incised upon bronze or lead tablets, but to exclude those written in wax or ink upon wooden ones, given that the basic decision to use a writing-tablet for any sort of text was the result of the perception that this particular format for writing possessed certain special qualities, whatever its material.[2] Writing-tablets were not simply cheap, convenient, and reusable, but were trustworthy and authoritative guarantors of matters both public and private. For the Romans, perhaps paradoxically, wax was used for texts that were intended to last. Furthermore, texts may be written in ink or paint on eminently durable (if not virtually indestructible) surfaces, such as pottery, but the durability of those texts is not an intrinsic quality of the texts themselves, nor is durability a necessary precondition for the texts to perform their functions, but it is simply a by-product of the use of writing in these contexts. By contrast, the texts typically studied by papyrologists, whether actually written upon papyrus, fragments of pottery, parchment, wooden tablets, or bone, generally have no ambitions to any great length of life.[3]

---

[1] Compare J. Bodel, *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions* (2001: Routledge: London) 2–5 and M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, vol. I, *Caratteri e storia della disciplina* (1967: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato: Rome) 1–7.

[2] E. Meyer, *Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World* (2004: Cambridge University Press) ch. 2.

The interchangeability of writing-materials for a single type of text may be illustrated by considering documents produced in different parts of the empire by army units, since their choice of writing-material was generally dictated by the availability of resources in the region where they were stationed.[4] For example, in the case of texts scratched upon ostraka (pottery fragments), their durability is the result of a quirk of archaeology and the poverty of alternative types of writing-materials in a particular region rather than the intention of the original writer. The ostraka found at the fort of the Third Legion Augusta at Bu Njem in the North African desert on the edge of the Roman Empire (Tripolitania) contain texts produced by army personnel that are primarily concerned with transitory matters, such as daily military reports and accounts. One type of document is the routine record of duty rosters, outlining which tasks are being assigned to which personnel.[5] A similar ostrakon has also been found at Mons Claudianus, in the mountains of Egypt's Eastern desert, where a military garrison was stationed to control the imperial granite quarry, but this is not to imply that pottery fragments were the standard writing-material used for documents of this sort.[6] Some of the wooden ink-writing tablets produced by military personnel at Vindolanda (northern Britain) are also very similar in content.[7] The North African examples are on durable pottery, whereas the British ones are on perishable wood: the choice of writing-material has nothing to do with the nature of the writing, and everything to do with local natural resources in the two locations. Of course, the same is also true of papyri in Egypt, where this material in turn is used for similar military records, as well as for an abundance of other texts.[8] Military duty rosters, records of transitory significance, can, therefore, be found equally on ostraka, wooden writing-tablets, and papyri, according to geographical location.

---

[3] R. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (1995: Routledge: London) 9–10.

[4] S. E. Phang, 'Military documents, languages, and literacy', in *A Companion to the Roman Army*, ed. P. Erdkamp (2007: Blackwell: Oxford) 286–305.

[5] R. Marichal, *Les ostraca de Bu Njem* (1992: *Libya Antiqua* supplement 7: Tripoli) 49–6, *O. Bu Njem* 1–62.

[6] J. Bingen *et al.*, *Mons Claudianus: Ostraca Graeca et Latina*, vol. II (1997: Institut français d'archéologie orientale: Cairo) – *O. Claud.* 308, *c.*AD 150 (H. Cuvigny).

[7] Vindolanda Tablets Online (http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/) nos. 155–7.

Most graffiti are 'traced upon some hard substance', but not '*for the sake of* durability'. Durability here implies something about monumentality and permanence, and raises the tricky prospect of having to assess the original writer's intention before deciding whether something counts as epigraphy or not. It is impossible to know, for instance, whether the graffiti of gladiatorial games on tombs outside Pompeii were simply self-indulgent etchings on the part of their author, or whether their creator wanted others to take note of them too. Another way of defining epigraphy could be to include only inscriptions put up on public display, in the expectation of an audience. If we were to exclude all non-monumental inscriptions, our appreciation of the use of inscribed writing in the Roman world would be very limited indeed, and our interpretation of monumental inscriptions would be so much the poorer. Part of the problem is that the medium chosen for an inscription does not necessarily limit its function. In the case of stamps upon tiles and lead pipes, for instance, some – even if they admittedly make up a very small minority of the total – have a commemorative function that resembles the characteristics more commonly associated with monumental inscriptions. Similarly, graffiti sometimes appear as a cheap substitute for monumental inscriptions but do not differ from their monumental counterparts except in their formal characteristics.

Another possible approach would be to define inscriptions by their method of writing rather than surface, and to focus only on texts produced by incising, engraving, or stamping. This excludes inscriptions written in paint and ink. That would, however, run the risk of creating artificial categories that do not help us to understand Roman epigraphic culture. It is important to appreciate that texts displayed in different media might share fundamentally similar aims. Public notices could be painted upon the façades of buildings or upon wooden whitened boards, or they could be displayed on papyri. For example, a wanted notice for a runaway slave from the late third/fourth centuries AD was displayed on a sheet of papyrus, promising a reward if the slave was returned to the army headquarters.[9] In Egypt, reports of courtroom proceedings and petitions were sometimes displayed before they were registered in an archive: the daybook of Aurelius Leontas, *strategos* of the Ombite nome, from AD 232, includes a record of the duties he had performed (such as attending sacrifices and processions, inspecting the markets, examining the accounts of tax collectors, and working in his office) and his judicial activities (including an advocate's speech). At the end of each column of activities, before the date, the following phrase is repeated, 'I, Aurelius Dionysodorus, secretary, having displayed (this) in public, entered (it) among the records', which indicates that this daybook was itself officially made available in public before being archived.[10] Presumably this display was intended to allow interested parties to make copies of relevant sections of the document. Similarly, a petition to the prefect T. Pactumeius Magnus in AD 179 in which a husband from Oxyrhynchus was complaining that his wife had absconded with property that belonged to him was displayed in the portico of the gymnasium at Alexandria as well as being entered into the prefect's archive.[11]

---

[8] R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus* (1971: American Philological Association Monograph 26: Cleveland) no. 9 = *PGenLat.* 1 verso, part v, AD 90–6.

[9] *P. Oxy.* LI no. 3616: J. R. Rea, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LI (1984: British Academy: London).

Archaeological happenchance has inevitably limited our discussion of these different types of text beyond Egypt, with only very occasional finds coming to light, such as a fragment of an oak plank found in a pit at High House Turf-Wall milecastle on Hadrian's Wall in northern Britain, which appears to have been inscribed with a dedicatory building-inscription.[12] Exceptionally, papyri even come close to imitating monumental stone inscriptions, as illustrated by a late-third-century AD dedication to Diocletian and Maximian made by one or more army units, written on papyrus in rustic capitals averaging *c.*3.5 cm in height [Fig. 2.1].[13] Given that this text would have provided a 1 : 1 facsimile of an inscription, complete with attention paid to the relative thickness of strokes in the lettering, it seems unlikely that this papyrus text was simply a detailed draft version of a dedication

---

[10] L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, vol. I, *Historischer*, Part 2, *Chrestomathie* (1912: Teubner: Leipzig) = *P. Paris* 69/*W. Chrest.* 41: col. I l.18, col. II l.17, col. III l.41, col. IV l.25: Αὐρήλιος Διονυσόδωρος ὑπηρέτης προθεὶς δημοσίᾳ κατεχώρισα, discussed by B. Anagnostou-Canas, 'La documentation judiciare pénale dans l'Égypte romaine', *MÉFRA* 112.2 (2000) 753–77, at 755–6, and B. Kelly, *Petitions, Litigation and Social Control in Roman Egypt* (2011: Oxford University Press). Overview of the variety of documents published by *strategoi* in Egypt: R. Taubenschlag 'Les publications officielles du stratège dans l'Égypte gréco-romain', *JJurP* 5 (1951) 155–60.

[11] *P. Oxy.* LXV 4481, ed. J. D. Thomas, in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LXV, eds. M. W. Haslam, L. T. A. Jones, and F. Maltomini (1998: British Academy: London), discussed by Anagnostou-Canas, 'La documentation judiciare' (above, n.10) 763.

[12] *RIB* I 1935, with plate: R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, vol. I, *Inscriptions on Stone* (new edn by R. S. O. Tomlin, 1995: Alan Sutton: Stroud); W. Eck, 'Inschriften auf Holz: ein unterschätztes Phänomen der epigraphischen Kultur Roms', in Imperium Romanum: *Studien zu Geschichte und Rezeption*, eds. P. Kneissl and V. Losemann (1998: Steiner: Stuttgart) 206, with a couple of other examples.

[13] *P. Oxy.* XLI no. 2950: *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XLI, eds. G. M. Browne *et al.* (1972: British Academy: London).

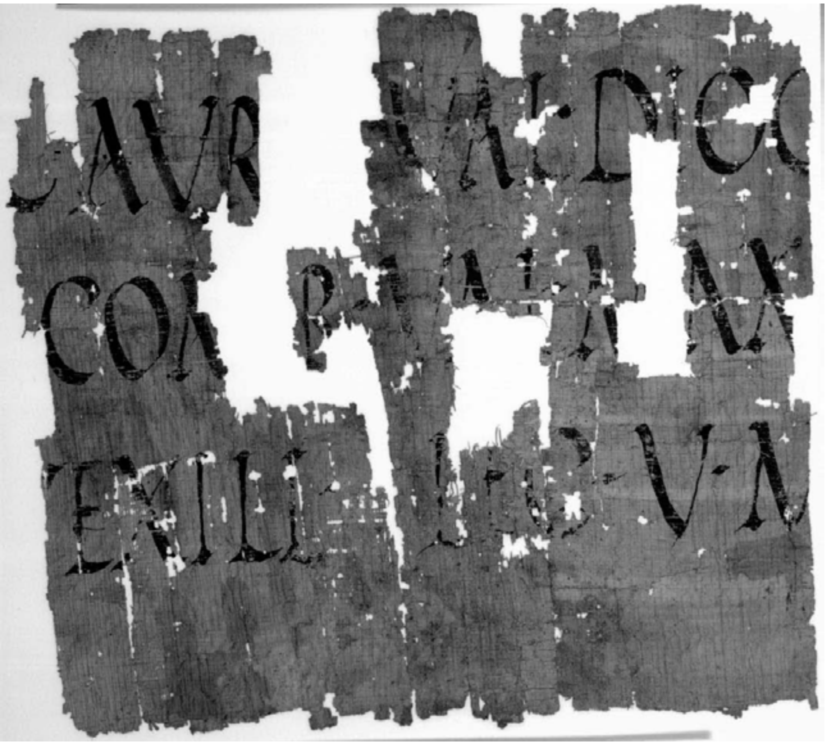


Fig. 2.1 Dedication to Diocletian and Maximian on papyrus – *P. Oxy.* XLI no. 2950 (courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society/The Imaging Papyri Project, University of Oxford)

later cut on stone, because of the way in which inscriptions are thought to have been produced, as discussed later. A text in this format would be expected in draft form only upon the final stone surface. More probably this papyrus itself was displayed as a kind of banner, perhaps at the time of an imperial visit to Oxyrhynchus. The style and scale of lettering, therefore, are as important as the material used in determining the text's function.

Public notices elsewhere were displayed on whitewashed wooden boards.[14] The latter, of course, do not survive archaeologically, but some impression of the visual impact of such texts in Roman towns emerges from a painting of Pompeii's Forum that appears to depict just such a public noticeboard [Fig. 2.2].[15] Literary sources and other epigraphic texts offer

---

[14] A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (1909: Alfred Hölder: Vienna) 229–99; Eck, 'Inschriften auf Holz' (above, n.12) 211–17.

[15] S. C. Nappo, 'Fregio dipinto dal "praedium" di Giulia Felice con rappresentazione del foro di Pompei', *RStPomp* 3 (1989) 88 no. 14 = MANN inv. 9068.

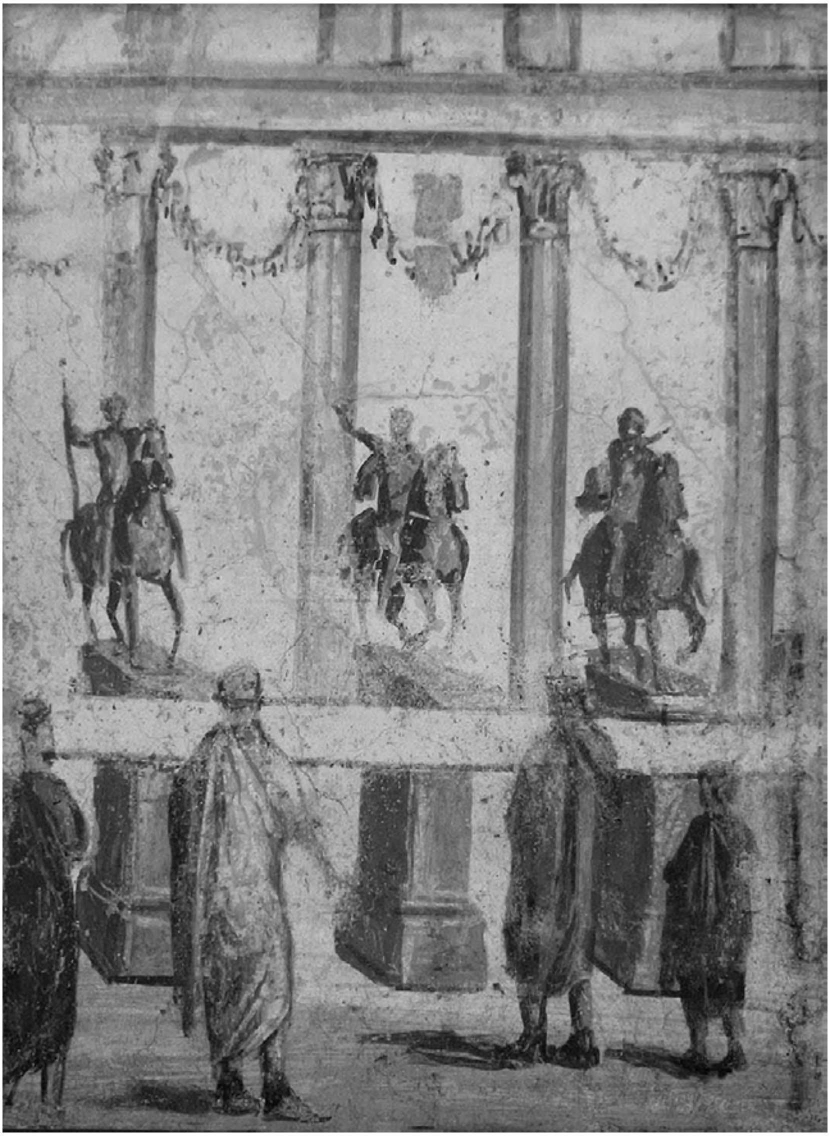


Fig. 2.2 Painting of Pompeii's Forum from House of Julia Felix – MANN inv. 9068 (photo: L. H. Davies)

a glimpse of the use of wooden boards for different types of texts. Above all, they related to matters in the public interest, giving advance notice of proposed laws, or displaying letters and edicts from Roman officials and emperors, or decrees issued by the senate.[16] Public display of proposed legislative changes in the Forum for twenty-four days was supposed to offer the opportunity to those visiting Rome only on market-days to learn about such proposals.[17] This gives the impression that displaying texts for a few weeks was routine practice. The annual registers of important happenings at Rome, regarded by the Romans as marking the beginnings of their history-writing, were purportedly set up by the *pontifex maximus* on whiteboards outside his house in the Forum.[18] The word *album* itself designated not just the whitened boards themselves, but also the official lists and registers commonly painted upon them. From 9 BC onwards, as a result of Augustus' reforms of the senate as enacted in the *lex Iulia de senatu habendo*, the *album senatorium* published the names of current members of the senate in a list which was updated annually.[19] Other lists include the names of candidates for consular elections, an annual list of jurors, and of individuals eligible to receive the corn-dole.[20] Indeed, whitened boards, not monumental inscriptions, were the medium favoured for publishing documents for administrative purposes.[21] Consequently, this is the format prescribed by the prefect of Egypt in a letter to a group of district governors relating to the suppression of divination in AD 198/9: 'Let each of you take care that a copy of this letter is displayed publicly in the district capitals and in every village in clear and easily legible writing on a whitened board.'[22] In addition, placards might be paraded in processions explaining how they were being performed in fulfilment of a vow, and these were then set up in temples as votive offerings.[23] Others were more personal in nature, such as birth notices, which were displayed at Alexandria outside both the public record office and the individual's home.[24]

---

[16] Augustus is said to have displayed new laws on whiteboards in the senate house so as to facilitate senatorial debate about them: Dio Cass. 55.4.1. Vespasian ordered his edict on teachers and physicians to be displayed on whiteboards: *FIRA* I^2 73.

---

[17] Macrob. *Sat.* 1.16.34–5.

[18] Cic. *Orat.* 2.52.

[19] Dio Cass. 55.3.3, with R. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome* (1984: Princeton University Press) 17.

[20] *Lex Valeria Aurelia*/*Tabula Hebana* ll.16–21 = *Roman Statutes*, ed. M. H. Crawford (1996: BICS Supplement 64: London) no. 37; *Lex repetundarum* l.14 = *Roman Statutes* no. 1; *Tabula Heracleensis* ll.13–19 = *CIL* I^2 593 = *Roman Statutes* no. 24.

[21] W. Eck, 'Administrative Dokumente: Publikation und Mittel der Selbstdarstellung', in W. Eck, *Verwaltung des römischen Reiches in der hohen Kaiserzeit: ausgewählte und erweiterte Beiträge* (1998: Arbeiten zur römischen Epigraphik und Altertumskunde 3/ Reinhardt: Berlin) II 359–81 (= 'Documenti amministrativi: pubblicazione e mezzo di autorappresentazione', in *Epigrafia romana in area adriatica*, ed. G. Paci (1998: Università degli Studi di Macerata) 343–66) and 'Öffentlichkeit, Politik und Administration: epigraphische Dokumente von Kaisern, Senat und Amsträgern in Rom', in *Selbstdarstellung und Kommunikation: die veröffentlichung staatlicher Urkunden auf Stein und Bronze in der römischen Welt*, ed. R. Haensch (2009: Vestigia 61: C. H. Beck: Munich) 75–96, at 79–82.

[22] J. Rea, 'A new version of P. Yale inv. 299', *ZPE* 27 (1977) 151–6, ll.12–15.

[23] P. Veyne, '"Titulus praelatus": offrande, solennisation et publicité dans les ex-voto gréco-romains', *RA* (1983) 281–300.

[24] Apul. *Apol.* 89.

Indeed, we should be wary of trying to make too rigid a distinction between practical inscriptions that offered information in a straightforward way and monumental inscriptions that were concerned primarily with commemoration.[25] The potential ambiguity in distinguishing between the two categories may be neatly illustrated by considering the various media from which the name of the assassinated Geta was erased.[26] Not only was his name removed from self-evidently commemorative monumental inscriptions (such as the Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum),[27] but also from ostensibly more functional texts stamped upon water-pipes. A water-pipe dating from AD 209, presumed to be from Rome, shows the name of Geta erased some time after his assassination at the end of AD 211.[28] His name was also erased from a water-pipe from Palestrina,[29] but it remained intact on others from Ostia and Lepcis Magna.[30] Thus the pattern cannot be explained purely by relative proximity to Rome, which arguably might have affected sensitivities to his assassination. At the same time, his portraits were defaced, or often totally obliterated, and his image was also removed from a seal depicting Septimius Severus with his two sons used on a papyrus in Egypt on 15th June AD 212, four months after his assassination, perhaps as a temporary measure until a new seal representing Caracalla alone could be made.[31] Add to this the fact that his name was also removed from papyri (again, inconsistently, but with documents from AD 200/1, over a decade earlier, even being altered), and his image and name erased from coins produced in several eastern mints in the provinces of Asia, Galatia, and Bithynia, and the neat distinction between the functional and the commemorative disappears.[32] Whatever the circumstances behind the erasure of Geta's name upon the water-pipes (whether, for example, the pipe had not been laid underground or whether it had been uncovered perhaps during repairs), the act of erasure suggests that even the 'functional' stamp on a water-pipe or the non-monumental context of writing on papyri could be regarded as preserving the memory of a named individual to a sufficient extent that the name could end up being erased when the individual's memory was damned (see further section 2.5.4).

---

[25] M. Corbier, *Donner à voir, donner à lire: mémoire et communication dans la Rome ancienne* (2006: CNRS Editions: Paris) 49.

[26] A. Mastino, 'L'erasione del nome di Geta dalle iscrizioni nel quadro della propaganda politica alla corte di Caracalla', *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università Cagliari* n.s. 2 (1978/9) (1981) 47–81; E. R. Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation: damnatio memoriae and Roman Imperial Portraiture* (2004: Brill: Leiden) 168–84.

[27] *CIL* VI 1033 = 31230 = *ILS* 425.

[28] *CIL* XV 7326 = *ILS* 8687; C. Bruun, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome: A Study of Roman Imperial Administration* (1991: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 93: Helsinki) 231–2.

[29] *CIL* XV 7879 = XIV 3036.

[30] *CIL* XV 7746–47 = *ILS* 8688a–b; *IRT* 398a.

[31] E. M. Husselman, 'XII – Two customs house receipts from Egypt', *TAPA* 82 (1951) 164–7, at 165–7.

[32] P. Mertens, 'La *damnatio memoriae* de Géta dans les papyrus', in *Hommages à Léon Herrmann* (1960: Collection *Latomus* 44: Brussels) 541–52; J. De Jong, 'Propaganda or pragmatism? *Damnatio memoriae* in the third-century papyri and imperial representation', in *Mémoire et histoire: les procédures de condamnation dans l'Antiquité romaine*, eds. S. Benoist and A. Daguet-Gagey (2007: Centre Régional Universitaire Lorrain d'Histoire Site de Metz 31) 95–111. Cf. prefect's fragmentary edict, AD 212, on a papyrus from Alexandria, apparently

Although it would be possible to devise an easy way of defining epigraphy, therefore, it is not necessarily satisfactory to be content with an easy solution. Conventionally, epigraphers do not study coins or papyri, but this traditional division of labour between epigraphers, numismatists, and papyrologists is rather arbitrary, and runs the risk of ignoring similarities between these different uses of writing, as already explored to some extent earlier.[33] Alongside their economic function, coins acted as *monumenta* in much the same way as monumental inscriptions. This occurred after a major shift in the character of Roman coinage from the 130s BC, when moneyers started to choose designs alluding to the achievements and monuments of their ancestors. The role of coins as a means of making public displays of status was perhaps not so very different from that of honorific statues or monumental tombs.[34] In some respects the character of coins commemorating the building or repair of a public building is not so different from building- or rebuilding-inscriptions, albeit that they reached a much wider audience. Indeed, by the Augustan era, we find coins depicting inscriptions.[35] Some of these are shown as part of a monument, such as an equestrian statue of Augustus, on the base of which is inscribed *SPQR / IMP / CAES* ('The Senate and People of Rome to Imperator Caesar').[36] A

---

disseminating instructions relating to the memory sanctions against Geta: H. Maehler, *Ägyptische Urkunden: Urkunden römischer Zeit* XI (1968: Bruno Hessling: Berlin) – *BGU* XI, 77–9, no. 2056. Catalogue of coins from which Geta has been erased is provided by R. Mowat, 'Martelage et abrasion des monnaies sous l'empire romain' *RN* 5 (1901) 443–71, at 451–60; illustrations of examples can be found in C. Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins* (1995: Routledge: London) pl. 164, Geta erased from a bronze coin minted at Mytilene; K. W. Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics in the Roman East AD 180–275* (1987: University of California Press: Berkeley) pl. 12.2–4, Geta erased on coins from Nicaea, Stratonicea, and Pergamum.

[33] J. Mallon, *Paléographie romaine* (1952: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, de Filología: Madrid) 55, 61 on the arbitrary boundaries between epigraphy and palaeography. Sometimes coins are treated by epigraphers, as in the handbook by Calabi Limentani, who includes a short sub-section on coins in her chapter on *Instrumentum domesticum*, I. Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina* (2nd edn, 1968: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino: Milan) 325–8.

[34] A. Meadows and J. Williams, 'Moneta and the monuments: coinage and politics in Republican Rome', *JRS* 91 (2001) 37–44.

[35] Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina* (above, n.33) 36–7.

[36] *RIC* I 68 no. 362 = *BMCRE Augustus* 82, minted at Rome, 16 BC.

few are isolated inscriptions: a *denarius* from 16 BC depicts on its obverse a text within an oak-wreath commemorating a vow to Jupiter made by the Senate and People of Rome for the welfare of Augustus, and on its reverse a pillar inscribed with the words: *IMP(eratori) / CAES(ari) / AVGV(sto) / COMM(uni) / CONS(ensu)* ('To Imperator Caesar Augustus by common consensus').[37] Such inscriptions are not exact replicas of the originals (a physical impossibility given the constraints of space on coins), but present them in abbreviated forms. Very occasionally we can compare the image on the coin with the original inscription: the *clipeus* (shield) granted to Augustus in 26 BC was particularly popular on coins, appearing sometimes with the legend *SPQR C V*, or, more simply, *C(lipeus) V(irtutis)*. This is obviously an abbreviated form of the original dedication, as preserved on a marble copy of the shield found at Arles: *senatus / populusque Romanus / Imp. Caesari Divi f. Augusto / cos. VIII dedit clupeum / virtutis clementiae / iustitiae pietatis erga / deos patriamque* ('The senate and people of Rome gave to Imperator Caesar Augustus, consul eight times, a shield of valour, clemency, justice, and piety towards gods and country').[38] In the majority of cases, however, inscriptions on coins are probably 'unreal' in the sense that they are not abbreviated versions of real inscriptions, but are independent texts designed to convey a message on the coin. Some monuments are represented with inscriptions where an inscription could reasonably be expected, such as on the attic architrave of the triumphal arch of Claudius at Rome celebrating his conquest of Britain, but in this case the words *de Britann(is)* ('(Victory) over the Britons') simply identify the arch rather than provide a summary of a real inscription. The inscription that survives from the arch, though fragmentary, is much more verbose.[39]

Epigraphy, then, is really a subdiscipline created by convenience and compromise. In order to understand epigraphic culture, it is essential to recognize the permeability of the boundaries between writing that has been preserved on all kinds of media. The medium used for a particular type of text can depend purely upon regional natural resources rather than upon the intention of the writer. Understanding inscriptions involves analysis not just of their texts, but also of their lettering and archaeological context, and it requires us to be ready to look for comparisons not just between inscriptions that are obviously related to each other, but to cast our gaze onto other forms of writing too.

---

[37] *RIC* I 68 no. 358 = *BMCRE Augustus* 92. Less probably, Augustus' name may be understood in the nominative case.

[38] *RIC* I 44 no. 42b = *BMCRE Augustus* 335, compared with *AÉpigr* (1952) 165 = *ILS* 81; cf. A. E. Cooley, *Res Gestae divi Augusti* (2009: Cambridge University Press), commentary on 34.2 *clupeus* for date of 26 BC.

[39] *BMCRE Claudius* 29; *CIL* VI 920 = *ILS* 216; A. A. Barrett, 'Claudius' British victory arch in Rome', *Britannia* 22 (1991) 6–7, 10–15.

2.2 Epigraphic categorization

Dividing inscriptions up into different categories poses a number of difficulties: should we do this by function (e.g. funerary, honorific, religious), by type of monument (tomb, statue base, altar), by type of text (epitaph, decree, vow), by fabric (stone, metal, pottery, wall, rock, mosaic), or by writing method (carved, painted, stamped, scratched)? Another possibility would be to divide up inscriptions according to a tripartite system based broadly upon their social context, categorizing them as public, private, and sacred.[40] Some of these categories overlap, and there is the problem of deciding how many sub-categories of a particular type of inscription can be catalogued before the usefulness of categoriziation as an analytical tool is lost.[41] More importantly, it is necessary to be clear as to the purpose of categorization: are we trying to arrive at categories that do not perhaps map onto anything that would have been recognized in the Roman world in order to facilitate our own historical studies? Or are we aiming to understand the nature of epigraphic culture, in the realization that unless the character of 'source material' is fully appreciated, there is a danger of being misled in our historical studies? After all, knowing what are suitable questions to ask of a particular set of 'evidence' is crucial to the validity of any historical analysis. Consider, for example, the problems that arose from demographic approaches to epitaphs which assumed that they offered objective, accurate, and representative data about ages in the Roman world. On this basis, Roman North Africa witnessed extraordinary (indeed incredible) longevity in its population, with 24.8% of 10 697 individuals surviving beyond the age of seventy. Far from indicating that conditions in North Africa were genuinely more favourable to longevity than elsewhere, this epigraphic pattern is much more likely to illustrate cultural attitudes to old age and commemoration.[42]

---

[40] Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* (above, n.1) 12–15.

[41] Compare the categories chosen by M. G. Schmidt, *Einführung in die lateinische Epigraphik* (2004: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft: Darmstadt) ch. 4 with the exhaustive list in I. Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista: guida alla schedatura del materiale epigrafico lapideo* (1987: Vetera 1: Quasar: Rome) ch. 9.

[42] W. R. McDonnell, 'On the expectation of life in ancient Rome, and in the provinces of Hispania and Lusitania, and Africa', *Biometrika* 9.3/4 (1913) 372–7 (who does, however, reject as implausible ages recorded as 140, 155, 160, and 170) and R. Étienne, 'Démographie et épigraphie', in *Atti del terzo congresso internazionale di epigrafia greca e latina* (1959:

One of the current handbooks to Latin epigraphy divides up its analysis of inscriptions into the following chapters: sacred, sepulchral, honorific, public works, *instrumentum domesticum*, legal, collegial proceedings, calendars and *fasti*, wall-inscriptions.[43] This reflects traditional views of the functions of the rich diversity of inscriptions that have survived from the Roman world. Such categorization plays an important part in allowing inscriptions to be used as evidence in discussing different historical topics. What it does not do is to reflect accurately the motivations that prompted people to create inscriptions. This section will risk sacrificing clarity of vision by questioning such traditional categories in order to try to offer a more subtle picture of the overlapping functions of different types of inscription, and above all to emphasize how examining inscriptions in their original physical location can offer insights into the motivations behind their production. After all, although an inscription on a statue base may be categorized as basically 'honorific' in purpose, it made a big difference who funded it, whether that statue was set up in a public place, or in a house, or at a tomb, and whether the statue was decreed by a town council or province, or set up by someone's freedman.

It is well known that the vast majority of monumental inscriptions that survive from the Roman world are **epitaphs**. In its simplest form, an epitaph simply contained the deceased's name. It was also common practice to add age at death, biographical details (social status, family relationships, occupation or public offices held), a conventional character description and/or expression of loss, ending with the name(s) of the dedicator(s) of the inscription. The dedicator might actually also be the deceased, since some Romans chose to set up their own tomb monuments in their own lifetimes, not necessarily in anxiety for the future, but sometimes in response to another death in the family.[44] The fact that there was a fairly limited range of expressions used to describe the deceased – the vast majority being represented by *bene merens* ('well deserving'), *dulcissimus/a* ('sweetest'), *carissimus/a* ('dearest'), *pientissimus/a* and its alternative form *piissimus/a* ('most dutiful') – need not mean that they were for that reason unthinkingly

---

Bretschneider: Rome) 415–24, at 419, with critique by K. Hopkins, 'On the probable age structure of the Roman population', *Population Studies* 20.2 (1966) 245–64.

[43] Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina* (above, n.33).

[44] W. Eck, 'Epigrafi e costruzioni sepolcrali nella necropoli sotto S. Pietro: a proposito del valore di messaggio delle iscrizioni funebri nel contesto dei complessi sepolcrali', in *Tra epigrafia, prosopografia e archeologia* (1996: Vetera 10: Quasar: Rome) 251–69, at 260 = 'Inschriften und Grabbauten in der Nekropole unter St. Peter: zur Aussagefähigkeit von Grabinschriften im Kontext der Grabanlagen', in *Struktur und Gehalt*, ed. P. Neukam (1991: Klassische Sprachen und Literaturen 25: Munich) 26–58.

repeated from one epitaph to the next: for instance, although the two superlatives *carissimus* ('dearest') and *dulcissimus* ('sweetest') might at first sight seem more or less synonymous with each other, the former was used in a wider range of contexts, for instance to describe a friend of higher status, whereas *dulcissimus* was a more intimate adjective, used especially of a child.[45] Some epitaphs contained lines of verse, often appropriately in elegiac metre, lamenting the cruel fate that had snatched away the deceased. Others offered a more detailed vignette of a life cut short.

Epitaphs appeared on a range of monuments: on free-standing *stelae* ('plaques') or *cippi* ('markers'); on funerary altars, sarcophagi, or ash-chests; and on small plaques placed below niches in a *columbarium*, which might be inscribed or painted.[46] Alongside these commonplace funerary monuments, there were also some unusual types distinctive to particular regions, such as barrel-shaped monuments in Caesarea Mauretania;[47] Etruscan-influenced ash-urns and grave-markers in central Italy, whose design alluded to domestic architecture;[48] and epitaphs carved upon pre-existing granite statues of boars and bulls in Lusitania.

28 A regional funerary monument from Lusitania: Fig. 2.3

CIL II 3052

J. Vives, *Inscripciones latinas de la españa romana* (1971: Universidad de Barcelona) no. 3916; G. Lopez Monteagudo, *Esculturas zoomorfas celtas de la peninsula iberica* (1989: Anejos de Archivio Español de Arqueologia 10: Madrid) 72, 133: no. 88 + pl. 33; R. C. Knapp, *Latin Inscriptions from Central Spain* (1992: University of California Press: Berkeley) no. 89, with pl. 8; J. Edmondson, 'Writing Latin in the Roman province of Lusitania', in *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin? Literacy and Epigraphy in the Roman West*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2002: *JRA* Supplement 48: Portsmouth, R.I.) 41–60, at 55–7.

Longinus / Prisco Cala/etiq(um) patri f(aciendum) c(uravit)

---

[45] H. S. Nielsen, 'Interpreting epithets in Roman epitaphs', in *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space*, eds. B. Rawson and P. Weaver (1997: Oxford University Press) 169–204.

[46] Painted inscriptions on *columbaria* plaques: *CIL* VI 33296–50.

[47] P. Leveau, 'Nécropoles et monuments funéraires à Caesarea de Maurétanie', in *Römische Gräberstrassen: Selbstdarstellung – Status – Standard*, eds. H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker (1987: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Munich) 281–90, at 285.

[48] S. Diebner, 'Sonderformen von Urnen und Grabstelen in den Regionen Mittelitaliens', in *Römische Gräberstrassen: Selbstdarstellung – Status – Standard*, eds. H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker (1987: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Munich) 229–37.

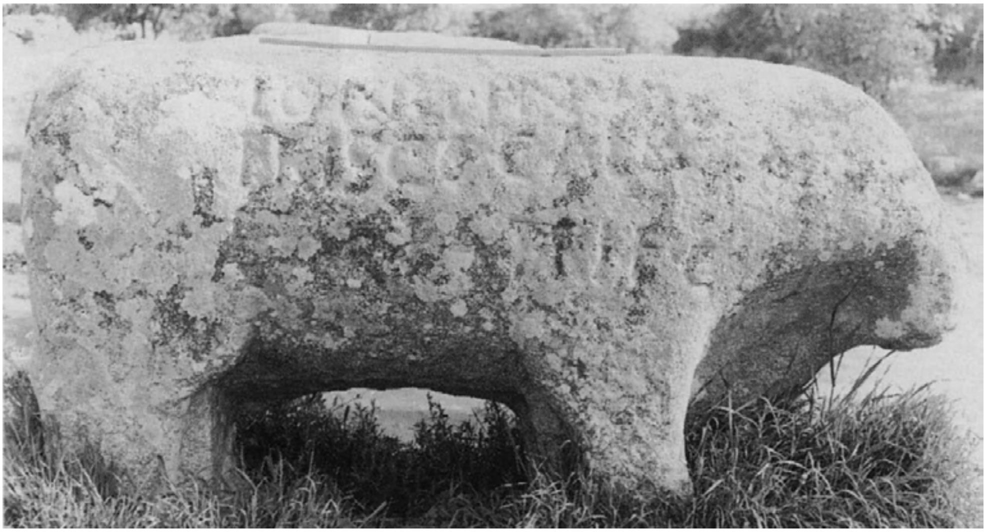


Fig. 2.3 A regional funerary monument from Lusitania – *CIL* II 3052 (from R. C. Knapp, *Latin Inscriptions from Central Spain* (1992: University of California Press: Berkeley) no. 89, pl. 8)

CIL and Vives: ll.2–3, Cala/etio

'Longinus saw to it that this be done for his father Priscus, of the Calaetican clan.'

This Latin epitaph (letter heights: l.1, 16–14 cm; l.2, 14–18 cm; l.3, 16/15 cm) from Guisando (Avila province) is inscribed on one side of a bull sculpted out of local granite (height 147 cm, width 271 cm, depth 83 cm). The epitaph may date from the late first/second centuries AD, whilst the sculpture itself was created earlier (but it is unclear exactly when), and is characteristic of stone animals found in the central-western region of the Iberian peninsula. It is unclear whether its original function was also funerary and/or protective. The epitaph combines both Roman and indigenous elements, with Roman names, but reference to an indigenous clan. Eight other animals with fairly well-preserved inscriptions have been found, which also combine local and Roman features: some of them use a filiation simply comprising a father's name in the genitive; others also refer to a native clan; and some contain indigenous names.[49]

The name of the deceased might also simply be painted or scratched directly upon a pottery urn or plaster.[50] Many monuments were decorated according to a standard repertoire of mythological scenes or ornamental motifs; in other cases, the monument was tailor-made for the deceased, and expressed something about his or her individuality.

---

[49] R. C. Knapp, *Latin Inscriptions from Central Spain* (1992: University of California Press: Berkeley) 324–5.

[50] Epitaphs scratched upon pottery cinerary jars in various necropoleis at Rome: C. Messineo, 'Dalle necropoli del suburbio settentrionale di Roma', in *Römischer Bestattungsbrauch und*

29 Funerary altar of Q. Sulpicius Maximus, Rome: Fig. 2.4

CIL VI 33976 + *IG* XIV 2012 = *ILS* 5177 = *IGRRP* I 350–2 = *IGUR* III 1336 = *AÉpigr* (2000) 178 (revision of final lines of Greek verses). Now in Capitoline Museums (inv. 2963). Photographs: www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=PH0003225; PH0003226

G. Henzen, 'II. Scavi', *Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corripondenza Archeologica* (1871) 98–115; C. L. Visconti, *Il sepolcro del fanciullo Quinto Sulpicio Massimo* (1871: Tipografia della S. C. de Propaganda Fide: Rome); R. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome* (1892: Macmillan: London) 280–2; J. R. Nelson, 'The boy poet Sulpicius: a tragedy of Roman education', *The School Review* 11.5 (1903) 383–95; S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (1929: Oxford University Press: London) 487; A. E. Gordon, *Album of Dated Latin inscriptions* (1958: University of California Press: Berkeley) I 144 no. 153 + pl. 64b; G. Caruso, 'Sepulcrum: Q. Sulpicius Maximus', in *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, vol. IV, *P–S*, ed. E. M. Steinby (1999: Quasar: Rome) 300; B. Rawson, *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy* (2003: Oxford University Press) 17–20 + fig. 1.1.

Deis(!) Manibus sacrum || Q(uinto) Sulpicio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Cla(udia) Maximo domo Roma vix(it) ann(os) XI m(enses) V d(ies) XII / hic tertio certaminis lustro inter Graecos poetas duos et L / professus favorem quem ob teneram aetatem excitaverat / in admirationem ingenio suo perduxit et cum honore discessit versus / [5] *extemporales eo subiecti sunt ne parent(es) adfectib(us) suis in̂d̂ulsisse videân̂t̂(ur) / Q(uintus) Sulpicius Eugramus et Licinia Ianuaria paren̂t̂(es) infelicissim(i) f(ilio) piissim(o) fec(erunt) et sib(i) p(osterisque) s(uis)*

'Sacred to the departed spirits. To Quintus Sulpicius Maximus, son of Quintus, of the Claudian voting-tribe, resident of Rome. He lived 11 years, 5 months, 12 days. He registered at the third recurrence of the competition among 52 Greek poets; the support which he had stirred up on account of his tender age, he converted into admiration for his talent and he ended up with honour. His improvised verses have been appended here to prevent his parents from appearing to have been carried away by their love for him.

Beigabensitten in Rom, Norditalien und den Nordwestprovinzen von der späten Republik bis in die Kaiserzeit, eds. M. Heinzelmann *et al.* (2001: Palilia 8: Reichert: Wiesbaden) 35–45; M. Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead: Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western Europe* (2006: Oxford University Press) 66–9.

Quintus Sulpicius Eugramus and Licinia Ianuaria, his most unfortunate parents, have set (this up) for their most dutiful son and for themselves and their descendants.'

This lavish marble monument (height 115 cm, width 87 cm, depth 70 cm; letters in Greek, 1.7–1.0 cm; in Latin, 1.9–1.4 cm) commemorated eleven-year-old poet Quintus Sulpicius Maximus, who in AD 94 had competed in the Capitoline games (introduced by Domitian in AD 86) at Rome to great acclaim. The monument dates shortly thereafter, to AD 94/5. It was originally probably set up on the *via Salaria*, and was later incorporated into the interior of the east tower of the *porta Salaria*, a gateway of the Aurelianic wall. The monument is in the form of an altar, with a central pediment and antefixes at the corners: a laurel wreath in the pediment might appear to suggest that he had won a prize for his verses, but the prize for this contest was an olive/oak wreath.[51] This choice of relief was, therefore, intended to indicate that he had acquitted himself well, even though he had not actually won first prize (and the inscription gives the same impression too: after all, if he could have been acclaimed as a victor in the contest, there would have been no need to inscribe all of his verses, since objective evidence for his talent would have been evident from his victory in the contest). His parents had him depicted as a full-length statue within a niche on the altar, in a pose as if declaiming, holding a scroll and dressed in a toga. His representation makes him appear more mature than his real age. The Roman citizen status of Sulpicius Maximus is emphasized in both text and image, perhaps in part because his parents may have been of freed status. In addition to a Latin epitaph, his parents also had his Greek verses (on the theme of what Zeus might have said to Helios on the death of Phaethon in the sun-chariot) inscribed on every available surface to the right and left of the niche and upon the scroll held by him. Below his epitaph are further epigrams in Greek, describing his life and lamenting his death. It is unclear whether or not his parents appreciated the irony of the parallel fates of their son and Phaethon, both possibly high-fliers who died of exhaustion. The epitaph in Latin is actually only a small part of the inscribed text overall; his parents squeezed onto the monument as many of his Greek verses as possible, as they say, to demonstrate that he really was talented, by preserving in stone the verses that were spontaneously composed during the competition. In several places, the inscriptions' letters spill over onto the frame around the text, giving the impression that his parents were eager to commemorate their son's life in as much as detail as possible. On the sides are reliefs of an *urceus* (jug) and *patera* (libation-dish).

In other cases, a successful life full of achievement is celebrated: veteran cavalryman Ti. Claudius Maximus ensured that his glorious military career

---

[51] Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.231.

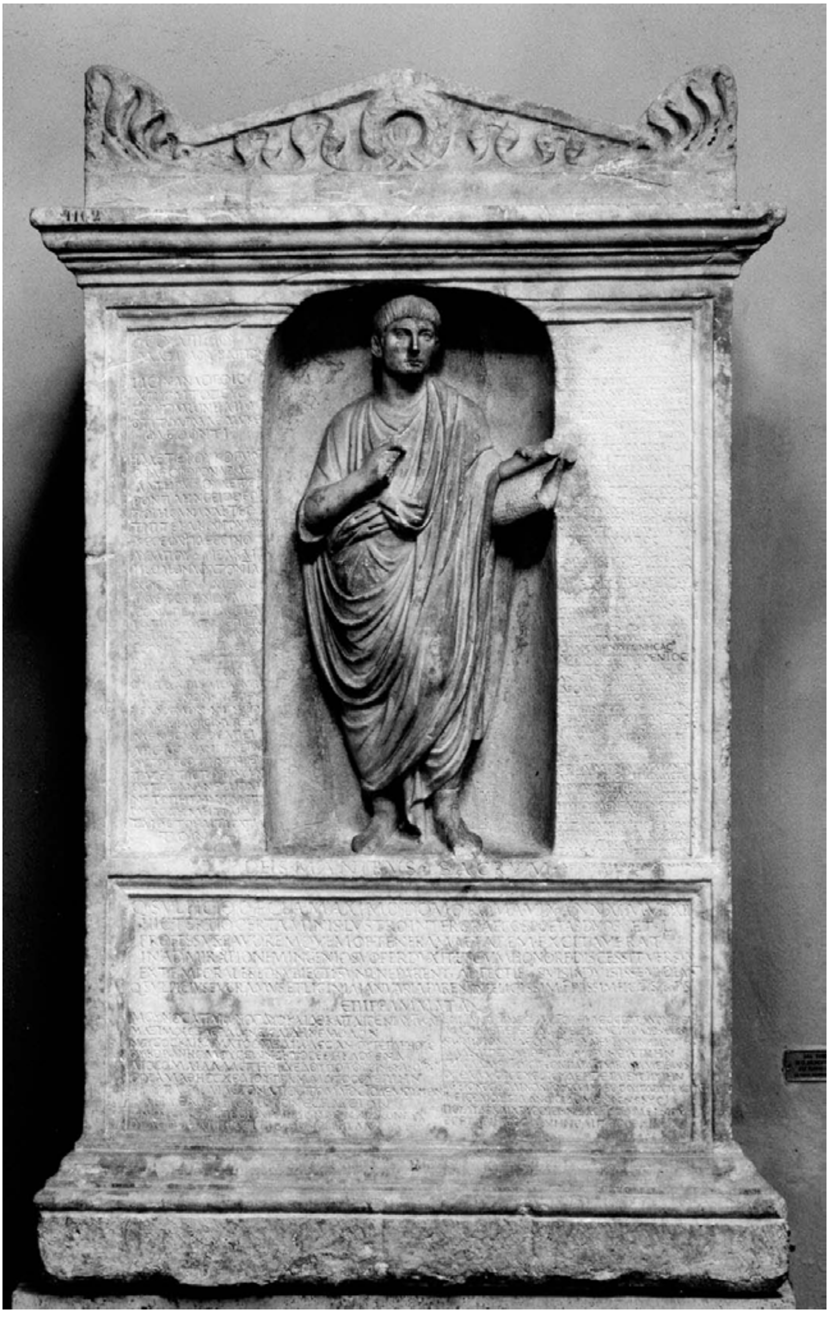


Fig. 2.4 Funerary altar of Q. Sulpicius Maximus, Rome – *CIL* VI 33976 + *IG* XIV 2012 (photo: H.-G. Kolbe (1964), courtesy of *CIL* Database "Archivum Corporis Electronicum")

in the Dacian and Parthian wars of Domitian and Trajan was recorded in full before his death on his imposing 3-metre-high tombstone at Philippi (Macedonia), the pinnacle of which – his capture of Dacian king Decebalus and the military awards (torques and arm-rings) made to him by Trajan – was depicted in two reliefs at the top of the stone.[52] In this way, individuals used tomb monuments in order to commemorate what they considered to be their most significant achievements during their lifetime.

In addition, funerary inscriptions could project images of an individual's sense of identity in terms of belonging to a family, an occupation, or a social/ethnic group. There is, however, no straightforward correlation to be seen between social status and tomb size.[53] Characteristic of freedmen during the late Republic and Augustan periods are family portrait-groups depicted in relief on monumental tombs. This reflected the integral part played by the family in individuals' new status after manumission: by contrast, slaves were not entitled to legal family relationships. The imagery of such reliefs commonly emphasized both marriage, via the motif of *dextrarum iunctio* (husband and wife clasping each other's right hand), and citizenship: new male citizens wear togas, and sometimes a son who had been born as a free citizen (i.e., following his parents' manumission) is depicted wearing a *bulla* around his neck.[54] Professional activities were also gradually incorporated into funerary commemoration, firstly alongside family representations, and then becoming the dominant image.[55] Freedmen in particular appear to have embraced the practice of representing their occupations on their tombstones, perhaps because they were excluded from political and military careers. Similarly, gladiators, who occupied an even more marginal status beyond the fringe of respectable society, often depicted aspects of their profession on their tomb monuments. By drawing upon a repertoire of linguistic formulae and images associated with soldiers, they even assimilated themselves to some extent with the more acceptable world of the Roman army.[56]

---

[52] M. Speidel, 'The captor of Decebalus: a new inscription from Philippi', *JRS* 60 (1970) 142–53.

[53] W. Eck, 'Grabmonumente und sozialer Status in Rom und Umgebung', in *Bestattungssitte und kulturelle Identität: Grabanlagen und Grabbeigaben der frühen römischen Kaiserzeit in Italien und den Nordwest-Provinzen*, eds. P. Fasold *et al.* (1998: Rheinland: Cologne) 29–40; and 'Grabgrösse und sozialer Status', in *Römischer Bestattungsbrauch und Beigabensitten in Rom, Norditalien und den Nordwestprovinzen von der späten Republik bis in die Kaiserzeit*, eds. M. Heinzelmann *et al.* (2001: Palilia 8: Reichert: Wiesbaden) 197–201.

[54] P. Zanker, 'Grabreliefs römischer Freigelassener', *JdI* 90 (1975) 267–315, esp. 285–93, 300–2; D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Group Portraiture: The Funerary Reliefs of the Late Republic and early Empire* (1977: Garland: New York).

[55] M. George, 'Social identity and the dignity of work in freedmen's reliefs', in *The Art of Citizens, Soldiers and Freedmen in the Roman World*, eds. E. D'Ambra and G. P. R. Métraux (2006: British Archaeological Reports International Series 1526: Oxford) 19–29.

All of the inscribed epitaphs discussed so far shared the purpose of identifying an individual's actual burial place, and would have provided the focal point for ritual libations, sacrifices, and feasts.[57] Evidence for rituals focused upon the *columellae* characteristic of Pompeii and its neighbourhood has already been outlined in Chapter 1; other types of inscribed monuments also accommodated rituals. Some *columbaria* plaques set at ground-floor level have sieve-like perforations through which libations could be made directly onto the ashes (see no. 69). Inscribed epitaphs were placed inside a tomb monument, therefore, in order to mark an individual's actual burial-place and to make an implicit statement about his or her right to be buried in a particular place. These were the epitaphs proper, which encompassed not just the tomb-builder but also members of his or her *familia*, or others permitted burial in the tomb.[58] Not all *columbaria* niches were identified with inscriptions, though: many of the burials in the *columbaria* in the necropolis underneath St Peter's in Rome lacked any inscription, perhaps because slaves were buried there, whose burial-places were considered not to need identification, given that rites would not be performed at their graves.[59] Several tombs at Isola Sacra also lacked individual inscriptions on their interior, whilst displaying an inscribed plaque on the exterior.[60] The use of inscriptions was particularly a feature of large *columbaria* owned by burial-clubs;[61] arguably a family would have less need of inscriptions.[62]

---

[56] V. M. Hope, 'Negotiating identity and status: the gladiators of Roman Nîmes', in *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire*, eds. R. Laurence and J. Berry (1998: Routledge: London) 179–95; and 'Fighting for identity: the funerary commemoration of Italian gladiators', in *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2000: BICS Supplement 73: London) 93–113.

[57] Archaeological evidence of funerary rituals: Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead* (above, n.50) 71–4.

[58] F. Feraudi-Gruénais, Ubi diutius nobis habitandum est: *die Innendekoration der kaiserzeitlichen Gräber Roms* (2001: Palilia 9: Reichert: Wiesbaden) 155; H. Mouritsen, 'Freedmen and decurions: epitaphs and social history in imperial Italy', *JRS* 95 (2005) 38–63, at 40.

[59] W. Eck, 'Römische Grabinschriften Aussageabsicht und Aussagefähigkeit im funerären Kontext', in *Römische Gräberstrassen: Selbstdarstellung – Status – Standard*, eds. H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker (1987: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Munich) 61–82 = 'Iscrizioni sepolcrali romane: intenzione e capacità di messaggio nel contesto funerario', in *Tra epigrafia prosopografia e archeologia* (1996: Vetera 10: Quasar: Rome) 227–50, at 229–35; also 'Epigrafi e costruzioni sepolcrali nella necropoli sotto S. Pietro' (above, n.44) 261–3. Eck is over-pessimistic about the ratio of inscriptions to burial-places, however: I. Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity* (1992: Cambridge University Press) 166.

[60] Eck, 'Römische Grabinschriften' (above, n.59) 66–7.

[61] For burial clubs, see K. Hopkins, *Death and Renewal* (1983: Cambridge University Press) ch. 3; Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead* (above, n.50) 44–8.

[62] Eck, 'Epigrafi e costruzioni sepolcrali nella necropoli sotto S. Pietro' (above, n.44) 261.

The limited audience of these interior inscriptions (comprising only visitors entering the tomb) has raised questions about the extent to which they were designed to project a self-image of the deceased rather than primarily to identify the place of burial. Nevertheless, the ways in which many epitaphs go beyond merely identifying the deceased suggest that there was more to them than simple identification labels. Sometimes, we simply cannot find a logical explanation for the location of an epitaph, such as the lengthy epitaphs of P. Paquius Scaeva and his wife inscribed on the inner wall of their joint sarcophagus.[63]

In addition to actual epitaphs, there was a wide variety of other inscriptions set up in, on, and around tombs.[64] Inscriptions displayed inside and outside tombs differed from each other in terms of their content in significant ways. Inscriptions on the exterior, typically in the form of a rectangular plaque displayed on the tomb's façade above its entrance, recorded the identity of the tomb's builder, and were often primarily concerned with property ownership, stipulating that the tomb had been legally bought and sold; who was permitted to be buried in the tomb; and who had rights of access to the grave.[65] They commonly ended with the abbreviation *HMHNS* (*hoc monumentum heredibus non sequetur* – 'this monument shall not follow the heirs'), a stipulation designed to protect a tomb from future neglect by heirs external to the family. In other cases at Rome (mid first century BC to mid first century AD) where several names were listed together in a multiple epitaph, clarification was given whether an individual had already died and been buried in the tomb or had simply secured the right of being buried there but was still alive, by prefacing each name with the symbols Θ or V. In this way, the inscription made clear who was to have the right of burial in a multiple-occupancy tomb.[66] Inscriptions might also explain the immediate reason for building the tomb (such as the death of a particular family member), refer to instructions left by will, display threats of punishment if the tomb was violated,[67] and state the monument's dimensions.[68]

---

[63] *CIL* IX 2845–6.

[64] Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina* (above, n.33) 197; J.-M. Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine* (2007: Picard: Paris) section 2, ch. 3; Eck, 'Römische Grabinschriften' (above, n.59).

[65] F. De Visscher, *Le droit des tombeaux romains* (1963: Giuffrè: Milan) 93–102; M. Kaser 'Zum römischen Grabrecht', *ZSav* 95 (1978) 15–92; Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead* (above, n.50) 102–5.

[66] R. Friggeri and C. Pelli, 'Vivo e morto nelle iscrizioni di Roma', *Miscellanea* (1980: Tituli 2: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura: Rome) 95–172; M. Dondin-Payre, 'Un nouveau document sur des *Sergii* affranchis', *ZPE* 140 (2002) 284–6.

[67] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead* (above, n.50) 79–83; Part 3: 'Iura sepulcrorum: *Vecchie e nuove iscrizioni*', in Libitina *e dintorni*: Libitina *e i* luci *sepolcrali: Le* leges libitinariae *campane:* Iura sepulcrorum – *vecchie e nuove iscrizioni, Atti dell'XI Rencontre franco-italienne sur l'épigraphie* (2004: Quasar: Rome).

[68] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead* (above, n.50) 98–102.

Such inscriptions attempted to prevent the tomb from suffering damage and neglect, both through formal legal means (threatening a fine) and more informal methods (invoking a curse against malefactors).[69] Such fears were far from groundless. Reuse of tombstones was commonplace practice: at Ostia tombstones even ended up reused as seats in a public latrine near the Forum during the fourth/fifth centuries AD.[70]

Some exterior inscriptions even contained extracts or a copy of the terms of the deceased's will. The façade inscription of the tomb of Popilius Heracla in the necropolis beneath St Peter's in Rome, for example, contained detailed instructions to his heirs regarding the building of his tomb, explicitly headed as having been copied from his will: *ex codicillis triplicibus Popili / Heraclae / C(aius) Popilius Heracla heredib(us) salut(em) / vos heredes mei rogo iubeoque /^{5} fideique vestrae committo uti / monumentum mihi faciatis in Vatic(ano) / ad circum iuxta monumentum Ulpi / Narcissi ex HS VI (milibus) n(ummum) in quam rem / numerabit Novia Trophime HS III (milia) n(ummum) /^{10} et coheres eius HS III (milia) n(ummum) ibique reliquias meas et Fadiae Maximae uxoris meae / si quid ei humanitus acciderit poni volo / cuius monumenti ius lego libertis liberta/busq(ue) meis et quos testamento manumisero / sive quem in statu libertatis reliqui et hoc amplius / Noviae Trophime libertis libertabusq(ue) eius /^{15} posterisque supra scriptorum et itum aditum am/bitum sacrificique faciendi causa ad id monu(men)/tum uti ei liceat* ('From the three-leafed writing-tablet of Popilius Heracla. I, Gaius Popilius Heracla, greet my heirs. I ask and order you, my heirs, and I entrust it to your good faith that you construct for me a monument on the Vatican at the circus next to the monument of Ulpius Narcissus, with 6000 sesterces: Novia Trophime will count out 3000 for this purpose, and her co-heir 3000. And I want to be placed there my remains and those of my wife Fadia Maxima, if anything in the way of mortal occurrence should happen to her. I choose right of burial in this monument for my freedmen and freedwomen and any whom I manumit in my will, or any whom I have left in the state of freedom, and moreover for Novia Trophime and for her freedmen and freedwomen, and for the descendants of the above written; and that they should be permitted access, entry, and circuit to this monument and for the purpose of making sacrifices').[71] Boundary-markers might also

---

[69] Libitina *e dintorni*: Libitina *e i* luci *sepolcrali: Le* leges libitinariae *campane:* Iura sepulcrorum – *vecchie e nuove iscrizioni*, *Atti dell' XI Rencontre franco-italienne sur l'épigraphie* (2004: Quasar: Rome), Part 3: 'Iura sepulcrorum: *vecchie e nuove iscrizioni*'.

[70] R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (2nd edn, 1973: Clarendon Press: Oxford) 143; C. Pavolini, *Ostia* (2nd edn, 2006: Guide Archeologiche Laterza: Rome) 198.

[71] *AÉpigr* (1945) 136 = *AÉpigr* (1949) 196; De Visscher, *Le droit des tombeaux romains* (above, n.65) ch. 8. Cf. 'testament of the Lingon': *CIL* XIII 5708; Y. Le Bohec, ed., *Le testament du Lingon* (1991: Collection du Centre d'Études romaines et gallo-romaines 9: De Boccard: Paris)

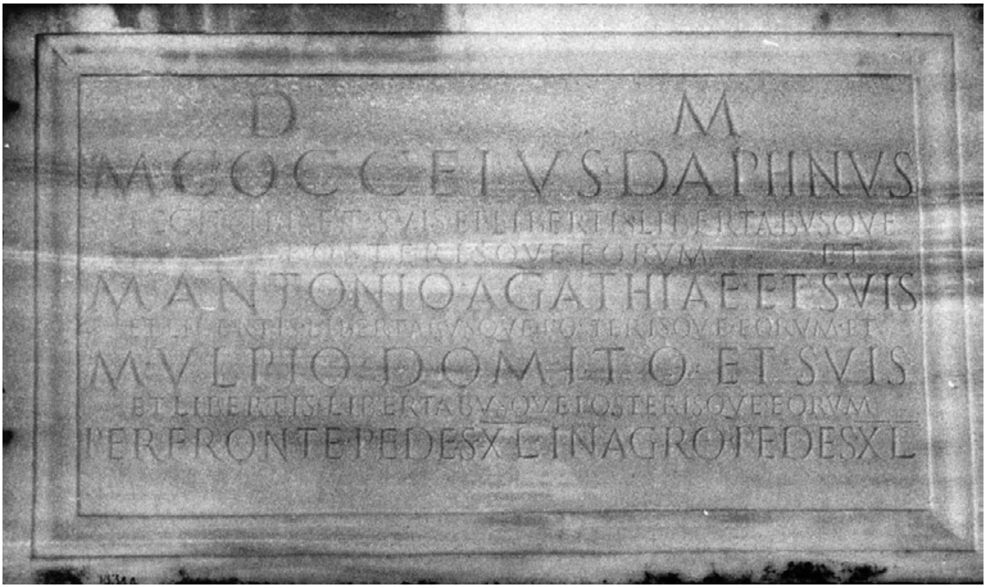

D M
M COCCEIVS DAPHNVS
FECIT SIBI ET SVIS ET LIBERTIS LIBERTABVSQVE
POSTERISQVE EORVM ET
M ANTONIO AGATHIAE ET SVIS
ET LIBERTIS LIBERTABVSQVE POSTERISQVE EORVM ET
M VLPIO DOMITO ET SVIS
ET LIBERTIS LIBERTABVSQVE POSTERISQVE EORVM
IN FRONTE PEDES XL IN AGRO PEDES XL

Fig. 2.5 Inscriptions at the tomb of M. Cocceius Daphnus, Isola Sacra – *Isola Sacra* no. 82 (from A. Helttula, ed., *Le iscrizioni sepolcrali latine nell'Isola Sacra* (2007: Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 30: Rome) 97)

be incorporated into a tomb enclosure, to confirm the dimensions stated in the façade inscription, measured by depth and width (*in agro . . . in fronte*). Essentially, therefore, inscriptions on the exterior of tombs were often legal in flavour.

30–2 Inscriptions at the tomb of M. Cocceius Daphnus, Isola Sacra: Figs. 2.5–7

A. Helttula, ed., *Le iscrizioni sepolcrali latine nell'Isola Sacra* (2007: *ActaInstRomFin* 30: Rome) 94–108.

G. Calza, *La necropoli del porto di Roma nell'Isola Sacra* (1940: Libreria dello Stato: Rome) 330–4; H. Thylander, *Inscriptions du port d'Ostie* (1952: Gleerup: Lund) A83 + pl. XXIX.1, A16 + pl. VII, A17 + pl. VI.2; F. De Visscher, *Le droit des tombeaux romains* (1963: Giuffrè: Milan) 255–6; C. Pavolini, *Ostia* (2nd edn, 2006: Guide Archeologiche Laterza: Rome) 273.

---

and *Inscriptions de la cité des Lingons* (2003: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques: Paris) 353–6.

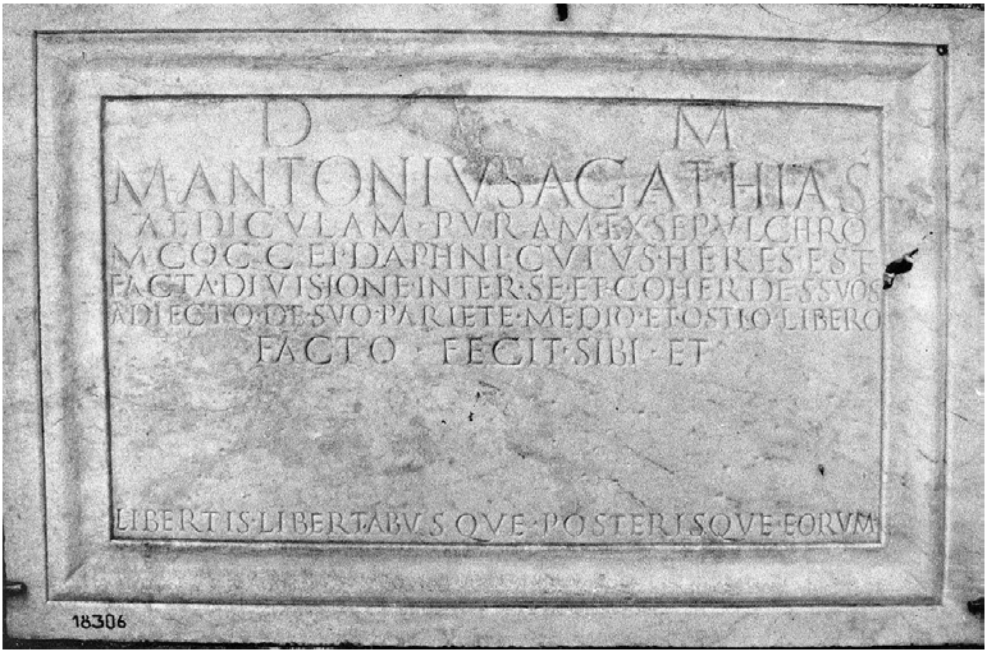

D M
M ANTONIVS AGATHIAS
AEDICVLAM PVRAM EX SEPVLCHRO
M COCC EI DAPHNI CVIVS HERES EST
FACTA DIVISIONE INTER SE ET COHEREDES SVOS
ADIECTO DE SVO PARIETE MEDIO ET OSTIO LIBERO
FACTO FECIT SIBI ET
LIBERTIS LIBERTABVSQVE POSTERISQVE EORVM
18306

Fig. 2.6 Inscriptions at the tomb of M. Cocceius Daphnus, Isola Sacra – *Isola Sacra* no. 92 (from A. Helttula, ed., *Le iscrizioni sepolcrali latine nell'Isola Sacra* (2007: Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 30: Rome) 106)

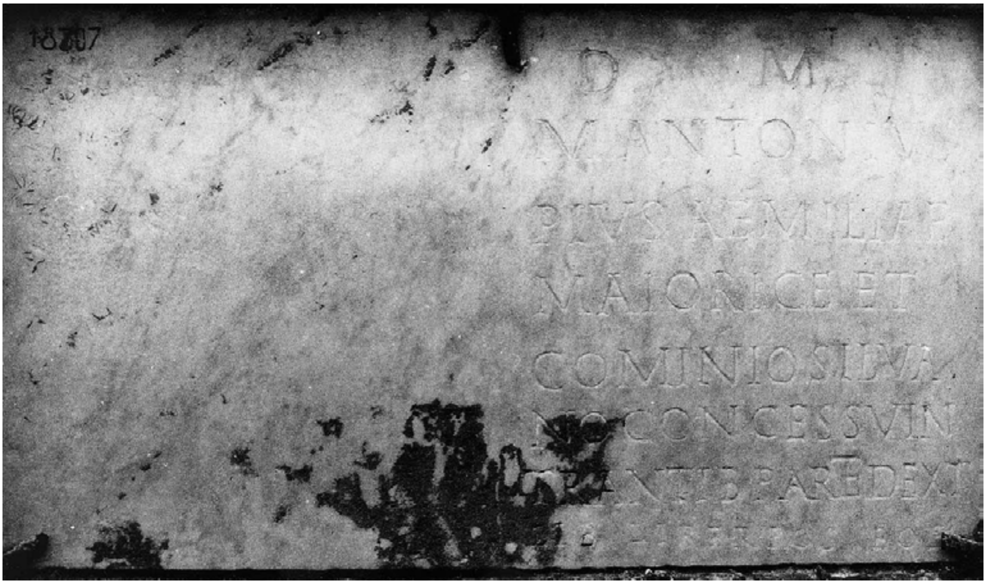

D M
M ANTONIVS
PIVS AEMILIAE
MAIONICE ET
COMINIO SILVA
NO CONCESSV IN
ANTIS PARE DEXT

Fig. 2.7 Inscriptions at the tomb of M. Cocceius Daphnus, Isola Sacra – *Isola Sacra* no. 93 (from A. Helttula, ed., *Le iscrizioni sepolcrali latine nell'Isola Sacra* (2007: Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 30: Rome) 107)

30 *Isola Sacra* no. 82 (Thylander A83)

d(is) m(anibus) / M(arcus) Cocceius Daphnus / fecit sibi et suis et libertis libertabusque / posterisque eorum et / [5] *M(arco) Antonio Agathiae et suis / et libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum et / M(arco) Ulpio Domito et suis / et libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum / per fronte(m) pedes XL in agro pedes XL*

'For the departed spirits. Marcus Cocceius Daphnus constructed (this) for himself and for his family and his freedmen and freedwomen and their descendants, and for Marcus Antonius Agathias and for his family and his freedmen and freedwomen and their descendants, and for Marcus Ulpius Domitus and for his family and his freedmen and freedwomen and their descendants. 40 feet wide, 40 feet deep.'

31 *Isola Sacra* no. 92 (Thylander A16)

d(is) m(anibus) / M(arcus) Antonius Agathias / aediculam puram ex sepulchro / M(arci) Coccei Daphni cuius heres est / facta divisione inter se et coher<e> des suos / adiecto de suo pariete medio et ostio libero / facto fecit sibi et / (vac.) */ libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum*

'To the departed spirits. Marcus Antonius Agathias constructed for himself and for his freedmen and freedwomen and their descendants a fresh tomb out of the tomb of Marcus Cocceius Daphnus whose heir he is. He had it divided up between himself and his co-heirs; a dividing wall has been added on his account and an independent doorway created.'

32 *Isola Sacra* no. 93 (Thylander A17)

d(is) m(anibus) / M(arcus) Antonius / Pius Aemiliae / Maiorice et / [5] *Cominio Silva/no concessu i/ntrantib(us) parte dext(ra) / lib(ertis) liber(tabusque) pos(terisque) eor(um)*

'To the departed spirits. Marcus Antonius Pius has permitted (burial) on the right side of the entrance to Aemilia Maiorica and Cominius Silvanus, their freedmen and freedwomen and their descendants.'

These inscriptions illustrate the changes made over a relatively short period of time to a tomb at Isola Sacra (tombs 75–6) during the Trajanic/Hadrianic periods. As revealed by inscription no. 82, a large marble plaque (height 71.5 cm, width 119 cm) uncovered in situ over its entrance, the tomb was founded by M. Cocceius Daphnus for himself and for his two named external heirs, probably his sons-in-law. The layout of the inscription was carefully designed to focus attention on key aspects of the tomb, namely the founder and his two heirs, and its dimensions. Only a few years later, as revealed by inscription no. 92, the tomb was altered structurally, with a new dividing wall separating off the left-hand part of the enclosure which had not been already used for burials, and creating an access-door to the new tomb (76). The overall dimensions of the original plot remained unaltered, but its internal space was divided up more distinctly. The legality of this modification effected by M. Antonius Agathias, heir of Cocceius Daphnus, was proclaimed by this inscription, set up above the new entrance, where it was found in situ. A large empty space is left between the two last lines, evidently in order to allow for further names to be added if necessary. In a further change, the right-hand side of the tomb was transferred by M. Antonius Pius to Aemilia Maiorica and Cominius Silvanus; once again, the legality of this arrangement was confirmed by setting up an inscription (no. 93), appropriately enough inscribed on the right-hand side of a plaque. Finally, a further burial-place was conceded to P. Aelius Tryphonus, also by M. Antonius Pius (no. 94). In addition to these three inscriptions relating to the legal status of the tomb, epitaphs belonging to various members of these families were found (nos. 84–6, 91), and in tomb 75 also epitaphs of apparently unconnected individuals (nos. 87–90). Together with other tombs at Isola Sacra, we can gain a lively impression of the dynamic character of the burial plots, which helps to explain why inscriptions were useful to establish owernship and burial rights.

Inscriptions on the outside of the tomb, however, often went beyond providing strictly functional information about property rights in order to make some sort of statement about the social status of the tomb-owner and his/her family.[72] Even if interior inscriptions are relatively short and unimpressive, this should not be taken as a definite indicator of the humble status of the deceased. A simple plaque inside a tomb might be upstaged by a more impressive inscription displayed on the tomb's exterior. The problem, of course, is that only a small minority of all known funerary inscriptions are ever found within their original context: the vast majority of them are found reused in later structures. The use of *spolia* – fragments of architecture and inscriptions – is a common feature of late antique and early mediaeval buildings, whether town fortifications, churches and cathedrals, or private dwellings. Sometimes it is possible to trace artistic or ideological principles behind such reuse, but inscriptions were also routinely recycled from the Republican period onwards (see Subsection 2.5.4 below). The subtleties of different types of funerary epigraphy only emerge from streets of tombs where a significant proportion of the inscriptions has been found in situ: the examples at Isola Sacra (Portus) and the necropolis of the *via Triumphalis* beneath the Vatican are outstanding and only too rare instances.[73] Another problem with studying inscriptions outside their context is that it is not always clear to what type of monument they actually originally belonged. For example, it is impossible to discern whether a block of limestone inscribed with a dedication to [L.?] Aemilius Tutor was originally part of a tomb or not, since it was found reused in the cathedral at Geneva.[74] An extreme illustration of this problem is an inscription upon a statue base honouring Lucia Avircia Aciliana, which begins by invoking the *di manes*, usually a sure sign that the base should be confidently assigned to the context of a tomb, but which was part of a package of honours decreed to her after her death by various towns in Baetica, and which was probably originally on display in the Forum of the Callenses.[75] Moreover, it was a feature of the Forum at Volubilis, that among the honorands were young men of the local elite who were honoured with statues in deference to their parents after they had died before being able to play a full part in public life themselves.

---

[72] Sceptical approach to 'Selbstdarstellung'/'autorappresentazione' in funerary inscriptions by F. Feraudi-Gruénais, *Inschriften und Selbstdarstellung in stadtrömischen Grabbauten* (2003: Libitina 2: Quasar: Rome).

---

[73] Isola Sacra: G. Calza, *La necropoli del porto di Roma nell'Isola Sacra* (1940: Libreria dello Stato: Rome); H. Thylander, *Inscriptions du port d'Ostie* (1952: Gleerup: Lund); A. Helttula, ed., *Le iscrizioni sepolcrali latine nell'Isola Sacra* (2007: ActaInstRomFin 30: Rome). *Via triumphalis*: Vatican car park section: P. Castrén *et al.*, *Le iscrizioni della necropolis dell'autoparco vaticano* (1973: ActaInstRomFin 6: Rome); E. M. Steinby, 'La necropolis della via triumphalis: pianificazione generale e tipologia dei monumenti funerari', in *Römische Gräberstrassen: Selbstdarstellung – Status – Standard*, eds. H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker (1987: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Munich) 85–110; E. M. Steinby, ed., *La necropoli della Via Triumphalis: il tratto sotto l'Autoparco Vaticano* (2003: Quasar: Rome); tombs beneath St Peter's: W. Eck, 'Epigrafi e costruzioni sepolcrali nella necropoli sotto S. Pietro' (above, n.44) and 'Inschriften und Grabbauten in der Nekropole unter St. Peter', in *Vom frühen Griechentum bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*, eds. G. Alföldy *et al.* (1989: Steiner: Stuttgart) 55–90.

[74] For example: *ILN* V 849 = *CIL* XII 2600: *[L.?] Aemilio M. f{e}il. / Vol. Tutori IIIIvir / i. d. praef. fabrum / flam. Martis flam. / Romae et Augusti [—?] / L. Aemilius L. f. Tut[or—?]*; cf. W. Eck, 'Onori per persone di alto rango sociopolitico in ambito pubblico e privato', in *Tra epigrafia, prosopografia e archeologia* (1996: Vetera 10: Quasar: Rome) 299–318, at 310–11 = 'Ehrungen für Personen hohen soziopolitischen Ranges im öffentlichen und privaten Bereich', in *Die römische Stadt im 2 Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, eds. H.-J. Schalles, H. von Hesberg, and P. Zanker (1992: Rheinland-Verlag in Kommission bei R. Habelt: Cologne) 359–76.

[75] *ILS* 6920 = *EphEp* VIII 306: *d. m. / Luciae P. f. / Avirciae / Acilianae / matri piissumae / huic ordo Italicens. et / Romulens. Hispalens. et / Caesarini Asidonens. et / Fortunales Siarens. et / Aeneanici Callenses / decreverunt inpensam funeris / et statuas / M. Aemilius Afer Acilianus fil. / honore usus inpensam / remisit*; Eck, 'Onori per persone di alto rango sociopolitico' (above, n.74) 318.

Their inscriptions resemble epitaphs particularly closely since they include the age of the honorand.[76]

Funerary epigraphy also changed over time in response to social and cultural shifts. On a basic level, for instance, the shift from cremation to inhumation brought about a new popularity for the sarcophagus as a form of burial and commemoration, notably from the mid second century AD in Rome, spreading elsewhere during the next 100 years or so.[77] Rather more complex are the changes in funerary epigraphy that resulted from the interactions between centre and periphery. In the provinces, funerary epigraphy emerged as a sphere where pre-existing local cultures tended to persist alongside the adoption of monuments that more closely resembled those used in Rome and Italy (see below, Subsection 2.4.2, for the case-study of Tripolitania). Local difference manifested itself in a number of other different ways, through onomastic patterns, and the shape and decoration of funerary monuments. These patterns were not, however, all-pervasive within a region: a variety of epigraphic cultures might coexist within the same province, since different sections of society adopted Roman styles of funerary commemoration at different rates, whilst others did not adopt them at any time.

In the case of North Africa, for example, we may compare the contrasting onomastic patterns in different pockets of epitaphs found in Algeria. A handful of funerary monuments from the second/third centuries AD salvaged from a necropolis to the south-east of Lambaesis, for example, contain names that appear to be derived from Punic, such as Salvius, representing the Punic name ‘the protector’ (*SLK*), and Veneria, a translation of the Punic ‘servant of Astarte’ (‘*BD’STRT*).[78] Whilst these two monuments are Roman in appearance (a funerary altar and *stele* respectively), other Punic names appear translated into Latin on barrel-shaped tombs, which are more distinctive to North Africa.[79] A group of twelve inscriptions from elsewhere in the same province – Tubusuptu – includes only two names of African origin, suggesting a very Romanized population by the second century AD; particularly indicative of this is the case of a woman who recorded her Roman voting-tribe, a very rare occurrence in North Africa.[80] This illustrates how there might be considerable variation in onomastic practices even within the same region.

---

[76] W. Eck, ‘Elite und Leitbilder in der römischen Kaiserzeit’, in *Leitbilder der Spätantike: Eliten und Leitbilder*, eds. J. Dummer and M. Vielberg (1999: Steiner: Stuttgart) 31–55, at 37–9; and ‘Rango o anzianità: la compensazione delle aspettative di rango negli onori pubblici a Volubilis’, in *Tra epigrafia, prosopografia e archeologia* (1996: Vetera 10: Quasar: Rome) 341–6 = ‘Rang oder Alter: die Kompensation von Standeserwartungen in öffentlichen Ehrungen in Volubilis’, in *Festschrift für Jeno Fitz*, ed. G. Fülöp (1996: István Király Múzeum: Székesfehérvár) 67–9.

[77] Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure* (above, n.59) ch. 2; M. Heinzelmann, ‘Introduzione’, in *Römischer Bestattungsbrauch und Beigabensitten in Rom, Norditalien und den Nordwestprovinzen von der späten Republik bis in die Kaiserzeit*, eds. M. Heinzelmann *et al.* (2001: Palilia 8: Reichert: Wiesbaden) 21–9, at 26.

[78] N. Benseddik, ‘Lambèse (Algérie) ou l’archéologie du bulldozer’, *ZPE* 135 (2001) 287–95, at 288 no. 2, 289 no. 3.

In Lusitania, Roman-style monuments, such as marble funerary *stelae* and altars, coexisted alongside more distinctively Lusitanian styles, such as barrel-shaped monuments, and granite *stelae* and animals (see no. 28 above). The local elite especially (but not exclusively) appear eager to advertise their new status as Roman citizens, acquired by serving as magistrates in towns granted the *ius Latii* ('Latin right') by Vespasian, by commemorating themselves with Roman-style funerary monuments. Similarly, Roman types of funerary monument clustered in the *colonia* of Emerita, where Roman citizenship was the norm. By contrast, granite *stelae* remained typical of the *civitas Igaeditanorum.* This is not to claim, however, that epigraphic practices necessarily neatly mirrored political boundaries in the province: granite *stelae* are also found, for instance, in the territory of the *colonia* Norba Caesarina.[81] Instead, different social groups within a single region might adopt different burial customs: whilst some chose to imitate Roman fashions, others maintained their distinctive monumental and ritual cultures.[82] Consequently, the political divisions of the landscape of Italy and of the empire into regions and provinces cease to be of much use for tracing the multiple epigraphic cultures that are retained in the funerary sphere.[83] By contrast, the homogenization of funerary epigraphy on the Italian peninsula is perhaps more entrenched, as local epigraphic practices tended to disappear by the end of the first century AD.[84] Even there, however, there was no sudden shift in epigraphic practice everywhere: the distinctively regional *columellae* in the region of the former Nucerian League, for example, continued at Surrentum into the second century AD (see above, section 1.3). It is crucial to appreciate, however, that funerary monuments were not just a form of commemoration, but might be intimately related to the rituals that took place at the grave-site: local identity was not reliant purely upon epigraphy to find expression.

---

[79] Benseddik, 'Lambèse (Algérie) ou l'archéologie du bulldozer' (above, n.78) 290 nos. 7–8.

[80] H. Idirène, 'Nouvelles inscriptions de l'antique Tubusuptu (Tiklat ou El-Kseur)', *ZPE* 140 (2002) 239–44.

[81] J. Edmondson, 'Funerary inscriptions and the development of local epigraphic cultures in Roman Lusitania', in *XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae: Provinciae Imperii Romani Inscriptionibus Descriptae*, eds. M. Mayer i Olívé *et al.* (2007: Monografies de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica X: Barcelona) 461–8.

[82] Cf. the diversity in burial customs and funerary monuments found in Caesarea Mauretania: Leveau, 'Nécropoles et monuments funéraires à Caesarea de Maurétanie' (above, n.47).

[83] Cf. Diebner, 'Sonderformen von Urnen und Grabstelen' (above, n.48).

[84] E. Benelli, 'The Romanization of Italy through the epigraphic record', in *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization*, eds. S. Keay and N. Terrenato (2001: Oxbow Books: Oxford) 7–16; M. H. Crawford, 'Italy and Rome from Sulla to Augustus', in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. X, *The Augustan Empire, 43 BC – AD 69*, eds. A. K. Bowman, E. Champlin, and A. Lintott (2nd edn, 1996: Cambridge University Press) 414–33.

Understanding why inscriptions clustered around tombs, therefore, requires an analysis that goes beyond thinking simply in terms of 'epitaphs' or 'funerary inscriptions' as categories of inscription. The Roman world offers a much more diverse use of inscriptions in the funerary sphere than our modern one: epitaphs themselves might identify an individual's burial, and express something about his or her sense of cultural identity and place within both family and society more widely, but other inscriptions were distinctly legal in tone, and were concerned with regulating the ownership of tombs.

Another often used, but rather misleading, category of inscription is that of **'honorific'** or 'cursus' inscriptions.[85] It is misleading firstly because it potentially gives the impression that the inscription is itself the honour, whereas the inscription is only the explanatory text set up alongside the real honour of a statue, whether pedestrian, equestrian, seated on a chair of office, or riding in a *biga* or *quadriga* (two- or four-horse chariot) atop an arch. Such statues could be made of gilded bronze or marble, and in a variety of costumes or poses – basically, heroic nude (with variations), military, civilian, or religious.[86] The choice of material seems to be unrelated to status, given that the same individual might receive statues of bronze and marble alike.[87] L. Volusius Saturninus (consul, AD 3), for example, was honoured with nine statues in different locations in Rome on his death aged ninety-three in AD 56, whilst prefect of the city of Rome: one was of bronze in the Forum of Augustus, whilst two others of marble were in the temple of deified Augustus; the material of the remaining six is unspecified. His statues portrayed him in different guises, such as triumphant general, consular, augur, on horseback, and seated on a magisterial chair: these were chosen to represent his lustrous contribution to the glory of Rome.[88] Secondly, the label 'cursus' inscription is equally misleading, since it gives the false impression that it represents a coherent category of inscription, whereas in fact someone might have his career listed not just upon a statue base bearing his own statue, but also upon a statue base set up by him in honour of another, or within his epitaph, or he might include it as part of a religious dedication.[89]

---

[85] W. Eck, 'Auf der Suche nach Personen und Persönlichkeiten: *Cursus honorum* und Biographie', in *Biographie und Prosopographie*, ed. K. Vössing (2005: Historia Einzelschriften 178: Steiner: Stuttgart) 53–72, and 'There are no *cursus honorum* inscriptions: the function of the *cursus honorum* in epigraphic communication', *SCI* 28 (2009) 79–92.

[86] P. Stewart, *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response* (2003: Oxford University Press).

[87] By contrast, silver and gold statues appear to have been regarded as essentially divine in character: K. Scott, 'The significance of statues in precious metals in emperor worship', *TAPA* 62 (1931) 101–23.

Many inscribed statue bases listed the full names and career of the honorand, and are generally thought of as a public honour. Although many honorific statues were set up in public places, many others were also displayed in individuals' houses (particularly in the city of Rome, where display in public spaces was especially tightly regulated), and might be set up by private individuals rather than by public bodies.[90] There was, therefore, a huge variation in the degree of honour being bestowed upon the recipient, and tight controls were exercised by public authorities over who was permitted to set up a statue in a public space: for example, there was a great difference between a statue set up by decree of the local town council at public expense in a public space and one set up in the honorand's house by a family member. A case-study of various towns in Hispania Tarraconensis outlined various patterns that may have determined the location of honorific statues according to the honorand's social status, but it depended upon assuming that the inscriptions in the case-study had been originally located in the forums of the various towns, and this is far from certain given that they were mostly found in reused contexts.[91] Besides, many statues that were intended to honour an individual probably remained without any inscription at all, especially those set up in his or her own house.[92]

---

[88] *AÉpigr* (1972) 174; W. Eck, 'Die Familie der Volusii Saturnini in neuen Inschriften aus Lucus Feroniae', *Hermes* 100 (1972) 461–84 = 'La famiglia dei Volusii Saturnini in nuove iscrizioni di Lucus Feroniae', in *Tra epigrafia, prosopografia e archeologia* (1996: Vetera 10: Quasar: Rome) 125–46; S. Panciera, 'Volusiana: appunti epigrafici sui Volusii', in *I Volusii Saturnini*, eds. M. T. Boatwright *et al.* (1982: De Donato: Bari), 83–95 + fragment found in the Roman Forum, *CIL* VI 41075a.

[89] Eck, 'There are no *cursus honorum* inscriptions' (above, n.85); on dedicators of statues using this medium for self-representation, see W. Eck, 'Dedicanti di statue ed autorappresentazione nelle città romane', in *Tra epigrafia, prosopografia e archeologia* (1996: Vetera 10: Quasar: Rome) 347–57 = 'Statuendedikanten und Selbstdarstellung in römischen Städten', in *L'Afrique, la Gaule, la religion à l'époque romaine'*, ed. Y. Le Bohec (1994: Latomus: Brussels) 550–62.

[90] Eck, 'Onori per persone di alto rango sociopolitico' (above, n.74).

[91] G. Alföldy, 'Bildprogramme in den römischen Städten des Conventus Tarraconensis: das Zeugnis der Statuenpostamente', in *Homenaje a García Bellido*, eds. A. Blanco *et al.* (1979) IV 177–275.

[92] W. Eck, '"Tituli honorarii", curriculum vitae und Selbstdarstellung in der hohen Kaiserzeit', in *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3–6 sept. 1991 habiti*, eds. H. Solin, O. Salomies,

The practice of honouring individuals with statues changed over time, with the dominant presence of Julius Caesar, who was granted statues in all the major public spaces at Rome, marking an important watershed in its development in the capital. Furthermore, the character as well as the number of his statues was revolutionary, emphasizing his godlike qualities.[93] During the following centuries in towns beyond Rome, shifts can be detected in the language used to describe individuals receiving honours, and in the identity both of those being honoured and those doing the honouring. One of the main changes was a shift away from listing the various steps in someone's career, instead mentioning only his current post, and otherwise focusing upon his virtues. Imperial ideology led the way in favouring certain virtues above others. Whereas *liberalitas* and *largitio* evoked the world of shifty political machinations during the Republic, for example, the terms were transformed into positive qualities as they were adopted by emperors. Consequently, these virtues started to make their appearance in honouring non-imperial individuals too during the second and third centuries.[94] This was symptomatic of a tendency towards listing the virtues of the individual being honoured with a statue, partly as a means of encouraging others to emulate his or her behaviour. As a result, from the third century AD onwards (and a century or so later in Rome itself), inscriptions tended less and less to list the various steps upon the honorand's career path. In addition to having their virtues praised, individuals also began increasingly to be praised for their learning.[95]

33–4 Changing fashions in inscribing honours at Timgad: Figs. 2.8–9

33 Statue base honouring A. Larcius Priscus

CIL VIII 17891; *ILS* 1055; *EphEp* V 696

A. Bœswillwald, R. Cagnat, and A. Ballu, *Timgad: une cité africaine sous l'empire romain* (1905: Ernest Leroux: Paris) 72–3 no. 9, fig. 32; B. E. Thomasson,

---

and U.-M. Liertz (1995: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 104: Helsinki) 211–37 = 'Tituli honorarii, *curriculum* vitae e autorappresentazione nell'alto impero', in *Tra epigrafia, prosopografia e archeologia* (1996: Vetera 10: Quasar: Rome) 319–40.

[93] M. Sehlmeyer, *Stadtrömische Ehrenstatuen der republikanischen Zeit* (1999: Historia Einzelschriften 130: Steiner: Stuttgart), esp. 235–8.

[94] E. Forbis, '*Liberalitas* and *largitio*: terms for private munificence in Italian honorary inscriptions', *Athenaeum* 81 (1993) 483–98.

[95] C. Roueché, 'The functions of the governor in late antiquity: some observations', *AnTard* 6 (1998) 31–36; Eck, 'Elite und Leitbilder' (above, n.76) 53–4; H. Niquet, Monumenta virtutum titulique: *senatorische Selbstdarstellung im spätantiken Rom im Spiegel der epigraphischen Denkmäler* (2000: Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien 34: Steiner: Stuttgart), esp. 159–67.

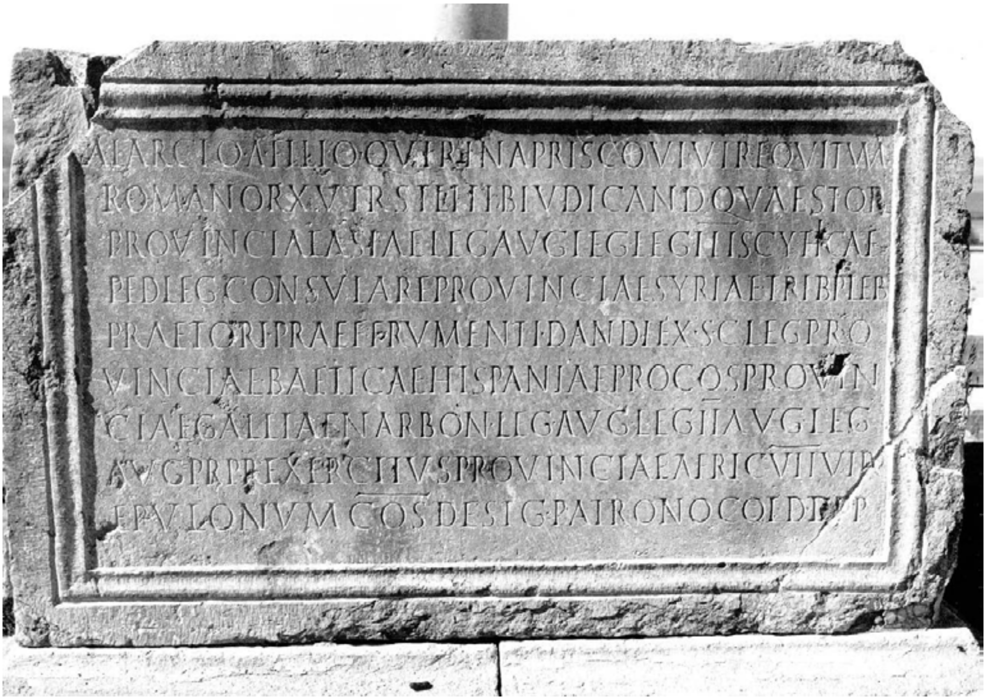


Fig. 2.8 Statue base honouring A. Larcius Priscus, Timgad – *CIL* VIII 17891 (photo courtesy of *CIL* Database “Archivum Corporis Electronicum”)

Fasti Africani: *senatorische und ritterliche Amtsträger in den römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas von Augustus bis Diokletian* (1996: Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae 53: Stockholm) 141, no. 18b; G. Zimmer, Locus datus decreto decurionum: *zur Statuenaufstellung zweier Forumsanlagen im römischen Afrika* (1989: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Munich) 71: T4.
Photograph: www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=PH0001856

A(ulo) Larcio A(uli) filio Quirina (tribu) Prisco VIvir(o) equitum / Romanor(um) Xvir(o) stlitib(us) iudicand(is) quaestor(i) / provinciae Asiae leg(ato) Aug(usti) {leg} leg(ionis) I̅I̅I̅<I> Scyt̂ĥicae / ⸢pro⸣ leg(ato) consulare(!) provinciae Syriae trib(uno) pleb(is) / 5 praetori praef(ecto) frumenti dandi ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) leg(ato) pro/vinciae Baeticae Hispaniae proco(n)s(uli) provin/ciae Galliae Narbon(ensis) leg(ato) Aug(usti) le̅g̅(ionis) I̅I̅ Aug(ustae) leg(ato) / Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) exercitus provinciae Afric(ae) V̅I̅I̅vir(o) / epulonum c̅o̅(n)ṡ(uli) desig(nato) patrono col(oniae) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)

l.4 *ped* in place of *pro*

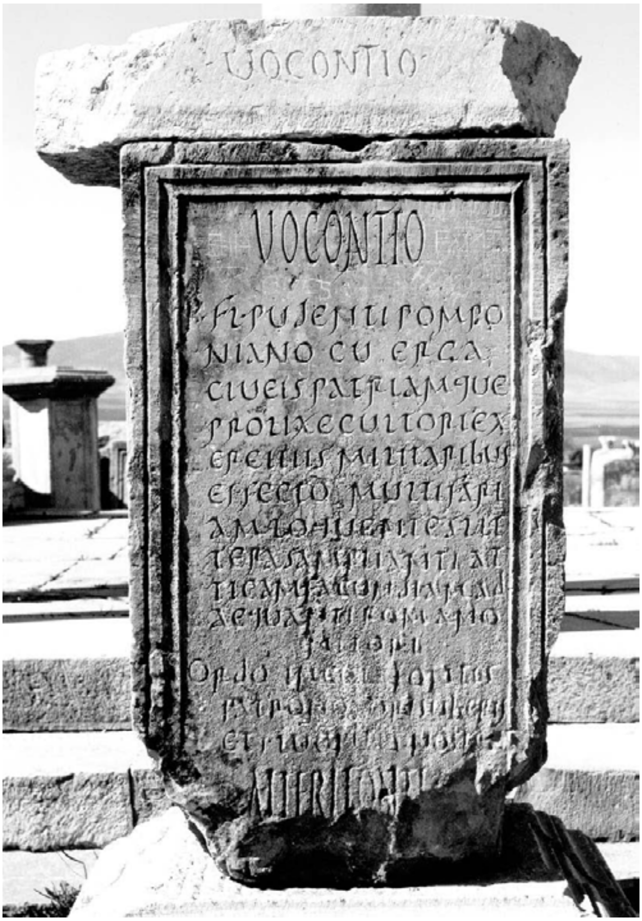


Fig. 2.9 Statue base honouring P. Flavius Pudens Pomponianus, Timgad – *CIL* VIII 2391 (photo: H.-G. Kolbe (1966), courtesy of *CIL* Database 'Archivum Corporis Electronicum')

'To Aulus Larcius Priscus, son of Aulus, of the Quirina voting-tribe; *sevir* of the Roman equestrians, *decemvir* for judging lawsuits, *quaestor* of the province of Asia, imperial legate of the 4th Scythian legion, consular pro-legate of the province of Syria, tribune of the people, praetorian prefect in charge of corn distribution in accordance with a senatorial decree, legate of the province of Baetica Hispania, proconsul of the province of Gallia Narbonensis, imperial legate of the 2nd Augustan legion, imperial legate with praetorian power of the army of the province of Africa, *septemvir* in charge of feasts, consul designate, patron of the colony. By decree of the decurions, at public expense.'

34 Statue base honouring P. Flavius Pudens Pomponianus

CIL VIII 2391 = 17910; *ILS* 2937

A. Bœswillwald, R. Cagnat, and A. Ballu, *Timgad: une cité africaine sous l'empire romain* (1905: Ernest Leroux: Paris) 74–6 no. 11, fig. 33; G. Zimmer, Locus datus decreto decurionum: *zur Statuenaufstellung zweier Forumsanlagen im römischen Afrika* (1989: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Munich) 72–4: T9.
Photograph: www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=PH0001854

Vocontio / P(ublio) Fl(avio) Pudenti Pompo/niano c(larissimo) v(iro), erga / civeis(!) patriamque / [5] *prolixe cultori, ex/ercitiis militaribus / effecto, multifari/am loquentes lit/teras amplianti, At/*[10] *ticam facundiam ad/aequanti Romano / nitori, / ordo incola fontis / patrono oris uberis /*[15] *et fluentis, nostr[o] / alteri fonti*

'To Vocontius. To Publius Flavius Pudens Pomponianus, most distinguished senator, generously cherishing towards his fellow-citizens and homeland, accomplished in military training, enhancing fluent writing in many places, equalling Attic eloquence with Roman polish. The council, inhabitant of the source, to its patron of fertile and fluent expression, our other source.'

These two statue bases from the Forum at Timgad in Numidia (modern Thamugadi, Algeria) illustrate changing fashions in honorific texts. The first inscription (overall dimensions of base: height 188 cm, width 330 cm) accompanied a statue for A. Larcius Priscus, set up in AD 110 when he was consul designate for a suffect consulship later in the year; it represents an 'ascending cursus' inscription (but with his proconsulship out of order), listing the honorand's career path so as to end with his most prestigious post, the consulship: he was perhaps honoured with the statue to celebrate his nomination for this post.[96] Given that the *colonia* was founded only in AD 100, this must represent one of the earliest honorific statues to a patron (it is at any rate the earliest one extant). The base originally supported an equestrian statue.

The second inscription (overall dimensions of base: height 125 cm, width 69 cm) honouring P. Fl. Pudens Pomponianus, an exceptionally early example of uncial script from the early third century AD (perhaps chosen here to emphasize the honorand as man of letters), illustrates clearly the change in character of such inscriptions, praising the honorand (originally from the town) for his eloquence and military skills in general (using strikingly eccentric expressions, resulting in the awkward translation above) rather than listing his various offices specifically.[97] The base probably originally supported a pedestrian togate statue. By contrast, another inscription from Timgad, which he himself set up, did list his various posts, suggesting that individuals might still wish to display their career in public, but that it was no longer considered a necessary part of an honour issued by the town.[98]

---

[96] E. Birley, review, *JRS* 52 (1962) 219–27, at 224–5.

Changes in the political landscape of the empire brought with them changes in its epigraphic landscape too: from 284, with the administrative reforms of Diocletian, statues were increasingly set up in honour of the emperor's representatives (such as *correctores* and *curatores rei publicae* in Italy, and other high-status officials in the provinces) rather than members of the municipal elite.[99] Finally, the whole system of setting up honorific statues was undermined by imperial legislation during the mid fifth century. In AD 439, private individuals were prohibited from setting up imperial statues, and finally an imperial constitution of AD 444 required honorands themselves to finance statues set up in their honour.[100] These legislative changes did not remove entirely the possibility of publicly honouring benefactors, but diverted energy away from setting up statues; inscriptions accompanying statues were replaced by other forms of honours, such as acclamations, and inscriptions on buildings, in mosaics, and under painted portraits.[101] A hint of these changes is glimpsed in the Magerius mosaic from a villa at Smirat in Tunisia (probably from the mid third century), where a mosaic depicts a leopard hunt, which culminates in the acclamation of the benefactor paying for the games, Magerius (no. 49, below).[102] Furthermore, in the case of imperial honours, texts inscribed upon milestones increasingly assumed an honorific character, as a new form of inscribed honour that spread beyond town centres. At the same time, other forms of self-promotion developed at the games and other ceremonial occasions as an alternative to the 'statue habit'.[103]

---

[97] O. Salomies, 'Some interesting expressions found in late antique honorific inscriptions', in *Miscellanea epigrafica in onore di Lidio Gasperini*, ed. G. Paci (2000: ICHNIA 3: Tipigraf: Tivoli) II 931–42, at 934 rightly dubs it 'a monument of obscure eccentricity'.

[98] *ILS* 8981; *AÉpigr* (1895) 111.

[99] E. Forbis, *Municipal Virtues in the Roman Empire: The Evidence of Italian Honorary Inscriptions* (1996: Teubner: Stuttgart) 7 for the situation in Italy; for a comparable situation in the western provinces: B. Borg and C. Witschel, 'Veränderungen im Repräsentationsverhalten der römischen Eliten während des 3. Jhs. n. Chr', in *Inschriftliche Denkmäler als Medien der Selbstdarstellung in der römischen Welt*, eds. G. Alföldy and S. Panciera (2001: Steiner: Stuttgart) 47–120, at 56–65.

[100] *Cod. Iust.* 1.24.3–4 (both constitutions of Theodosius and Valentinian II).

[101] M. Horster, 'Ehrungen spätantiker Statthalter', *AnTard* 6 (1998) 37–59; on acclamations, C. Roueché, 'Acclamations in the later Roman empire: new evidence from Aphrodisias', *JRS* 74 (1984) 181–99, esp. 181–8.

[102] A. Beschaouch, 'La mosaïque de chasse à l'amphithéâtre découverte à Smirat en Tunisie', *CRAI* (1966) 134–57.

This returns us once again to the problem of using 'honorific' inscriptions as a category. It ignores the fact that many different types of inscribed monument, not just statue bases, could have honorific intentions: some inscriptions upon tombs, building-inscriptions, and milestones are in fact very similar to those found upon statue bases. Patronal tablets too, which arguably belong more closely to juridical epigraphy, also had honorific intentions, and were mentioned in the same breath as honorific statues by St Augustine in discussing the types of honours given in return for giving games.[104] Even the consular *fasti* – inscribed lists of Rome's chief magistrates – were essentially honorific in purpose, despite the tendency among modern scholars to focus upon their chronological character.[105] This raises once again our main problem in categorizing inscriptions, namely that the usual categories are in reality much more indistinct from each other; we can only understand epigraphic culture by combining both text and monument.

Building-inscriptions too were multifaceted, not simply texts recording who had paid for a particular public building, but fulfilling a variety of functions that changed over time. During the Republic, building-inscriptions often verified that a public contract had been duly fulfilled and checked by a public magistrate.[106] Chapter 1 discussed examples from Pompeii (above, nos. 7–8), but it is worth also illustrating that such inscriptions were not the preserve of towns. Magistrates of *pagi* and *vici* acted in the same way as their urban counterparts, and sometimes provided public accountability for their actions with similar inscriptions.

35 Building-inscription for a temple, Superaequum: Fig. 2.10

SupplIt 22 no. 58

Supplementa Italica n.s. 22 (2004: Quasar: Rome): 'Supplementorum Supplementa' – M. Buonocore, 'Regio IV', 139 no. 58; M. Buonocore, 'Novità epigrafiche dall'Abruzzo', in *Epigrafia di confine: confine dell'epigrafia*, eds.

---

[103] Borg and Witschel, 'Veränderungen im Repräsentationsverhalten der römischen Eliten' (above, n.99) 90–120.

[104] August. *C. acad.* 1.2.

[105] J. Rüpke, '*Fasti*: Quellen oder Produckte römischer Geschichtsschreibung?', *Klio* 77 (1995) 184–202.

[106] M. Pobjoy, 'Building inscriptions in Republican Italy: euergetism, responsibility, and civic virtue', in *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2000: BICS Supplement 73: London) 77–92.

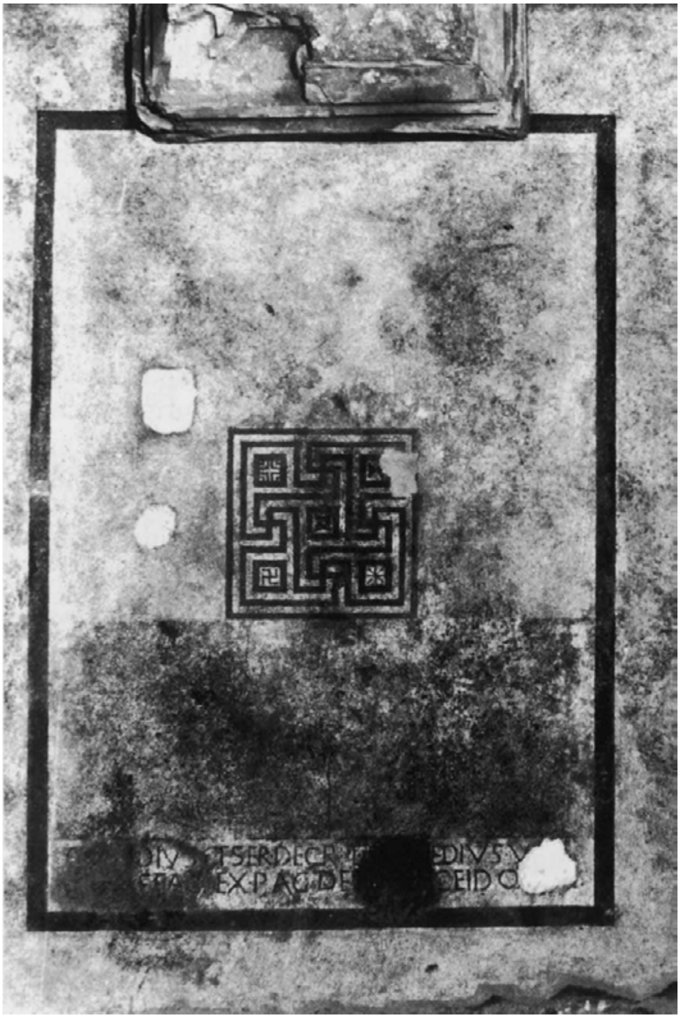


Fig. 2.10 Building-inscription for a temple, Superaequum – *SupplIt* 22 no. 58 (from *Supplementa Italica* n.s. 22 (2004: Quasar: Rome): 'Supplementorum Supplementa' – M. Buonocore, '*Regio* IV', 140)

M. G. A. Bertinelli and A. Donati (2004: Epigrafia e Antichità 21: Fratelli Lega: Faenza) 281–320, at 288–90.

C(aius) [Vib]idius C(ai) f(ilius) Ser(gia) Decr(ianus), L(ucius) P[eti]edius V(ibi) [f(ilius)] / [ae]de(m) fac(iendam) ex pag(i) de[cr(eto)] c(uraverunt) eid(em)q(ue) [p(robaverunt)]

'Gaius Vibidius Decrianus, son of Gaius, of the Sergian voting-tribe, Lucius Petiedius, son of Vibius, saw to the construction of the temple in accordance with a decree of the village and also approved it.'

This inscription is part of a black-and-white mosaic, located at the entrance to a temple found in a rural location near Superaequum (*Regio* IV, modern L'Aquila). The temple itself is Republican in date (founded during the second century BC), but the inscription may date from the mid first century BC, when the temple was redeveloped. It illustrates how some rural communities adopted urban administrative and epigraphic practices which closely imitated the language of building-inscriptions set up by their urban counterparts.

Other building-inscriptions simply identified the building in question. This was usually unnecessary, given that the inscription was displayed prominently on the building itself: people would not need to be informed what the building was in the case of a public building such as a theatre. Nevertheless, some inscriptions removed doubt from generic buildings like temples, whose exact character might otherwise remain ambiguous. At Vienna (modern Vienne, southern France), two inscriptions were set consecutively upon the temple's façade in metal letters, as the temple's cult expanded to include new deities. Recent reanalysis of the holes left behind by the metal letters suggests that at first in 27/25 BC the temple was dedicated only to Rome and Augustus, with an inscription upon the frieze stating that it was dedicated *Romae et Augusto Caesari divi f(ilio)* ('To Rome and Augustus Caesar son of the deified'). This was then updated during the mid first century AD after Livia had been deified by Claudius by a new inscription that spilled over from the frieze onto the architrave as well: *[Apollini? san]cto et divo Augusto / et divae Augustae* ('?To holy Apollo? and to the deified Augustus and to the deified Augusta').[107]

Building-inscriptions might also commemorate a benefactor's generosity, starting during the Republic, but increasingly from the late first century BC. Augustus' gifts of buildings to a range of towns in different areas of the empire divorced the act of paying for a building from the holding of local magistracies (something which led to women and freedmen also acting as benefactors, even though excluded from holding magistracies).[108] This change was reflected linguistically in the tendency for verbs such as *dedit*

---

[107] B. Rémy *et al.*, *Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise (I.L.N.)*, vol. V, Part 1, *Vienne* (2004: *Gallia* Supplement 44: CNRS Editions: Paris) 104–06 no. 34, updating *CIL* XII 1845 and *AÉpigr* (1925) 75. Cf. A. Pelletier, *Vienne antique* (1982: Horvath: Roanne) 449–52, who proposes an even more complicated sequence of three inscriptions.

[108] Building-inscriptions of Augustus (see also the catalogue of imperial building-inscriptions in M. Horster, *Bauinschriften römischen Kaiser: Untersuchungen zu Inschriftenpraxis und*

('gave') to replace phrases such as *faciendum curavit* ('saw to its construction'); office-holding receded into the background as a reason for paying for a public building.[109] In this way, the emergence of Augustus and the radical shift in political and social hierarchy that resulted from promoting the idea of an imperial family were reflected in a new phenomenon whereby Augustus and members of his family might erect buildings not just in Rome and Italy, but in the provinces as well, even if not serving as provincial governor. Agrippa, for example, was associated with building projects in Gallia Narbonensis (Glanum, Nemausus) and Lusitania (Emerita) (no. 89, below).[110] In this way, Augustus and his family became sponsors of buildings in a variety of towns.[111] Furthermore, his name also began to be incorporated into building-inscriptions on buildings in whose construction he had not actually been personally involved. Inscriptions where the emperor's name appeared in the dative at the start merged into the realm of honorific inscriptions, even if we presume that he was being honoured precisely because of his sponsorship of building-work, as is sometimes, but not always, stated in the inscription.[112] Occasionally, a building might be dedicated by someone acting explicitly as the emperor's subordinate, and this practice foreshadows the increasing frequency from the Severan period onwards with which imperial building projects and their inscriptions were supervised by imperial officials in the emperor's name.[113] In such cases, we may surmise that

---

Bautätigkeit in Städten des westlichen Imperium Romanum in der Zeit des Prinzipats (2001: Historia Einzelschriften 157: Steiner: Stuttgart):

- **Italy:** *CIL* IX 540∗, Firmum Picenum, *Regio* V, with Horster, *Bauinschriften* 304–5; town walls: *CIL* XI 6218 = *ILS* 104, Fanum Fortunae, *Regio* VI; *AÉpigr* (1995) 499, Perusia, *Regio* VII; baths: *CIL* XI 720 = *ILS* 5674, Bononia, *Regio* VIII; aqueduct: *CIL* V 4307 = *ILS* 114, Brixia, *Regio* X; *CIL* V 5027 = *ILS* 86, Tridentum, *Regio* X; town walls: *CIL* III 10768, Emona (or Pannonia? – Horster, *Bauinschriften*, 337 n.402)
- **Dalmatia:** town walls: *CIL* III 13264, 2907 = *ILS* 5336: Iader; *CIL* III 3117 + 10117, Arba; temple?: *ILJug* (1963) 123, Salona
- **Gallia Narbonensis:** town walls: *CIL* XII 3151, Nemausus + *ILN* V 47, Vienna
- **Iberian peninsula:** town wall: *AÉpigr* (2002) 799, Caesaraugusta; amphitheatre: J. Menendez Pidal y Alvarez, 'Restitucion del texto y dimensiones de las inscripciones historicas del anfiteatro de Merida', *ArchEsp* 30 (1957) 205–17, Emerita, Lusitania; town defences: *AÉpigr* (1989) 368, Pax Iulia, Lusitania.

[109] G. Alföldy, 'Euergetismus und Epigraphik in der augusteischen Zeit', in *Actes du X^e congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine*, eds. M. Christol and O. Masson (1997: Publications de la Sorbonne: Paris) 293–304.

[110] Shrine to *valetudo*, *AÉpigr* (1955) 111b; *CIL* XII 3153–4, *AÉpigr* (1920) 43 (Maison Carrée).

[111] G. Alföldy, 'Augustus und die Inschriften: Tradition und Innovation – die Geburt der imperialen Epigraphik', *Gymnasium* 98 (1991) 289–324, at 296–7.

[112] Horster, *Bauinschriften römischen Kaiser* (above, n.108) 99–102.

[113] *CIL* V 5027 = *ILS* 86: M. Appuleius at Tridentum, *iussu eius* (Augustus) *fac. curavit*; possibly *AÉpigr* (1992) 1034, Segovia (AD 98). Selection of imperial officials as supervisors: *AÉpigr* (1942/3) 43 = *AÉpigr* (1985) 993, Tingi, AD 51; *CIL* III 836, Porolissum, AD 156/7; *CIL* VIII 4590, Diana Veteranorum, AD 161; *AÉpigr* (1983) 872, Scupi, AD 197?; *CIL* III 6313, Rudnik,

the imperial officials would have played the starring role at the dedicatory ceremonies of these buildings.

A related phenomenon is the way in which building-inscriptions began to be dedicated on behalf of the welfare of the emperor. The emperor's name gradually became a common sight even on buildings not sponsored by him. Typically the inscriptions started with good wishes on behalf of the emperor, and often this formula was prominent in large lettering. The practice started off logically enough: setting up a shrine, altar, or religious dedication might be presented as a way of invoking the gods to protect the emperor. It was therefore entirely appropriate to start the dedicatory inscription with a phrase concerning the emperor's well-being. A whole variety of deities in many different provinces had their shrines built or repaired in the hope that this would contribute to the emperor's (and by extension the empire's) well-being.[114] Such actions were no different in intent from holding games, feasts, and sacrifices on behalf of the emperor's welfare. In other cases, where defences or military camps were built or repaired, it is also possible to see the logic behind stating that these have been built on behalf of an emperor's welfare and safety.[115] Similarly, dedicating amphitheatres for the emperor's welfare was a natural development, given that games held in such venues might take place for precisely the same purpose.[116] The practice of making dedications for the emperor's welfare, however, grew beyond logical limits, with the result that some buildings with no obvious connection to

---

AD 198/211; *CIL* V 3329, Verona, AD 265; *ILJug* (1986) 2072, Salona, AD 276/84; *AÉpigr* (1971) 508, Lambaesis, AD 253/68.

[114] Selection of building-inscriptions on shrines set up on behalf of the well-being of members of the imperial family:

- Saturn, Vallis, Africa Proconsularis: Hadrian – *AÉpigr* (1983) 951
- Mithras, Virunum, Noricum: Severans, then Commodus – *AÉpigr* (1994) 1334–5, H. Dolenz and R. Jernej, 'Zum Umbau des Amphitheaters von Virunum in den Jahren 183/184 n.Chr.: archäologische und epigraphische Quellen in Ergänzung', *Historia* 51.4 (2002) 481–501, at 496–8; Rome: Severans – *AÉpigr* (1926) 116
- Liber Pater, Rome: Severus Alexander and Julia Mammea – *AÉpigr* (2002) 251
- Sol, El Kantara, Numidia: Severans? – *AÉpigr* (1933) 47
- Sol invictus Mithras, Dura Europus, Mesopotamia: Severans – *AÉpigr* (1940) 220
- Thagaste, Numidia: *fanum* on behalf of Antoninus Pius – *AÉpigr* (1905) 109
- Venus Caelestis, Puteoli (*Regio* I): possibly *pro salute* of Caracalla and Julia Domna – *AÉpigr* (1956) 144 + *AÉpigr* (1985) 278
- Nymphs, Aquae Flavianae, Numidia: Elagabalus and Julia Soaemis – *AÉpigr* (1928) 36.

[115] Altava, Mauretania Caesariensis: Constans, Constantius II – *AÉpigr* (1935) 86; Teyma, Arabia: Diocletian, Maximian, Constans, Maximian – *AÉpigr* (2000) 1540; D. Al-Talhi and M. Al-Daire, 'Roman presence in the desert: a new inscription from Hegra', *Chiron* 35 (2005) 205–17 (defences rebuilt in the province of Arabia by the army and local community, AD 175/80).

[116] Amphitheatres dedicated *pro salute*:

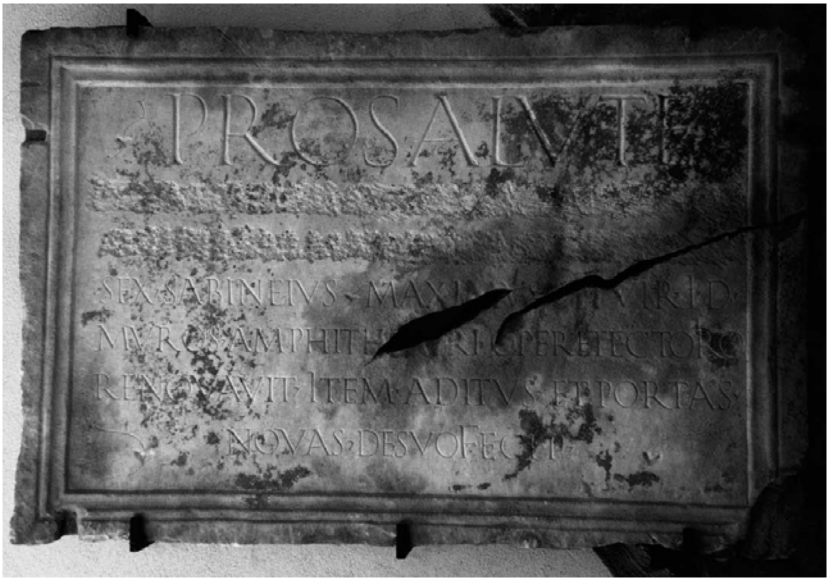


Fig. 2.11 Dedication of the amphitheatre at Virunum on behalf of Commodus – *AÉpigr* (1999) 1197 (from H. Dolenz, 'Die Inschriften aus dem Amphitheater von Virunum', in *Virunum: das römische Amphitheater – Die Grabungen 1998–2001*, eds. R. Jernej and C. Gugl (2004: Archäologie Alpen Adria 4: Wieser: Klagenfurt) 270 Abb. 6.1)

any means of protecting the emperor might be dedicated on behalf of his welfare, such as baths, a cistern, an arch (or gateway?) with steps, and perhaps an equestrian statue and basilica.[117]

36 Dedication of the amphitheatre at Virunum on behalf of Commodus: Fig. 2.11

AÉpigr 1999, 1197

H. Dolenz and R. Jernej, 'Zum Umbau des Amphitheaters von Virunum in den Jahren 183/184 n.Chr.: archäologische und epigraphische Quellen in Ergänzung', *Historia* 51.4 (2002) 485–96 = *AÉpigr* (2002) 1094; H. Dolenz,

---

- Virunum (Noricum), Commodus – *AÉpigr* (1999) 1197, Dolenz and Jernej, 'Zum Umbau des Amphitheaters von Virunum' (above, n.114); Severans – *AÉpigr* (2001) 1587; Maximinus and Maximus – *AÉpigr* (2004) 1072 (see also n.118 below)
- Sitifis (Mauretania Sitifensis), tetrarchy of Diocletian, Maximian, Constans, Maximian – *AÉpigr* (1992) 1908.

[117] Baths, Takembrit, Mauretania Caesariensis: Caracalla – *AÉpigr* (1934) 80; cistern, Thuburbo Maius, Africa Proconsularis: Severans – *AÉpigr* (1912) 182; arch with steps, Ain Bez, Africa Proconsularis, Caracalla and Julia Domna – *AÉpigr* (1899) 116; equestrian statue and basilica, Timgad, Numidia: Marcus Aurelius (*in honorem* or *pro salute*) – *AÉpigr* (1985) 880b.

> ‘Die Inschriften aus dem Amphitheater von Virunum’, in *Virunum: das römische Amphitheater – die Grabungen 1998–2001*, eds. R. Jernej and C. Gugl (2004: Archäologie Alpen Adria 4: Wieser: Klagenfurt) 269–322, at 269–77.

pro salute / [[Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Commodi Antonini / Aug(usti) Pii Sarmatici Germanici Max(imi)]] / Sex(tus) Sabineius Maximus IIvir i(ure) d(icundo) / 5 *muros amphitheatri opere tectorio / renovavit item aditus et portas / novas de suo fecit*

‘On behalf of the well-being of Imperator Caesar Commodus Antoninus Augustus Pius Sarmaticus Greatest Germanicus, Sextus Sabineius Maximus, *duovir* with juridical power renewed the walls of the amphitheatre with stucco and also constructed new entrances and doors at his own expense.’

The amphitheatre at Virunum in Noricum (modern St Michael am Zollfeld) was rebuilt by a local magistrate in AD 183/4. The building-inscription (height 87 cm, width 131 cm, depth 15 cm) starts with a dedication on behalf of Commodus. The words *pro salute* in l.1 were given especial prominence because of their letter size (12 cm) in comparison with the rest of the inscription (4 cm). Commodus’ name was soon afterwards erased, at some time after his assassination at the very end of AD 192. Other inscriptions show how further building-work was undertaken in the amphitheatre over the next fifty years – under the Severans and Maximian – each time *pro salute* (‘on behalf of the welfare’) of the emperor and his family.[118]

As time passed, these expressions became ever more elaborate, so that by the fourth century it became almost de rigueur to make some sort of declaration of loyalty towards the current regime at the start of building-inscriptions, which was strictly unconnected to the act of building, save in the most oblique way (the implication perhaps being that only because of the current prosperity could a building be erected or repaired). Building-inscriptions in North Africa set up by members of the municipal elite, for example, often contained eulogistic language concerning the welfare of both empire and emperors.[119]

From the fourth century AD, provincial governors appeared more prominently on building-inscriptions (as also happened in the case of honorific statues), but it would be mistaken to regard them as financial sponsors of the buildings in question themselves. Nor did their names appear purely for honorific purposes. Instead, this feature of building-inscriptions of late antiquity should be set against the background of increased central control over civic finances, with the imperial treasury regularly making claims upon a proportion of a town's revenue: it seems likely that such inscriptions reflected the way in which governors might grant permission to towns to use a higher proportion of their income on building-work than would otherwise be allowed. Consequently, the governor was not acting as a benefactor, given that the money had actually belonged to the town in the first place, but his name was included because his permission to waive a portion of the imperial claim on civic income was necessary to the funding of the building.[120] In some respects, therefore, this development leads us back full circle to the use of building-inscriptions for regulating and approving the expenditure of municipal finances, which began during the Republic.

---

[118] H. Dolenz, ‘Die Inschriften aus dem Amphitheater von Virunum’, in *Virunum: das römische Amphitheater – die Grabungen 1998–2001*, eds. R. Jernej and C. Gugl (2004: Archäologie Alpen Adria 4: Wieser: Klagenfurt) 277–84, 287–95 = *AÉpigr* (2004) 1070–2.

[119] T. Kotula, ‘Thèmes de la propaganda impériale à travers les inscriptions africaines du bas-empire romain’, *Bulletin Archéologique du CTHS: Afrique du Nord* 19B (1983) 257–63.

Milestones might seem to present us with a relatively straightforward category of inscribed monument, easily identifiable by their appearance (tall cylindrical or quadrangular column) and location alongside a road. Their purpose, we might fairly imagine, was to indicate distance and direction along a road, and many of them do indeed record their distance in miles from the hub of the regional road system, the *caput viae*. Once again, however, the actual inscriptions make matters more complicated, with texts inscribed upon milestones serving a whole variety of other purposes too: they commemorated the act of building or repairing the road; some honoured the emperor and celebrated imperial anniversaries; others offered an image of Roman power in the provinces; a few were status-symbols for a local community. The practical function of giving information for travellers was not always uppermost, and sometimes may even have been lacking altogether, given that not all milestones have distances inscribed upon them. Nevertheless, it is also possible that some milestones that apparently lacked distance measurements may have originally had them merely painted on, and not incised. This possibility may be illustrated by the few examples of painted inscriptions that have survived on a handful of milestones from the third and fourth centuries AD in the Levant.[121] A milestone from Raetia has gaps left in the inscription where the numerals were to be filled in, perhaps in paint since the text was not completed by incising.[122] Another case of a text painted upon a milestone of Gordian II, from near Caesarea Maritima, may instead represent merely a preliminary phase in the inscribing of the milestone: given the extreme brevity of this emperor's reign, it is possible that news of his downfall interrupted the completion of the inscription in its incised form.[123] As with other types of inscription, however, it is difficult to assess the extent to which painted texts existed alongside inscribed ones.

---

[120] C. Lepelley, 'Témoignages épigraphiques sur le contrôle des finances municipales par les gouverneurs à partir du règne de Dioclétien', in *Il capitolo delle entrate nelle finanze municipali in occidente ed in oriente* (1999: CÉFR 256: Rome) 235–47.

[121] *CIL* III 14149^{20} At-Tuwwana, north of Petra, AD 333/7; D. F. Graf, 'Milestones with uninscribed painted Latin texts', *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 5 (1995) 417–25; B. Isaac and I. Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea*, vol. I, *The Legio–Scythopolis Road* (1982: British Archaeological Reports International Series 141: Oxford) 56; A. Kolb, 'Römische

The oldest milestones belonged to the first of the major trunk-roads, the *via Appia* in Italy, first begun in 312 BC. None has been found from the road's original phase, but the earliest extant milestone recorded the names of two aediles (P. Claudius and C. Fourius) on its top surface, along with distances from Rome and from Terracina on its sides.[124] There is some debate about whether this dates from the mid third or early second century BC, but it seems likely that milestones were a standard feature of the roads built by Rome through Italy from the second century BC.[125] From roughly the second century BC to the third century AD, milestones usually recorded the builder's name in the nominative case, and resembled building-inscriptions. In some cases it is even unclear whether the monument was in fact a milestone or simply a road-building-inscription which was designed to resemble a milestone in appearance. Milestone-like monuments were considered an appropriate format for commemorating road-building, as illustrated by the columnar monument set up by the emperor Claudius to commemorate his completion of the road-building project from the River Padus (Po) to the Danuvius (Danube) made possible by his father Drusus' conquest of the Alps.[126]

37 Milestone from the *via Domitia*, Gallia Narbonensis: Fig. 2.12

CIL XVII 2 294 = *ILLRP* 460a = *AÉpigr* (1952) 38 = *AÉpigr* (1963) 131d = *AÉpigr* (1969/70) 387

J. Campardou, 'Un milliaire de Cneus Domitius Ahenobarbus Imperator découvert à Treilles (Aude)', *Gallia* 7 (1949) 195–205; P.-M. Duval,

---

Meilensteine: Stand der Forschung und Probleme', in *Siedlung und Verkehr im römischen Reich*, ed. R. Frei-Stolba (2004: Lang: Bern) 133–55, at 153–5.

[122] *CIL* XVII/4, 55.

[123] *AÉpigr* (1971) 475, Caesarea Maritima, AD 238; C. M. Lehmann and K. G. Holum, *The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima: Excavation Reports,* vol. V, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima* (2000: American Schools of Oriental Research: Boston) 111 no. 107.

[124] *CIL* I^2 21 = *CIL* X 6838 = *ILS* 5801.

[125] Kolb, 'Römische Meilensteine' (above, n.121) 142–4.

[126] *CIL* V 8003 = *CIL* XVII/4, 1 – AD 46; Kolb, 'Römische Meilensteine' (above, n.121) 144–5.

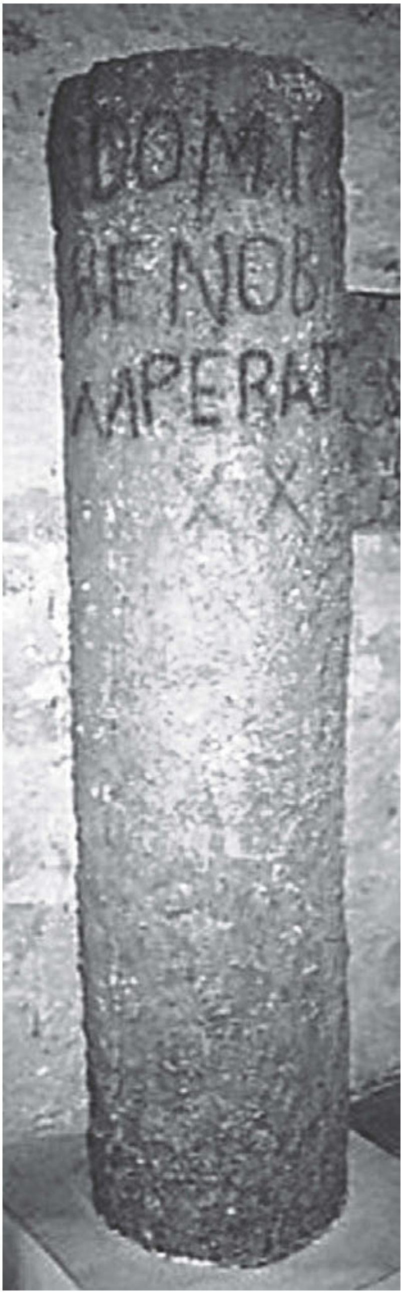

DOMI
AE NOB
IMPERAT
XX

Fig. 2.12 Milestone from the *via Domitia*, Gallia Narbonensis – *CIL* XVII/2 294 (photo: A. E. Cooley)

> 'A propos du milliaire de Cneus Domitius Ahenobarbus trouvé dans l'Aude en 1949', *Gallia* 7 (1949) 207–31 (fig. 1 for close-up photographs of the inscription); I. König, *Itinera Romana 3: Die Meilensteine der Gallia Narbonensis* (1970: Kümmerly & Frey Geographischer Verlag: Berlin) 275 no. 256. Now in Narbonne Archaeological Museum; autopsy July 1994.

Cn(aeus) Domitius Cn(aei) f(ilius) / Ahenobarbus / imperator / XX

'Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, son of Gnaeus, victorious commander. 20 (miles from Narbo).'

This cylindrical milestone of sandstone (height 193 cm, diameter 43–5 cm; letters height 9.5–12 cm) stood along the *via Domitia* leading from Italy to the Iberian peninsula via the Mediterranean coastline. It is the earliest dateable milestone so far found in the west of the empire outside Italy. It was uncovered in a river-bed in 1949 at Pont-de-Treilles (Aude). It specifies the distance from the *colonia* of Narbo Martius, founded in 118 BC. Domitius Ahenobarbus was consul in 122 BC, and proconsul of the region from 121 BC, during which year he was also acclaimed *imperator* for victories over the Gauls; the road was named after him.

A major change in the practice of inscribing milestones occurred with Augustus, as his name began to appear on milestones both in Italy and the provinces.[127] Regardless of whether or not he had been involved directly in the road-building, the work was presented as having been completed under his authority, in virtue of his assumption of *cura viarum* ('management of the roads') in 20 BC.[128] Similarly to building-inscriptions, the imperial name and titles began to infiltrate this category of inscribed monument too. Augustus' name appeared in the nominative, with often the real agent – the provincial governor – appearing in second place. Furthermore, his name was accompanied by details of his powers and titles. This was not a sudden universal change, however: the way in which inscriptions on milestones gradually evolved is revealed in the public province of Africa proconsularis. During the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period, the governor of the province might appear alone on milestones, reflecting the status of the province as a public province.[129] Even though in practice Augustus could still intervene in a public province (as clearly shown by the Cyrene

---

[127] For example: *CIL* XVII/2 35–6, 261–2, 268 (Narbonensis); *ILS* 105 (Sardinia); *CIL* II 4701 = *ILS* 102 (Baetica); *CIL* III 14185, 14401a–c (Galatia).

[128] Alföldy, 'Augustus und die Inschriften' (above, n.111) 299–302; cf. *RGDA* 20.5, with A. E. Cooley, Res Gestae divi Augusti*: Text, Translation and Commentary* (2009: Cambridge University Press) ad loc.

[129] *AÉpigr* (1955) 40, 6/5 BC; Kolb, 'Römische Meilensteine' (above, n.121) 145–7.

Edicts),[130] the milestones indicate that there was a difference in perception, at least in the case of the governor in Africa. After the mid first century AD, however, such variety of practice faded away, with the emperor in the nominative becoming standard.

A further shift in the character of inscribed milestones was reflected by a grammatical switch to the use of the dative, not nominative, case for the emperor. Again, this change did not occur simultaneously everywhere, but was gradually introduced from the third century AD, becoming the norm during the fourth century.[131] In addition, the setting up of milestones ceased to be integrally linked to building-work: instead, milestones were set up as honorific dedications to the emperor, sometimes in regions where he was about to travel, in anticipation of the journeying of the imperial entourage through the region, as a demonstration of loyalty.[132] In times of civil war in particular, the setting up of inscribed monuments was a way of demonstrating loyalty towards a particular contender for power: on milestones in Judaea and Arabia, the name of Pertinax replaced that of Commodus in AD 193, probably on the initiative of provincial governors supportive of him.[133] The following year then saw the inscribing of milestones in the same provinces with texts in the name of Septimius Severus, as the governors transferred their loyalty to this latest contender for the throne.[134] Even a single milestone could offer a whole series of inscriptions relating to different emperors, Caesars, or ‘usurpers’.

38 A milestone with multiple inscriptions: Fig. 2.13 (Salama 1a: D, C, E erased)

P. Salama, *Bornes milliaires d’Afrique Proconsulaire: un panorama historique du bas empire romain* (1987: CÉFR 101: Rome) 3–9, no. 1; P. Gauckler, ‘Rapport sur des inscriptions latines découvertes en Tunisie de 1900–1905’, *Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* 15.4 (1907: Imprimerie Nationale: Paris) 370–1 nos. 158–60; *ILAfr* 662.

---

[130] *SEG* IX 8 = *RDGE* 31.

[131] P. Sillières, ‘De la borne milliaire à la dédicace impériale: l’exemple de quelques inscriptions routières de l’Hispanie Méridionale’, *RÉA* 88 (1986) 351–8; C. Witschel, ‘Meilensteine als historische Quelle? Das Beispiel Aquileia’, *Chiron* 32 (2002) 325–93.

[132] Milestones in Judaea of AD 129 and 198 coincided with imperial visits to the region: Isaac and Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea* (above, n.121) I 96; B. Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule* (1998: Brill: Leiden) 55 for Severan milestones associated with his journeys to other provinces too.

[133] Isaac and Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea* (above, n.121) I 71 no. 8, with analysis at 92, 96; Isaac, *The Near East* (above, n.132) 52–3.

[134] Isaac, *The Near East* (above, n.132) 54.

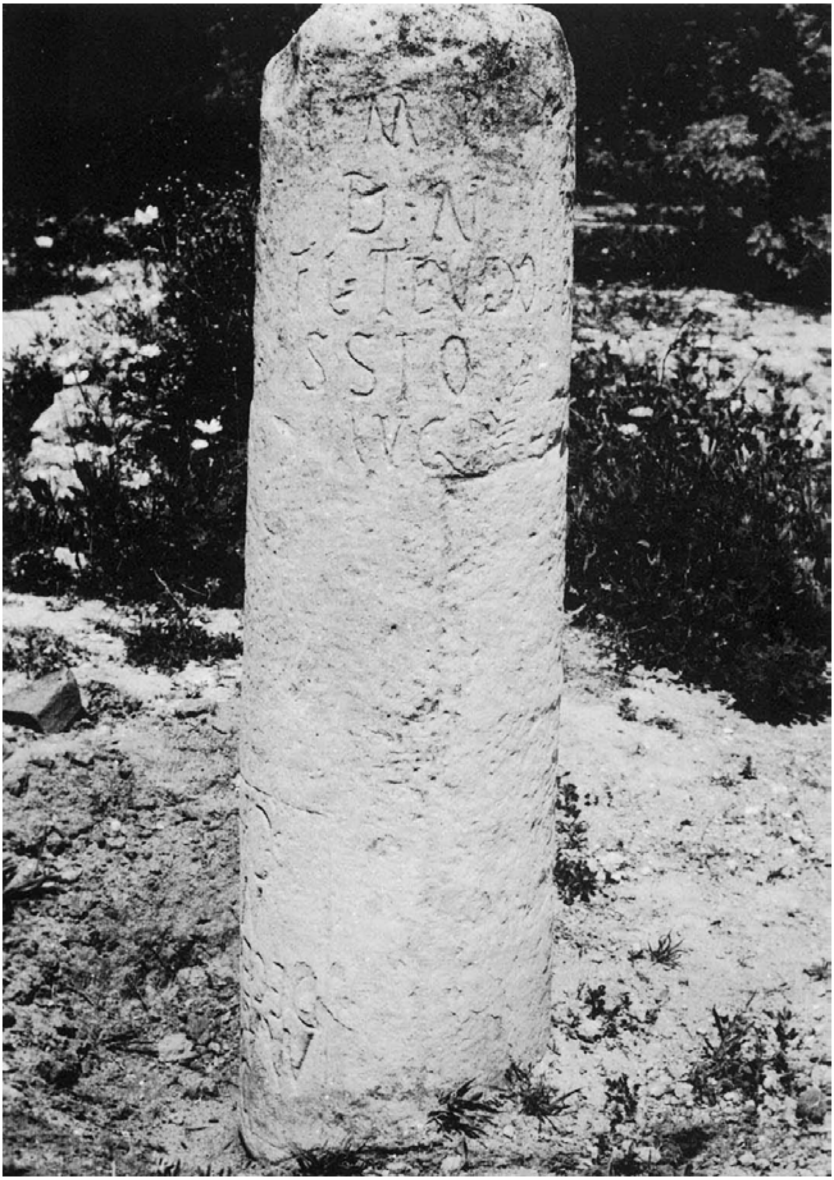


Fig. 2.13 A milestone with multiple inscriptions – Salama (1987) no. 1, texts D (at top), C (below left), E (erased below right) (from P. Salama, *Bornes milliaires d'Afrique Proconsulaire: un panorama historique du bas empire romain* (1987: *CÉFR* 101: Rome) 3–9, no. 1, Fig. 1a)

A – INV. 108
[[dom(ino) [n(ostro)] / [F]la[v(io) Cl(audio)] / Cons[tantino] / [i]uniore / [no]b(ilissimo) C[ae]s(are)]]

'Under our lord Flavius Claudius Constantine junior, most noble Caesar.'

B – INV. 56
d(omino) n(ostro) [Co]/nstan/tio no/bilis(si)m/o C(a)es(are)

'Under our lord Constantius most noble Caesar.'

C – INV. 139
D(omino) n(ostro) / Magno / Decentio / nob(ilissimo) / Caes(are)

'Under our lord Magnus Decentius, most noble Caesar.'

D – INV. 167
Imp(eratore) / d(omino) n(ostro) / Fl(avio) Teudo/ssio / Aug(usto)

'Under our lord Imperator Flavius Theodosius Augustus.'

This North African limestone milestone (height 100 cm, diameter 25–28 cm), found 2 km along the road from Apisa Maius to Thuburbo Maius, bore five different texts, each positioned on a different part of the stone. One of them (text E) was completely erased and is illegible; three of the others were inscribed over roughly three decades, showing how quickly it might have seemed necessary to respond to changing political circumstances. Text A commemorated Constantine junior, the elder son of Constantine; it was inscribed some time between AD 317 and 337, but then erased some time during AD 339/40. Despite this, some of it is still legible. To its left, text B commemorated Constantius Caesar, possibly the future Constantius II. Text C was inscribed the other way up on the milestone, and named Decentius, an ally of the usurper Magnentius (AD 350/2). The latest – text D – is of Theodosius I (AD 379–95), even though he was, strictly speaking, assigned as emperor to the eastern part of the empire, and is inscribed the same way up as texts A and B. In the case of texts B, C, and D it is also possible that we should expand the names into the dative case.

Sometimes inscriptions took the form of a palimpsest, with an earlier inscription covered over with white plaster, and then a new text painted in red on top of it. This may be illustrated by a milestone on the Legio–Scythopolis road in Judaea where a text commemorating Constantine and Crispus (AD 324/6) was painted on plaster over an inscribed bilingual text, which was covered with plaster, but surviving traces of which suggest may be

Severan.[135] The location of this milestone at the first mile from Scythopolis made it a suitable place for such a declaration of allegiance, probably to celebrate the victory over Licinius in AD 324.[136] At other more peaceful times, the setting up of milestones sometimes coincided with a new emperor's accession, suggesting once again that the inscriptions may have been intended as votes of confidence in the new regime.[137] Imperial anniversaries were also celebrated on some milestones, starting from the tetrarchic period, often expressing pious hopes that the emperors would enjoy many more.[138] A cluster of such milestones has been uncovered in North Africa along the road from Diana Veteranorum to Zarai (Numidia).[139]

The fact that milestones were not just designed to provide practical information for travellers is clearly shown by the way in which multiple milestones could cluster at the same point along a road. Sometimes these were intended to record the various rebuildings of the road, but in other cases, multiple texts kept pace with the changing political landscape, as discussed above. Even when distances were stated, they were not always practical in scope: stating the fact that Savaria in Pannonia was 675 miles from Rome was not designed to help travellers, but was intended to give an impression of this settlement's importance by associating it with the capital.[140]

The act of road-building was inextricably linked with that of empire-building: the Romans constructed major roads in new provinces as they conquered them, as one of the first acts of consolidating a new territory, usually in conjunction with founding colonies.[141] This can be seen clearly in

---

[135] M. Avi-Yonah, 'Newly discovered Latin and Greek inscriptions', *QDAP* 12 (1946) 84–102, at 100 no. 25 = Isaac and Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea* (above, n.121) I 82 no. 21. Cf. Kolb, 'Römische Meilensteine' (above, n.121) 154–5; Graf, 'Milestones with uninscribed painted Latin texts' (above, n.121) 421; six inscriptions on a single milestone inscribed over a period of more than 100 years in late antiquity: *AÉpigr* (1961) 26b = *AÉpigr* (1975) 785 (Pontus–Bithynia).

[136] Isaac and Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea* (above, n.121) I 73 no. 10, with analysis at 95–6.

[137] Sillières, 'De la borne milliaire à la dédicace impériale' (above, n.131) 353 for Baetica; Isaac, *The Near East* (above, n.132) 57 for Caracalla in Judaea.

[138] A. Chastagnol, 'Les inscriptions des monuments inaugurés lors des fêtes impériales', *MÉFRA* 100.1 (1988) 13–26, at 14–15; cf. P. Salama, 'Anniversaires impériaux Constantino-Liciniens à Djemila', in *Institutions, société et vie politique dans l'empire romain au IV^e^ siècle ap. J-C.*, eds. M. Christol *et al.* (1992: *CÉFR* 159: Rome) 137–59.

[139] *CIL* VIII 22488 + 22481 (AD 293), 22492 (AD 293 or 305 or 306), 22489 (AD 293 or 305), 22491 (AD 305), 22484 (AD 306).

[140] *AÉpigr* (2000) 1195, *A Rom(a) S(avariam) m(ilia) p(assuum) / DCLXXV* – Kolb, 'Römische Meilensteine' (above, n.121) 151–2.

[141] Cf. N. Purcell, 'The creation of provincial landscape: the Roman impact on Cisalpine Gaul', in *The Early Roman Empire in the West*, eds. T. Blagg and M. Millett (1990: Oxbow: Oxford) 7–29, esp. 12–16.

Galatia, where the *via Sebaste* traversed the new province for many miles in order to link together the new *coloniae.*[142] Being able to move soldiers around smoothly was one of the main aims of the road-building programme, and several military campaigns into territory beyond that already controlled by Rome were prefaced by widespread road-building programmes, with milestones probably being set up by imperial officials (not governors, but freedman/equestrian officials appointed to prepare the way for the military expedition).[143] Commerce and trade might benefit from the roads, but this was not the primary motivation. The association of roads with imperial power was clearly expressed in the decision to use Latin on milestones, even in provinces in the eastern Mediterranean, such as Judaea–Palaestina, Syria, and Arabia, where Greek was the dominant major common language, against the background of multiple local languages. Some milestones bore bilingual inscriptions; in Judaea, milestones from the second century AD were in Latin only, but during the Severan period a distance in Greek was added to pre-existing Latin milestones, and Latin disappeared from milestones in the region after Caracalla.[144] More unusual was the translation of the whole text into Greek, as illustrated by a milestone of Septimius Severus at the first mile beyond Scythopolis in Judaea. The decision to translate imperial titles as well may reflect in this case the milestone's privileged location at the first mile, just outside the city.[145]

Milestones, therefore, were an exceptional type of inscribed monument: they existed throughout the empire, from Britain to Arabia, regardless of local epigraphic cultures, and offer a striking example of the potential for imposing a consistent epigraphic culture upon diverse geographical areas, via Roman governors and other officials and military personnel. Together with the roads themselves, milestones projected an image of Rome's control over the landscape of its empire, with new milestones being set up at least until AD 521 in the East and AD 435 in the West.[146] Milestones did offer information useful not only to travellers, but also of potential use in regulating the demands made on provincials by the Roman army and by the official postal service (*cursus publicus*); it would have been in the interest of the provincial communities to be able to demonstrate distances in an uncontrovertible fashion.[147] Nevertheless, milestones were certainly not just practical information points, but their texts reflected the vicissitudes experienced by rival emperors and the eagerness of their supporters to express their loyalty to one or another of them. As a result, milestones were particularly dynamic monuments, and one milestone might display a whole series of texts commemorating a sequence of different emperors, some of which might later be erased as individuals fell from power. The setting up of milestones did not even follow a rigid pattern, with milestones at every mile, but were sometimes located in order to benefit from a local landmark such as a bridge.[148] Nor did they all contain identical texts, since the monument marking the first mile from a major settlement might display a more elaborate text than others. It has even been suggested that in some parts of the empire (such as Baetica) by the fourth century AD, roads had replaced the forum as the main setting for the epigraphic commemoration of imperial rulers, and that cities were surrendering their dominant role in political epigraphic display to the rural landscape beyond them.[149]

---

[142] D. H. French, 'The Roman road-system of Asia Minor', in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (1980: De Gruyter: Berlin) II.7.2 698–729, at 707, 714–15 + map 2, 208; Augustan milestones: *CIL* III 14401a–c, 6974; *ILS* 5828. Cf. synchronization of road-building with colonial foundations in Judaea: Isaac and Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea* (above, n.121) I 7–8; and with the reorganization of the province after Hadrian's suppression of the Jewish Revolt: Isaac, *The Near East* (above, n.132) 49–50.

[143] Road-building linked with preparations by Marcus Aurelius and then by Caracalla for their Parthian wars, and by Severus Alexander for his Persian campaign: Isaac, *The Near East* (above, n.132) 52, 57, 58–9, 62.

[144] Isaac and Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea* (above, n.121) I 67–80 nos. 3, 5, 8, 11–12, 16–19; Isaac, *The Near East* (above, n.132) 63; W. Eck, 'The presence, role and significance of Latin in the epigraphy and culture of the Roman Near East', in *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*, eds. H. M. Cotton *et al.* (2009: Cambridge University Press) 15–42, at 39.

[145] Isaac and Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea* (above, n.121) I 73 no. 10.

Juridical epigraphy is a further category that is potentially wide-ranging in scope, including laws, senatorial decrees, treaties, imperial constitutions/edicts/letters, magisterial edicts, oaths of loyalty, municipal laws/decrees, boundary-markers, court proceedings, business transactions, and private legal affairs.[150] It is then possible to subdivide this list even further, so as to include, for example, bronze patronal tablets (a sub-category of municipal decrees),[151] tokens securing pacts of hospitality (typical of central Spain, where they continued and modified earlier regional epigraphic practice),[152] alimentary tablets recording the financial foundations set up by landowners to benefit their local communities,[153] military diplomas, and documents of honourable discharge (*honesta missio*). Any definition of the category, therefore, has to encompass both public and private texts, the former typically being displayed in public on bronze tablets, and the latter being stored for personal use on writing-tablets of wood (with writing in ink or wax) or bronze, but the division of public from private is far from neat. For example, a patronal tablet consisted of a bronze tablet given to a civic patron upon his co-option by a town council; it incorporated the text of the municipal decree by which he had been elected, but the patron would then display this tablet in his home, as a sign of his prestige and influence. Furthermore, this characteristic form of municipal juridical epigraphy was then imitated in turn by professional associations (as an extension of their adaptation of the format of municipal decrees for their own purposes), as illustrated by the bronze tablet commissioned by the association of builders and firemen (*collegium fabrum et centonariorum*) at Regium Lepidum (*Regio* VIII) in AD 190, in which they adlected Tutilius Iulianus as their patron.[154] In addition, some types of text, such as imperial letters, had the force of law, but were not, strictly speaking, legally binding documents.[155]

---

[146] Kolb, 'Römische Meilensteine' (above, n.121) 144.

[147] Isaac and Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea* (above, n.121) I 98; for the settlement of disputes over the obligations of two villages in Phrygia with regard to providing animals for transport for the *cursus publicus*, early third century AD, which depends on being able to identify specific stretches of road accurately, see W. H. C. Frend, 'A third-century inscription relating to Angareia in Phrygia', *JRS* 46 (1956) 46–56.

[148] Isaac and Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea* (above, n.121) I 96.

[149] Sillières, 'De la borne milliaire à la dédicace impériale' (above, n.131).

[150] Overview by J.-L. Ferrary, 'L'épigraphie juridique romaine: historiographie, bilan et perspectives', in *Le monde romain à travers l'épigraphie: methodes et pratiques*, eds. J. Desmulliez and C. Hoët-Van Cauwenberghe (2005: Université Charles-de-Gaulle Lille III: Villeneuve d'Ascq) 35–70. For a flavour of the variety of legal documents inscribed upon bronze in a single province, Baetica, see A. Caballos Rufino, 'Publicación de documentos públicos en las ciudades del Occidente romana: el ejemplo de la Bética', in *Selbstdarstellung und Kommunication: die Veröffentlichung staatlicher Urkunden auf Stein und Bronze in der römischen Welt*, ed. R. Haensch (2009: Vestigia 61: Beck: Munich) 131–72.

The display of public legal texts in epigraphic form, moreover, was not related to practical matters of administrative convenience.[156] Although, for example, there was a requirement for approved drafts of senatorial decrees to be drawn up by a committee of senators and then deposited in the *aerarium* ('treasury') at Rome, there was no similar requirement that they be set up as inscriptions. The same probably applied to municipal decrees too.[157] By contrast, it does seem to have been standard practice during the late Republic for *leges* (statutes) to be inscribed upon bronze tablets.[158] This did not remain the case, however: by late antiquity, publication was not necessary for legislation to take effect. Instead, the decision to inscribe some measures was made out of a concern for imperial self-promotion rather than for disseminating information about laws.[159] An important consideration to arise out of this is that inscribed texts should not be regarded as exact copies of the original document; given that the inscriptions did not have legal force, there was no need to ensure that they replicated the original exactly. A comparison of the two main copies of the senatorial decree concerning Piso Senior, both found in Baetica, for example, reveals a significant number of differences between them. These are not all mistakes in engraving, but some changes simply offer alternative wording or orthography of the original.[160]

---

[151] J. Nicols, '*Tabulae patronatus*: a study of the agreement between patron and client-community', in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (1980) II.13 535–61.

[152] L. A. Curchin, 'Juridical epigraphy and provincial administration in central Spain', in *Roma y las provincias: realidad administrativa e ideología imperial*, ed. J. González (1994: Ediciones Clásicas: Madrid) 87–102, at 92–102; F. Beltrán Lloris (2010) 'El nacimento de un tipo epigráfico provincial: las tábulas de hospitalidad y patronato', *ZPE* 175: 273–86.

[153] I. Cao, *Alimenta: il racconto delle fonti* (2010: Il poligrafo: Padua).

[154] *CIL* XI 970 = *ILS* 7216. Cf. *ILS* 7217–20.

[155] R. Haensch, 'Einführung', in *Selbstdarstellung und Kommunication: die Veröffentlichung staatlicher Urkunden auf Stein und Bronze in der römischen Welt*, ed. R. Haensch (2009: Vestigia 61: Beck: Munich) 1–15, at 3.

[156] J.-L. Ferrary, 'La gravure de documents publics de la Rome républicaine et ses motivations', 59–74 and Eck, 'Öffentlichkeit, Politik und Administration' (above, n.21) 75–96, and C. Kokkinia, 'The role of individuals in inscribing Roman state documents: governors' letters and edicts', 191–206, all in *Selbstdarstellung und Kommunication: die Veröffentlichung staatlicher Urkunden auf Stein und Bronze in der römischen Welt*, ed. R. Haensch (2009: Vestigia 61: Beck: Munich).

Many legal inscriptions were far too unwieldy to have been designed with a reader in mind, even if their use of paragraphing and punctuation might appear to imply a concern with legibility. It has been calculated, for example, that the Flavian municipal law as displayed at Irni consisted of some ten tablets, with thirty columns of text in roughly 1500 lines. Each tablet was 57–8 cm high and 90–1 cm wide, and the whole inscription must have extended over some 9 metres; the text was inscribed in lettering 4–6 mm high.[161] Even though the town's magistrates were instructed to ensure that the law was inscribed so as to be clearly legible from ground level,[162] this must have reflected an ideological concern that the law should be publicly available rather than an expectation that anyone would in fact have read the text from the inscription.[163]

---

[157] M. Coudry, 'Senatus-consultes et *acta senatus*: rédaction, conservation et archivage des documents émanant du sénat, de l'époque de César à celle des Sévères', in *La mémoire perdue: à la recherche des archives oubliées, publiques et privées, de la Rome antique* (1994: Publications de la Sorbonne: Paris) 65–102; C. Williamson, 'The display of law and archival practice in Rome', in *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3–6 sept. 1991 habiti*, eds. H. Solin, O. Salomies, and U.-M. Liertz (1995: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 104: Helsinki) 239–51.

[158] Crawford, ed., *Roman Statutes* (above, n.20) I 25–6.

[159] C. Kreuzsaler, 'Aeneis tabulis scripta proponatur lex: zum Publikationserfordernis für Rechtsnormen am Beispiel der spätantiken Kaiserkonstitutionen', in *Selbstdarstellung und Kommunication: die Veröffentlichung staatlicher Urkunden auf Stein und Bronze in der römischen Welt*, ed. R. Haensch (2009: Vestigia 61: Beck: Munich) 209–48.

[160] A. Eich, 'Diplomatische Genauigkeit oder inhaltliche Richtigkeit? Das Verhältnis von Original und Abschrift', in *Selbstdarstellung und Kommunication: die Veröffentlichung staatlicher Urkunden auf Stein und Bronze in der römischen Welt*, ed. R. Haensch (2009: Vestigia 61: Beck: Munich) 267–99.

[161] J. González, 'The Lex Irnitana: a new copy of the Flavian municipal law', *JRS* 76 (1986) 147–243, at 147–8.

As with milestones, Latin was used on juridical inscriptions in the eastern Mediterranean in order to project an impression of Roman authority, and to confirm that what was transcribed upon them was an authentic copy of an official document. A rescript from Septimius Severus and Caracalla responding to the complaints of tenants on imperial estates in Phrygia, for example, was displayed in its original Latin. It was prefaced by a heading in Greek, however, which was made prominent by being inscribed above the rescript on a pedimented area of the stone, declaring that it was a copy of the rescript as displayed in the portico of Trajan's Baths at Rome.[164] Official documents in Latin were displayed in centres of Roman power, notably the provincial capital of Asia Minor at Ephesus, and alongside them were other inscribed monuments in Latin set up by staff working for the governor or emperor.[165] The use of Latin in a fragmentary senatorial decree of AD 16–19 found at Ephesus illustrates how the decision to inscribe in Latin was designed to emphasise the authority of Rome. In this case, the senate needed to make its message as impressive as possible, since it was probably trying to intervene in a dispute between *negotiatores* ('traders') at Ephesus and the Thracian King Rhescuporis II.[166]

Portable wax tablets were typically used for private legal documents, such as transfers of property, wills, promises of dowries, and contracts of various sorts (see Chapter 1 for the archives of tablets found in Campania). Once sealed, the writing inside them was protected, and any breaking of the seal and tampering with the text scratched upon wax would have been immediately evident.[167] The authority of such texts was reflected in the formal language used in them.[168] A surprising insight into the continuing use of wooden tablets for recording legally binding commercial transactions emerged with the find of a cache of tablets in North Africa, roughly 100 km to the south of Tebessa, the so-called 'tablettes Albertini'.[169] Dating from 493–6, when the Vandals were in control of the region, the tablets are not wax tablets, but wooden tablets bearing ink writing. Despite this difference in form, they bear some striking resemblances to the Campanian tablets of over 400 years earlier. They all relate to private commercial transactions. Individual documents include a dowry, the sale of a slave, sale of an olive press, and accounts, but the majority of them relate to the buying and selling of land – and, more precisely, of olive trees – on a large estate being run for an absentee landlord in what was a marginal agricultural zone.[170] Like their earlier counterparts, they contained both interior and exterior texts, with the exterior being simple summaries rather than repetitions in full of the interior. They were also witnessed by named individuals, and the sellers would themselves sign or leave the mark of a cross. Typically, they contained the following: date; contract of buying/selling; obligations on the buyer/seller; guarantee given by the seller; subscriptions of seller, witnesses, and writer. Just as in the case of the tablets of Iucundus at Pompeii,[171] the tablets again guaranteed the rights of both buyer and seller, and offered proof that their monetary obligations had been fulfilled, releasing the contracted parties from further demands.

---

[162] Lex Irnitana, ch. 95: *qui iiviri in eo municipio iure d(icundo) p(raerit), facito uti haec lex primo quoque tempore in aes incidatur et in loco celeberrimo eius municipii figatur ita ut d(e) p(lano) r(ecte) [l(egi) p(ossit)].*

[163] M. Corbier, 'L'écriture dans l'espace public romain', in *L'urbs: espace urbain et histoire* (1987: École française de Rome) 27–60, esp. 39–45; cf. revised reprint in *Donner à voir, donner à lire* (above, n.25) 53–75.

[164] T. Hauken, C. Tanrıver, and K. Akbiyikoğlu, 'A new inscription from Phrygia: a rescript of Septimius Severus and Caracalla to the *coloni* of the imperial estate at Tymion', *EpigAnat* 36 (2003) 33–44 = *AÉpigr* (2003) 1690; P. Lampe and W. Tabbernee, 'Das Reskript von Septimius Severus und Caracalla an die Kolonen der kaiserlichen Domäne von Tymion und Simoe,' *EpigAnat* 37 (2004) 169–78.

[165] B. Levick, 'The Latin inscriptions of Asia Minor', in *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3–6 sept. 1991 habiti*, eds. H. Solin, O. Salomies, and U.-M. Liertz (1995: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 104: Helsinki) 393–402; W. Eck, 'The presence, role and significance of Latin' (above, n.144) esp. 23–9, 39.

[166] *AÉpigr* (1998) 1333; M. Büyükkolancı and H. Engelmann, 'Inschriften aus Ephesos', *ZPE* 120 (1998) 65–82, at 70–1 no. 7; B. Rochette, *Le latin dans le monde grec: recherches sur la diffusion de la langue et des lettres latines dans les provinces hellénophones de l'empire romain* (1997: Collection *Latomus* 233: Brussels) 89–92.

The bronze tablets generally called diplomas (their Roman name is unknown) documented the privileges awarded to long-serving soldiers and veterans of the praetorian and urban cohorts, *equites singulares* (emperor's bodyguard), sailors in the Italian fleet, and auxiliaries in the provinces. In addition, exceptional grants were sometimes made to units who had served in specific campaigns, such as those who had been extraordinarily transferred from the fleet to the legions to serve the Flavians during the civil wars.[172] Each diploma was an official extract copied from the imperial constitutions which were displayed as inscriptions upon large bronze tablets on the Capitol at Rome, none of which otherwise survives.[173] These constitutions could relate to several hundred soldiers in different units at the same time, but the diploma was a personalized version issued to an individual, and was kept by him as proof of his status and legal rights.[174] The value placed upon their diplomas by at least some of their recipients is reflected in the fact that some have been found deposited in burials, whilst others were found in houses buried by Vesuvius in AD 79, or stored for safe-keeping with other precious objects.[175] It is unclear whether or not bronze diplomas were routinely issued to soldiers, or whether individuals had to request and pay for their diplomas. If the former, then only a tiny fraction of the originals has survived, but this would come as no surprise, given the possibility of melting down the bronze: some diplomas have even survived despite having been recycled in various ways.[176]

---

[167] E. A. Meyer, *Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World:* Tabulae *in Roman Belief and Practice* (2004: Cambridge University Press) ch. 2.

[168] Meyer, *Legitimacy and Law* (above, n.167) ch. 3.

[169] C. Courtois *et al.*, *Tablettes Albertini: actes privés de l'époque Vandale* (1952: Arts et Métiers Graphiques: Paris).

[170] D. J. Mattingly, 'Olive cultivation and the Albertini Tablets', *AfrRom* 6 (1989) 403–15.

[171] J. Andreau, *Les affaires de Monsieur Jucundus* (1974: École française de Rome).

[172] J. C. Mann, 'The development of auxiliary and fleet diplomas', *Epigraphische Studien* 9 (1972) 233–41 charts the changing eligibility of different categories of military personnel

The status of these texts as legal documents was made clear by the physical format of the tablets. A diploma consisted of two rectangular bronze tablets, tied together with copper thread, and sealed by seven witnesses, who verified that the text was an authentic and accurate copy of the original constitution.[177] Up to AD 73/4, witnesses were fellow-soldiers with links to the units concerned, probably stationed at Rome, although the surprise appearance of 'Alexander the Great of Macedon' as fourth witness on a diploma of AD 71 perhaps suggests that the act of witnessing was not

---

(serving/veteran). Flavian diplomas: *CIL* XVI 10–11; M. M. Roxan, 'An emperor rewards his supporters: the earliest extant diploma issued by Vespasian', *JRA* 9 (1996) 247–56.

[173] Corbier, *Donner à voir, donner à lire* (above, n.25) ch. 4 on the locations of the imperial constitutions at Rome.

[174] For discussion of occasions on which veterans might have needed to be able to prove their status, see J. C. Mann, '"*Honesta missio*" and the Brigetio table', *Hermes* 81 (1953) 496–500; M. M. Roxan, 'Observations on the reasons for changes in formula in diplomas circa AD 140', in *Heer und Integrationspolitik: die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle*, eds. W. Eck and H. Wolff (1986: Passauer Historische Forshungen 2: Böhlau: Vienna) 265–92.

[175] Burial: *CIL* XVI 16, 106; houses: *CIL* XVI 15, probably also 1, 11; in storage: *CIL* XVI 96; with M. M. Roxan, 'The Roman military diploma', in *The Roman Fort of Vindolanda at Chesterholm, Northumberland*, ed. P. T. Bidwell (1985: Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England Archaeological Report 1: London) 93–102, at 93–4.

[176] W. Eck, 'Der Kaiser als Herr des Heeres: Militärdiplome und die kaiserliche Reichsregierung', in *Documenting the Roman Army: Essays in Honour of Margaret Roxan*, ed. J. J. Wilkes (2003: BICS supplement 81: London) 55–87 argues that diplomas were routinely issued; contra Roxan, 'Observations on the reasons for changes in formula in diplomas', (above, n.174) 266 and 'Findspots of military diplomas of the Roman auxiliary army', *BIALond* 26 (1984) 127–81. Recycled diplomas: *CIL* XVI 156 reused as a mirror, *RMD* 41 as a lid; scraps that possibly escaped from being melted down: Roxan, 'The Roman military diploma' (above, n.175) 94.

[177] Clear account of general characteristics of diplomas in M. M. Roxan, 'Roman military diplomas', *Minerva* 6.1 (1995) 12–14.

as solemn an affair at this point as we might suppose.[178] Vespasian then regularized the system of witnessing by transferring it to clerks working in public administration; and finally, under Hadrian witnessing became a more hierarchical procedure, with fairly high-ranking witnesses (probably just below equestrian status).[179] A diploma contained two texts, on its interior and exterior faces, with the interior text usually written in a different hand from the exterior, and with scant use of abbreviations. The interior text was intended to be consulted only in case of dispute, and was not read in ordinary circumstances: it acted simply as a legal safeguard. On the earliest diplomas, this inner text was written with particular care, but from the second half of the second century AD it became increasingly difficult to read in many cases, and mistakes began to be ignored rather than corrected. Furthermore, from the late Hadrianic period consular names began to be presented in abbreviated form (*cognomina* only) on the inner texts, with the full names being reserved for the outer surface. The content of the inner texts was also drastically reduced from the mid second century, omitting details of the individual military units concerned. This implies that the relative value of the two texts shifted, with the accuracy of the exterior text becoming regarded as the more important. The official status of the document itself was made clear by the formula *descriptum et recognitum* ('copied and checked'), but this too disappeared from the inner texts of diplomas from AD 120. This resulted, therefore, in a lack of correspondence between the two versions, but the situation reverted in AD 153, when both the *descriptum* formula reappeared and the inner text was written out in full once again.[180]

39 A diploma from Britain, AD 103: Fig. 2.14

RIB II 2401.1 = *CIL* XVI 48 = *ILS* 2001

British Museum, registration no. 1813.12–11.1–2 (online information: www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_prb/b/bronze_military_diploma.aspx

Photographs online (Andreas Pangerl): www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=$AP_D_02001.jpg;$AP_D_02001_1.jpg&nr=1; www1.

---

[178] *CIL* XVI 16.

[179] J. Morris and M. Roxan, 'The witnesses to Roman military *diplomata*', *ArhVest* 28 (1977) 299–331.

[180] On the changing character of diplomas, see Eck, 'Der Kaiser als Herr des Heeres' (above, n.176).

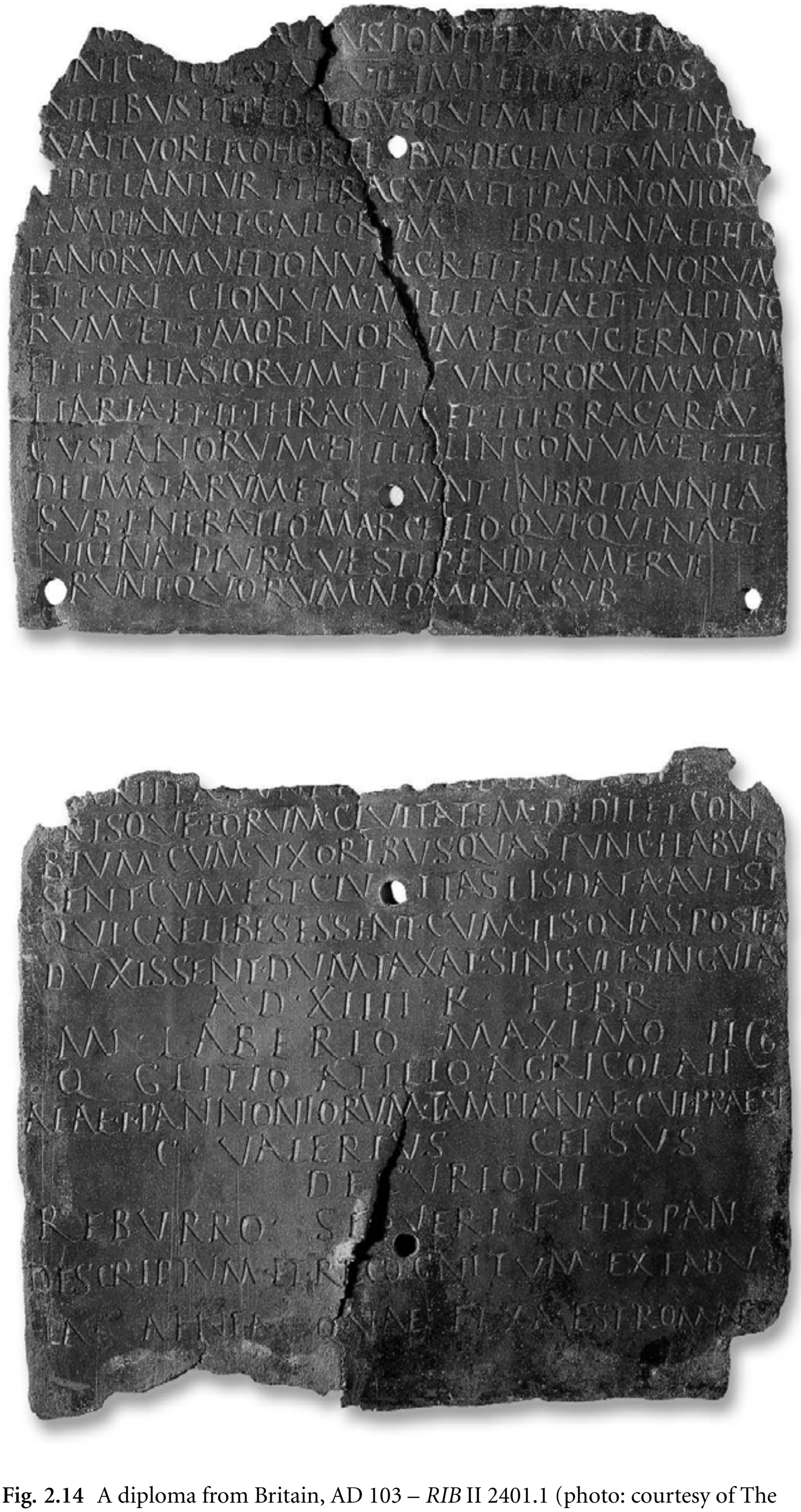

NVS PONTIFEX MAXIM
DELMATARVM ET SVNT IN BRITANNIA
VICENA PLVRAVE STIPENDIA MERVE
RVNT QVORVM NOMINA SVB
A·D·XIIII·K·FEBR
M·LABERIO MAXIMO II
Q·GLITIO ATILIO AGRICOLA II
C·VALERIVS CELSVS
DECVRIONI

Fig. 2.14 A diploma from Britain, AD 103 – *RIB* II 2401.1 (photo: courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum)

ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=$AP_D_02001.jpg;$AP_D_02001_1.jpg&nr=2

[*Imp. Caesar d*]*ivi Nervae f*(*ilius*) *N*[*erva Tr*]*aian*[*us*] / [*Aug*]*ustus Germanicus* [*D*]*acicus pontifex maximu*[*s*] / [*tribu*]*nic*(*ia*) *potestat*(*e*) *V̅I̅I̅ imp*(*erator*) *I̅I̅I̅I̅ p*(*ater*) *p*(*atriae*) *co*(*n*)*s*(*ul*) [*V*] / [*e*]*quitibus et peditibus qui militant in a*[*lis*] /^{5} [*q*]*uattuor et cohortibus decem et una qua*[*e*] / [*a*]*ppellantur I̅ Thracum et I̅ Pannonioru*[*m*] / [*T*]*ampiana et Gallorum* [*S*]*ebosiana et His/panorum Vettonum c*(*ivium*) *R*(*omanorum*) *et I̅ Hispanorum / et I̅ Va*[*n*]*cionum milliaria et I̅ Alpino/*^{10} *rum et I̅ Morinorum et I̅ Cugernoru*[*m*] */ et I̅ Baetasiorum et I̅ Tungrorum mil/liaria et I̅I̅ Thracum et I̅I̅I̅ Bracarau/gustanorum et I̅I̅I̅I̅ Lingonum et I̅I̅I̅I̅ / Delmatarum et sunt in Britannia /*^{15} *sub L*(*ucio*) *Neratio Marcello qui quina et / vicena plurave stipendia merue/runt quorum nomina sub/scripta sunt ipsis liberis poste/risque eorum civitatem dedit et con*[*u*]/^{20} *bium cum uxoribus quas tunc habuis/sent cum est civitas iis data aut si / qui caelibes essent cum iis quas postea / duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas / a*(*nte*) *d*(*iem*) *XIIII k*(*alendas*) *Febr*(*uarias*) /^{25} *M*(*anio*) *Laberio Maximo I̅I̅ / Q*(*uinto*) *Glitio Atilio Agricola II / co*(*n*)*s*(*ulibus*) */ alae I̅ Pannoniorum Tampianae cui prae*(*e*)*st / C*(*aius*) *Valerius Celsus /*^{30} *decurioni / Reburro Severi f*(*ilio*) *Hispan*(*o*) */ descriptum et recognitum ex tabu/la aenea quae fixa est Romae / in muro post templum /*^{35} [*divi A*]*ug*(*usti*) *ad Minervam* || *Q*(*uinti*) *Pompei Homeri / C*(*ai*) *Papi Eusebetis / T*(*iti*) *Flavi Secundi / P*(*ubli*) *Cauli Vitalis /*^{5} *C*(*ai*) *Vettieni Modesti / P*(*ubli*) *Atini Hedonici / Ti*(*beri*) *Claudi Menandri.*

'Imperator Caesar, son of deified Nerva, Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, supreme pontiff, in his seventh year of tribunician power, acclaimed victorious general four times, father of his country, consul five times, has granted to the cavalrymen and infantrymen who are serving in four *alae* and eleven cohorts which are called: I Thracum and I Pannoniorum Tampiana and Gallorum Sebosiana and Hispanorum Vettonum, of Roman citizens; and I Hispanorum and I Vancionum, a thousand strong; and I Alpinorum and I Morinorum and I Cugernorum and I Baetasiorum and I Tungrorum, a thousand strong; and II Thracum and III Bracaraugustanorum and IIII Lingonum and III Delmatarum, and are in Britain under the command of Lucius Neratius Marcellus, who have served for twenty-five years or more, whose names are written below, citizenship for themselves, their children and descendants, and the right of legal marriage with the wives whom they had at that time when citizenship was granted to them, or, if any were bachelors, with those whom they later marry, provided it is only a single one each.

19th January, in the consulship of Manius Laberius Maximus for the second time and Quintus Glitius Atilius Agricola for the second time. To Reburrus, son of Severus, from Hispania, decurion of *ala* I Pannoniorum Tampiana, commanded by Gaius Valerius Celsus. Copied and checked from the bronze tablet set up at Rome on the wall behind the temple of deified Augustus, near Minerva.

(Seals) of Quintus Pompeius Homerus; Gaius Papius Eusebes; Titus Flavius Secundus; Publius Caulius Vitalis; Gaius Vettienus Modestus; Publius Atinius Hedonicus; Tiberius Claudius Menander.'

Two bronze tablets of a near complete diploma, dating from AD 103, found in a field at Malpas in Cheshire. The text above is a conflated version of both outer and inner texts, which contain minor differences between them. The names of the witnesses were listed originally alongside their seals. The diploma grants citizenship and *conubium* to a junior officer who is still on active service.

As with other categories of inscription, diplomas changed in character over time. In addition to the shifting perception of the relative value of inner and outer texts, the actual content of the documents also changed. Most notably, from AD 140, children of auxiliaries were no longer regularly included as beneficiaries of Roman citizenship, only those born and officially acknowledged in front of a governor after their father had ceased military service. Furthermore, there is a striking gap in finds of diplomas for the period AD 168–78, which probably reflects a shift in the material used for the tablets, possibly from bronze to wood, as a temporary measure amid economic problems. Thereafter, to judge by finds, diplomas continued to be issued for auxiliaries until the early third century and for other units until the mid third century.[181] Whereas diplomas have been found in their hundreds (albeit often as fragments), only a few examples have survived of a related type of bronze tablet, the *tabula honestae missionis*, by which a governor documented an individual's honourable discharge. Three examples have been found relating to cavalrymen from the second and third centuries.[182] Their comparative scarcity may well reflect the fact that individuals had to take the initiative in order to request the issue of such a document.[183]

---

[181] Eck, 'Der Kaiser als Herr des Heeres' (above, n.176) 79–82.

[182] *ILB*^{2} 236–39 no. 138, AD 108 = A. Deman and M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Nouveau recueil des inscriptions latines de Belgique* (2002: Collection *Latomus* 264: Brussels); W. Eck and M. M. Roxan, 'Zwei Entlassungsurkunden – *tabulae honestae missionis* – für Soldaten der römischen Auxilien', *Archäologisches Korrespondenblatt* 28 (1998) 95–112, AD 215 and 240.

[183] J. C. Mann and M. M. Roxan, 'Discharge certificates of the Roman army', *Britannia* 19 (1988) 341–7, esp. 343.

Religious inscriptions are not a unified category, since they varied in appearance and purpose, from stone altars to lead curse-tablets, from thin gold-leaf plaques to anchor-stocks. Individuals, communities, and associations all used inscriptions of many different kinds and in many different media in their dealings with the gods (leaving aside Christianity – on which see below). Above all, it is in the realm of dealings with the gods that the power of writing emerges most clearly. Inscriptions were used to appeal to the divine to influence human affairs, both in a general way, in hope of protection, and in a specific way, to influence particular situations. They were used to express personal and collective perceptions of the gods, to define the essence of a deity; for example, setting up a stone inscribed with the words *genio loci* ('to the spirit of the place'), invoked and acknowledged – perhaps even in effect created – an unnamed divine force that would otherwise remain latent. Inscriptions also commemorated vows that had been fulfilled and religious rites that had been accomplished. Writing was used to bring out the potential religious significance of a whole range of objects. In principle, religious dedications could take any form; they did not have to be monumental inscriptions on stone or metal. The needs of individuals and groups to communicate with the gods led them to press into service whatever material might be available locally. In the eastern Egyptian desert at Mons Claudianus, for example, a dedication was written in formal capital lettering in red ink upon a pottery sherd trimmed into a shield-shape. This inscription contained a dedication to 'Zeus Helios Great Serapis and the gods who share the same temple' by the second cohort Ituraeorum. It seems likely that this was then hung up for display.[184]

An object might be placed under a god's protection by adding an inscription to it, dedicating it to the god. Writing was essential in order to convert an everyday object into one dedicated to a deity, and such inscriptions can turn up in virtually any context: for example, names of deities have been found inscribed upon lead anchor-stocks. Although some of these probably simply represented the ship's name in the nominative case (such as an anchor inscribed *Ceres* from Cagliari in Sardinia), others that are in the dative or genitive cases are dedicatory in format: at Palermo, we find anchors inscribed with *Iovi* ('to Jupiter') and *Veneri* ('to Venus'), and another inscribed with *Iovis* ('of Jupiter') from Ostia.[185] Images engraved upon anchors may have served similar purposes: images of dolphins perhaps recalled that animal's reputation for helping those at sea, whilst Mercury's staff (*caduceus*) expressed hope for a safe and prosperous voyage, under the protection of the god of commerce. Likewise, a gorgon's head was probably intended to ward off ill fortune. Even so, the addition of a text made such ideas more explicit, and ensured that an appeal was made to a particular deity for protection.

---

[184] Mons Claudianus inv. 7363, cited by V. A. Maxfield, 'Ostraca and the Roman army in the eastern desert', in *Documenting the Roman Army: Essays in Honour of Margaret Roxan*, ed. J. J. Wilkes (2003: BICS supplement 81: London) 153–73, at 155–6.

[185] P. A. Gianfrotta, 'Ancore "romane": nuovi materiali per lo studio dei traffici marittimi', in *The Seaborne Commerce of Ancient Rome: Studies in Archaeology and History*, eds. J. H. D'Arms and E. C. Kopff (1980: *MAAR* 36) 103–16, esp. 108–10, and 'Note di epigrafia "marittima":

Writing might be used to make specific requests to the gods, in the form of lead curse-tablets, or *defixiones*, aimed at jinxing a professional rival's chances of success,[186] defeating opponents in litigation,[187] or winning someone's affections.[188] Such requests had to be deposited in particular places in order to be effective: logically enough, for example, curses against rival racehorses might be buried near the starting-gates and turning-posts of the circus, or in the tombs of nearby necropoleis.[189] Natural springs, sanctuaries belonging to chthonic deities, and tombs were popular places.[190] In the latter case, the appeal was made to the spirit of a dead person, preferably one who had died a violent death. Although we now see only the end product of the curse – the written tablet – it is important to remember that the creation and deposition of the tablet would only have been a single element in the whole process, alongside invocations, prayers, and rituals. Traces of these sometimes remain in the form of other objects deposited with the tablet, or by the way in which tablets themselves might be pierced with nails. The use of incomprehensible magical language and symbols in some cases further illustrates how writing itself was believed to have powers. In addition, lead tablets were also used for inscribing 'judicial prayers' or 'prayers for legal help',[191] in order to retrieve stolen property.[192] A notable characteristic of this last type is that the name of the aggrieved party is

---

aggiornamenti su tappi d'anfora, ceppi d'ancora e altro', in *Epigrafia della produzione e della distribuzione* (1994: *CÉFR* 193: Rome) 591–608, at 600–8.

[186] J. G. Gager, ed., *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (1992: Oxford University Press) nos. 16, Raraunum, Gaul (= A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (1904: Fontemoing: Paris) no. 110); 80, Nomentum (Latium); 82, Carthage.

[187] Gager, *Curse Tablets* (above, n.186) no. 53, Santones (Aquitania) (= Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (above, n.186) nos. 111–12).

[188] Gager, *Curse Tablets* (above, n.186) no. 36, Hadrumetum.

[189] F. Heintz, 'The archaeological contexts of circus curses', *JRA* 11 (1998) 337–42.

[190] Clusters of curse-tablets have been found at the springs of Bath and Uley in Britain, and at Raraunum in Gaul: Gager, *Curse Tablets* (above, n.186) no. 16, Raraunum, Gaul (= Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (above, n.186) no. 110); curses deposited with burials: Gager, *Curse Tablets* nos. 36, 53.

[191] For the distinction between *defixio* and judicial prayer, see H. S. Versnel, 'Beyond cursing: the appeal to justice in judicial prayers', in Magika hiera: *Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, eds. C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink (1991: Oxford University Press) 60–106, esp. 81–90.

[192] Bath and Uley: R. S. O. Tomlin, in *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, vol. II, *The Finds from the Sacred Spring*, ed. B. Cunliffe (1988: Oxford Archaeology Monographs 16: Oxford)

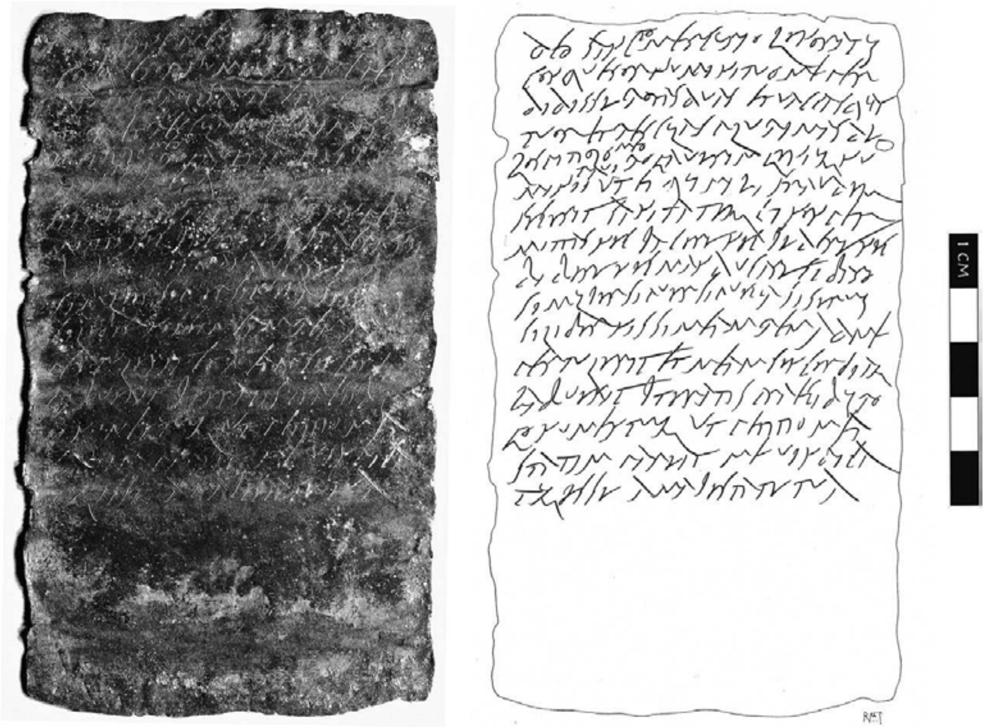


Fig. 2.15 Judicial prayer, Uley no. 72 – *AÉpigr* (1992) 1127 (photo and drawing: courtesy of R. S. O. Tomlin and Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents)

stated. The tablet was often rolled or folded, so as to reserve its text for the intended divine recipient, and this was sometimes reinforced by the use of encryption.[193]

40 Judicial prayer, Uley no. 72: Fig. 2.15

AÉpigr (1992) 1127

M. W. C. Hassall and R. S. O. Tomlin, 'Roman Britain in 1991: II. Inscriptions', *Britannia* 23 (1992) at 310–11, no. 5; R. S. O. Tomlin, 'The inscribed lead tablets: an interim report', in *The Uley Shrines: Excavation of a Ritual*

(= *Tabellae Sulis*) 59–277; in *The Uley Shrines: Excavation of a Ritual Complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire: 1977–9*, eds. A. Woodward and P. Leach (1993: English Heritage/British Museum: London) 113–30; 'Writing to the gods in Britain', in *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin? Literacy and Epigraphy in the Roman West*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2002: *JRA* Supplement 48: Portsmouth, R.I.) 165–79. Further bibliography on British curse-tablets can be found at http://curses.csad.ox.ac.uk/tablets/bibliography.shtml.

[193] Gager, *Curse Tablets* (above, n.186); different encryption techniques are found in *Tabellae Sulis* 4, 6; Tomlin, 'Writing to the gods in Britain' (above, n.192) 174–5, with further examples.

Complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire: 1977–9, eds. A. Woodward and P. Leach (1993: English Heritage/British Museum: London) 129 no. 72.

Images (photograph and drawing): http://curses.csad.ox.ac.uk/tablets/img/uley–72.html http://curses.csad.ox.ac.uk/sites/uley-home.shtml

deo sancto Mercurio Honoratus / conqueror numini tuo me per/didisse rotas duas et vaccas quat/tuor et resculas plurimas de /[5] *hospitiolo meo / rogaverim genium nu/minis tu<u>i ut ei qui mihi fraudem / fecerit sanitatem ei non per/mittas nec iacere nec sedere nec /*[10] *bibere nec manducare si baro / si mulier si puer si puella si servus / si liber nis<s>i meam rem ad me / pertulerit et meam concordiam / habuerit. iteratis pr<a>ecibus ro/*[15]*go numen tuum ut petitio mea / statim pareat me vindica/tum esse a maiestate tua*

'Honoratus to the holy god Mercury. I complain to your divinity that I have lost two wheels and four cows and many small belongings from my house. I would ask the genius of your divinity that you do not allow health to the person who has done me wrong, nor allow him to lie or sit or drink or eat, whether he is man or woman, whether boy or girl, whether slave or free, unless he brings my property to me and is reconciled with me. With renewed prayers I ask your divinity that my petition may immediately make me vindicated by your majesty.'

This is the best preserved of a group of curse-tablets (most of them dating from the second and third centuries) found along with other votive offerings at a hilltop rural sanctuary to a local Celtic god, assimilated to Mercury, at Uley in Gloucestershire (Britain). It is likely that the tablets had originally been deposited in a pool at the centre of the temple. This example consists of a rectangular sheet of lead, height 7.6 cm, width 13.1 cm, thickness 0.1 cm, and has survived intact. It has been dated on the basis of its script (Old Roman Cursive) to the period AD *c*.150 – *c*.275. It had been folded over six times before being deposited. The items stolen – wheels and cows – are typical of the agricultural concerns at this location, which contrast with those at nearby Bath where – understandably given the context at baths – items of clothing are more commonly listed as stolen items.[194] Other tablets seek the restitution of money and jewellery. It is typical of such tablets that a whole variety of potential miscreants is listed, to cover every eventuality. The inscribing of curses in response to theft is a particular characteristic of the tablets in Roman Britian, and in many ways the language in which an appeal for justice was made to a deity resembles similar petitions to representatives of Roman officialdom. It is striking how the tablets at both Bath and Uley share the same language and set expressions, despite their diverse origins in an urban and rural context respectively.

---

[194] Tomlin, 'Writing to the gods in Britain' (above, n.192) 174.

Inscriptions offered a way in which regional deities could maintain their distinctiveness even whilst being incorporated into the Greco-Roman pantheon. As well as often inspiring statues and reliefs in locally distinctive artistic styles, provincial deities might retain their own original identity via epithets and names, maintaining local difference in the religious sphere. Altars set up to honour the *matronae*, a cult originating among the Ubii of Germany, for example, typically depicted them carrying images of fertility and wealth, such as baskets of fruit, loaves of bread, and purses of money. Two of the *matronae* themselves are typically portrayed wearing distinctive large headdresses.[195] Indeed, some deities are only known at all because of inscriptions, such as Iaris, recipient of an inscribed vow in Gallia Belgica, possibly connected in some way to the winter solstice and/or new year.[196]

Inscriptions were used to demonstrate that rites had been duly observed and the gods propitiated. As discussed in Chapter 1, the ritual deposit made following a lightning strike was marked by an inscription stating *fulgur conditum* ('lightning ritually buried'). Some cults, most notably the Arval brethren in their grove just outside Rome, produced detailed inscribed records of their ceremonials and sacrifices. The inscribing of these records was an integral part of their rites.[197] Inscriptions (albeit not always monumental ones) were also fundamental to undertaking and fulfilling a vow, one of the chief ways in which individuals might interact on a personal level with a god.[198] A vow, when undertaken, was probably written down, most often on perishable materials, given its temporary and personal significance. Once the vow had been fulfilled, an inscription would commemorate the fulfilment of obligations by both individual and deity. These inscriptions might be on costly materials, and were intended to prove that an individual had completed the ritual act, and at the same time incidentally to demonstrate to others the powers of that deity in granting requests.

---

[195] A. G. Garman, *The Cult of the* Matronae *in the Roman Rhineland: An Historical Evaluation of the Archaeological Evidence* (2008: Edwin Mellen: Lewiston, N.Y.) ch. 3.

[196] *ILB*^{2} 254–5 no. 160 = *AÉpigr* (1989) 535.

[197] M. Beard, 'Writing and ritual: a study of diversity and expansion in the Arval Acta', *PBSR* 53 (1985) 114–62; J. Scheid, *Recherches archéologiques à la Magliana*: Commentarii Fratrum Arvalium qui supersunt: *les copies épigraphiques des protocoles annuels de la confrérie arvale: 21 av.–304 ap. J.-C.* (1998: École française de Rome/Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma).

[198] T. Derks, 'The ritual of the vow in Gallo-Roman religion', in *Integration in the Early Roman West: The Role of Culture and Ideology*, eds. J. Metzler *et al.* (1995: Dossiers d'Archéologie du Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art 4: Luxembourg) 111–27.

41 Votive dedication to *dea Senuna*: Fig. 2.16

R. S. O. Tomlin, 'Dea Senuna: a new goddess from Britain', in *Instrumenta Inscripta Latina* II, eds. M. Hainzmann and R. Wedenig (2008: Verlag des Geschichtsvereines für Kärnten: Klagenfurt) 305–15, at 307–8 no. 9; preliminary notice by R. S. O. Tomlin, in 'Roman Britain in 2004', *Britannia* 36 (2005) 489.

Cariatia / Ressa v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)

'Cariatia Ressa willingly fulfilled her vow.'

This is one of twenty votive 'leaves' of gold and silver found buried in a field with gold jewellery, a silver figurine, and two silver model arms near Baldock, Hertfordshire (Britain). This leaf (height 135.3 mm) depicts Minerva with helmet, spear, and shield, standing inside a shrine. Its inscription is formed by punched dots within a panel. Such precious metal votive 'leaves' are typical of Britain, the Rhineland, and upper Danube region. This cache was found adjacent to a rural shrine dedicated to the Celtic goddess Senuna, perhaps to be associated with the river Senua. Her name is inscribed on six of the 'leaves' and on the base of a silver statuette, confirming the reading of a silver ring found some time previously as *d(e)ae Senu(nae)*.[199] The 'leaves' are incised with pictures of a deity standing in a gabled shrine, variously Minerva, Victoria, Sol, Roma, and possibly Mars and Mercury. Several of the personal names of the individuals fulfilling their vows contain Celtic elements, including Cariatia Ressa. In this way, the votive 'leaves' combine Romano-Greco and Celtic elements, and illustrate the adoption of the Roman ritual of the vow within the context of a Celtic deity and among the indigenous population of Britain.

Such votive offerings were, therefore, motivated by particular circumstances, and should be differentiated from more general dedications, not linked to a vow. Of course, the commemoration of vows in monumental form, whether altar, statuette, relief, or decorative metal plaque, would not have been affordable by all, and it is possible that the prominence of such material in the archaeological record gives a false impression of the place of such monumental commemoration within religious practice. Individuals must also have dedicated other, cheaper forms of offering.[200] Nevertheless,

---

[199] *RIB* II/3, 2422.33.

[200] W. Eck, 'Votivaltäre in den Matronenheiligtümern in Niedergermanien: ihre Aussagefähigkeit für die Formen der "Kommunication zwischen Menschen und Göttern"', in *Kult und Kommunication: Medien in Heiligtümern der Antike*, eds. C. Frevel and H. von Hesberg (2007: ZAKMIRA 4: Reichert: Wiesbaden) 415–33.

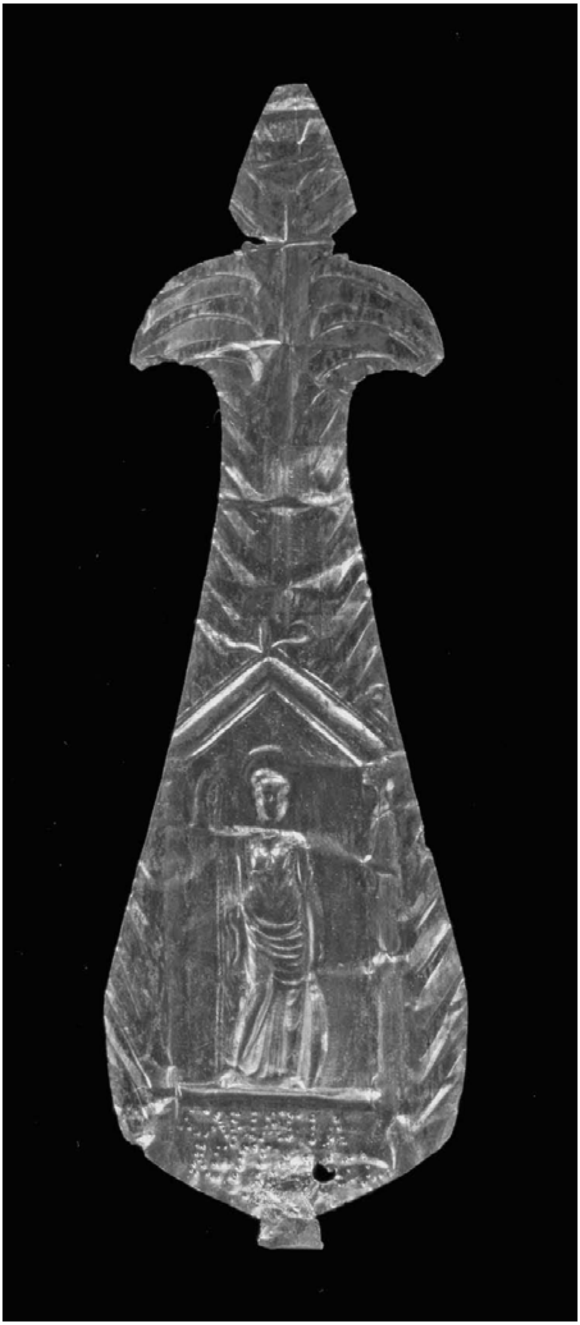


Fig. 2.16 Votive dedication to *dea Senuna* – Tomlin (2008) no. 9 (photo: courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum)

it seems likely that writing was intrinsically important in negotiating personal relationships with the gods among those with a degree of literacy and economic means.

The catch-all heading of ***instrumentum domesticum*** is arguably the least helpful of all of the usual categories in allowing us to understand the functions of inscriptions. This category is used as a convenient dumping ground for all portable items that happen to have inscriptions upon them. These can range from unimportant everyday items such as terracotta lamps to high-value prestige objects such as gems or silverware. There is little agreement about what to include and exclude in the category, although there is a core of common ground: 'the term *instrumentum domesticum* is the inaccurate but agreed way of referring to most kinds of inscribed portable objects from Roman antiquity, and its major categories are held to be *amphora* inscriptions, brick- and tile-stamps, makers' names on terracotta lamps, and stamps and graffiti on *terra sigillata*'.[201] Different epigraphic handbooks then diverge in the material included within this framework. *Epigrafia latina* by Calabi Limentani, for example, includes examples from the following sub-categories in addition to the usual suspects: furnishings in bronze and silver; water-pipes; curse-tablets; tokens; consular diptychs; slave-/dog-collars; weights; jewellery; sling-shot; lots; artists' signatures and other names and labels included on works of art; sundials; calendars; coins; gems. Even faced with such an extensive list, it is still possible to name further potential sub-categories, such as masons' marks, inscriptions on metal ingots, and even inscriptions on spindle-whorls.[202]

Rather than trying to define this category too closely according to type of object, therefore, it may be more useful to focus upon the ways in which writing was used in non-monumental contexts. In general, inscriptions began to be used on different types of objects as the complexity and scale of their economic production and distribution increased. The content of inscriptions varied, providing information during the manufacturing process, identifying an object's place of origin, aiding distribution, verifying the quality and quantity of the object and/or its contents, and asserting ownership. Some individual objects, such as an *amphora* or a metal ingot might display a whole sequence of inscriptions relating to different stages of its lifetime, from production and distribution to purchase and ownership.[203] Inscriptions might also play an integral part in the object's function, as in the case of weights and measures, and, in a slightly different way, in transforming something into a love-token. Our picture of the uses of writing is complicated by the fact that inscriptions could take similar forms (for example an abbreviated name stamped in the genitive case) on different types of object, but not necessarily fulfil the same function. This is even true of a single category of object: stamps and graffiti on ingots of different metals appear to have served quite different functions.[204] Furthermore, inscriptions on a particular category of object might perform different functions over time, as happened in the case of bricks.[205] It is not always clear what the function of a particular inscription was, nor did all objects in any particular category bear inscriptions. In the case of *fistulae* (water-pipes), for example, the lack of uniformity in stamping indicates that it was not a legal requirement to do so, but must represent a choice on someone's part.[206]

---

[201] W. V. Harris, 'Concerning this book', in *The Inscribed Economy: Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of* instrumentum domesticum, ed. W. V. Harris (1993: *JRA* Supplement 6: Ann Arbor) 7–9, at 7.

[202] J. C. Fant, 'Ideology, gift, and trade: a distribution model for the Roman imperial marbles', in *The Inscribed Economy: Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of* instrumentum domesticum, ed. W. V. Harris (1993: *JRA* Supplement 6: Ann Arbor) 145–70; C. Domergue, 'Production et commerce des métaux dans le monde romain: l'exemple des métaux hispaniques d'après l'épigraphie des lingots', in *Epigrafia della produzione e della distribuzione* (1994: *CÉFR* 193: Rome) 61–91; M. Dondin-Payre, 'Épigraphie et acculturation: l'apport des fusaïoles inscrites', in *Le monde romain à travers l'épigraphie: méthodes et pratiques*, eds. J. Desmulliez and C. Hoët-Van Cauwenberghe (2005: Université Charles-de-Gaulle Lille III: Villeneuve d'Ascq) 133–46.

The first use of writing upon a whole variety of manufactured goods related to the manufacturing process itself. Inscriptions were often (but not invariably) added to tiles, bricks, lamps, *amphorae*, *dolia*, fine tableware, glassware, metalware, metal ingots, and *fistulae* before the object entered its final stage of production. The inscriptions themselves were commonly in the form of stamps, since they were repeatedly reproduced on objects manufactured en masse, but graffiti were also used more informally by craftsmen at La Graufesenque in southern Gaul (AD 40–100) in order to keep track of batches of pottery entering the kilns, prompted by the large scale of production at that particular site.[207] Furthermore, the mass of stamped material there has pointed away from a simple one-to-one identification of name and individual craftsman, since some marks were used over long periods of time – fifty years or so – suggesting that the stamps should not be regarded as illustrating an individual craftsman's productivity, but instead were more like trademarks associated with the production of a particular workshop.[208] Stamps were essentially technical inscriptions, in abbreviated formats, usually for a specialist audience consisting of those involved in the manufacturing process (although some manufacturer stamps also seem promotional in tone: see below).[209] Manufacturer stamps were not used by all workshops, with workshops in different locations in Italy and the provinces adopting the practice of stamping at different times; nor were all of the objects produced by a particular workshop stamped. The following is designed to give a flavour of the considerable debate that continues over the purpose of stamping the various products, focusing upon brick-stamps and stamps upon lead pipes since these two categories adopted distinct epigraphic practices.[210]

---

[203] D. Manacorda and C. Panella, 'Anfore', in *The Inscribed Economy: Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of* instrumentum domesticum, ed. W. V. Harris (1993: *JRA* Supplement 6: Ann Arbor) 55–64; Domergue, 'Production et commerce' (above, n.202).

[204] Domergue, 'Production et commerce' (above, n.202).

[205] D. Manacorda, 'I diversi significati dei bolli laterizi: appunti e riflessioni', in *La brique antique et médiévale: production et commercialisation d'un matériau*, eds. P. Bourheron, H. Broise, and Y. Thébert (2000: *CÉFR* 272: Rome) 127–59.

[206] The actual content of inscriptions on *fistulae* does not cohere with what Frontinus (*Aq.* 105.4–5) has to say about the legal requirement to stamp *fistulae* with their size: Bruun, *Water Supply* (above, n.28) 39–62.

[207] R. Marichal, *Les graffites de La Graufesenque* (1988: *Gallia* Supplement 47: Paris); W. V. Harris, 'Between archaic and modern: some current problems in the history of the Roman economy',

By the second century AD, brick-stamps typically provided information about the estate where the brick was produced (*praedium*), the location of the claypits (*figlinae*, which can sometimes also mean 'workshop'), and the names of the *officinator* ('workshop manager') in charge of the production process and of the *dominus* ('landlord') who owned the claypits.[211] The

---

in *The Inscribed Economy: Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of* instrumentum domesticum, ed. W. V. Harris (1993: *JRA* Supplement 6: Ann Arbor) 11–29, at 16.

[208] M. Genin, ed., *La Graufesenque (Millau, Aveyron)*, vol. II, *Sigillées lisses et autres productions* (2007: Fédération Aquitania: Pessac) 347.

[209] W. V. Harris, '*Instrumentum domesticum* and Roman literacy', in *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3–6 sept. 1991 habiti*, eds. H. Solin, O. Salomies, and U.-M. Liertz (1995: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 104: Helsinki) 19–27, at 22.

[210] The possible functions of stamps on different types of goods are discussed by contributors in W. V. Harris, ed., *The Inscribed Economy. Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of* instrumentum domesticum (1993: *JRA* Supplement 6: Ann Arbor); D. Manacorda, 'Appunti sulla bollatura in età romana', 37–54; Manacorda and Panella, 'Anfore' (above, n.203); C. Pavolini, 'I bolli sulle lucerne fittili delle officine centro-italiche', 65–72; G. Pucci, 'I bolli sulla terra sigillata: fra epigrafia e storia economica', 73–9; M. Sternini, 'I vetri', 81–94; M. Steinby, 'L'organizzazione produttiva dei laterizi: un modello interpretativo per l'*instrumentum* in genere?', 139–43. See also A. Giovannini and P. Maggi, 'Marchi di fabbrica su strigili ad Aquileia', in *Epigrafia della produzione e della distribuzione* (1994: *CÉFR* 193: Rome) 609–43.

[211] For the definition of these terms, see J. Bodel, *Roman Brick Stamps in the Kelsey Museum* (1983: University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor) 3–4; C. Bruun, 'La ricerca sui bolli laterizi: presentazione generale delle varie problematiche', in *Interpretare i bolli laterizi di Roma e della Valle del Tevere: produzione, storia economica e topografica*, ed. C. Bruun (2005: *ActaInstRomFin* 32: Rome) 3–24.

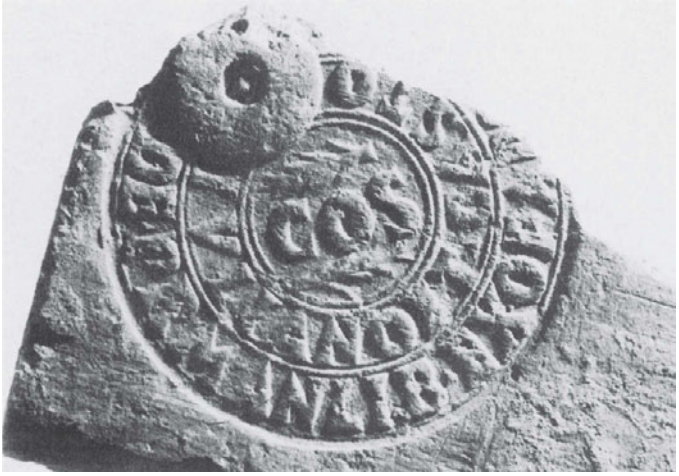
officinator might be a slave or freedman of the *dominus*, or independent of him/her. The most influential recent theory about why brick-stamps were used views them primarily as allowing the producer to keep track of bricks being made by different contractors: in this view, stamps during the second century AD were in effect an abbreviated version of the contract between the *dominus* ('landlord') and the *officinator* ('workshop manager'), whereby a contract would be made for the manufacture of an agreed quantity of bricks.[212] This could be explained in terms of kiln use, since a kiln might be used by more than one *officinator*. Furthermore, since a single *officinator* might hold different contracts with different *domini*, and since likewise an individual *dominus* might enter into contracts with more than one *officinator*, it would be necessary to stamp the batches of bricks being fired together in a single kiln, to enable them to be assigned to the correct *dominus* at the end of the manufacturing process. On this view, then, brick-stamps were designed to allow the various users of a kiln to keep track of their bricks. Furthermore, the practice of including a consular date on brick-stamps, which was particularly common in the environs of Rome between AD 123 and 164, has been variously interpreted as certifying that the bricks had been properly seasoned before use, as a form of quality control, or as relating to internal stock control. The last of these is most likely since including the precise day of production alongside the year would not have been necessary if the concern was only about seasoning.[213] It would also fit with the fact that the use of consular dates seems to have been a feature of the larger brick-producers, and that its use corresponded to a period of major over-production compared with demand. This theory fits less well, however, with the observation that the sudden adoption of consular dates by multiple producers in AD 123 would seem to imply the introduction of some kind of central regulation requiring this to be done.[214]

---

[212] M. Steinby, 'I senatori e l'industria laterizia urbana', in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* (1982: *Tituli* 4: Edizioni di Studi e Letteratura: Rome) 227–37; 'L'organizzazione produttiva dei laterizi' (above, n.210); and 'L'industria laterizia di Roma nel tardo impero', in *Società romana e impero tardoantico*, vol. II, *Roma: politica, economia, paesaggio urbano*, ed. A. Giardina (1986: Laterza: Rome) 99–164, esp. 99–102 and 156–7 arguing that brick-stamps were still used to represent contracts during late antiquity.

[213] Manacorda, 'Appunti sulla bollatura' (above, n.210) 46–9.

[214] H. Bloch, *I bolli laterizi e la storia edilizia romana* (1968: Bretschneider: Rome, repr. of 1947) 320–27; and 'The Serapeum of Ostia and the brick-stamps of 123 A.D.: a new landmark in the history of Roman architecture', *AJA* 63.3 (1959) 225–40, at 234–8.



(a)

CIL XV *S* 146 COMPL

◯ DE PR M AN LIB EX OF A P[ON CLOD]

IVLIANO ET CASTO a 127–134

>>>>>
palma s

COS

<<<<<
palma d

De pr(aedis) M An(ni) Lib(onis) ex of(icina) A P[on(ti) Clod(iani)] Iuliano et Casto cos.

(b)

Fig. 2.17 Brick-stamp – *CIL* XV suppl. 146 (from J. C. Anderson, Jr, *The Thomas Ashby Collection of Roman Brick Stamps in the American Academy in Rome* (1991: British School at Rome: London) 122 no. 317 + pl. XII fig. 74; inv. 8750)

42 Brick-stamp: Fig. 2.17

CIL XV Suppl. 146

J. C. Anderson, Jr, *The Thomas Ashby Collection of Roman Brick Stamps in the American Academy in Rome* (1991: British School at Rome: London) 122 no. 317 + pl. XII fig. 74; inv. 8750.

De pr(aedis) M(arci) An(ni) Lib(onis) ex of(ficina) A(uli) P[on(ti) Clod(iani)] / Iuliano et Casto / co(n)s(ulibus)

'From the estate of Marcus Annius Libo from the workshop of Aulus Pontius Clodianus. In the consulship of Iulianus and Castus.'

This brick-stamp is of unknown provenance, but must have originated in the neighbourhood of Rome. In form it is an orbicular stamp (diameter 10.4 cm, letters height 0.9–1.2 cm), with three lines of text. It is typical of the Hadrianic period, identifying *dominus* and *officinator* (the latter by name and symbol), and including a consular date naming suffect consuls probably for some year between AD 127 and 134. The estate-owner was the high-ranking senator, M. Annius Libo (*PIR*^{2} A 667), consul in AD 128. The word *COS* in the centre of the stamp is framed by two palm branches.

On the whole, therefore, bricks were stamped primarily for the benefit of producers, to allow them to keep track of the manufacturing process, and ceased to serve any function once they were sold.

Inscriptions were applied to *fistulae* usually during the manufacturing process.[215] In contrast to the mass manufacture of bricks and tiles, it seems most likely that a pipe-manufacturer would travel around to the locations where the pipes were needed and manufacture them on the spot. This means that inscriptions relating to manufacturing on lead pipes cannot readily be explained as a response to the need to organize multiple batches of pipes being manufactured all together in a central workshop.[216] Nevertheless, abbreviated names are found in nominative, genitive, and (more rarely) dative cases. The stamps that related to the production process itself contained names in the nominative (indicating the identity of the *plumbarius* or pipe-manufacturer), and genitive (sc. *sub cura* – 'under the management of' – or *ex officina* – 'from the workshop of'), which indicated an official overseeing the installation of the water-supply and the manufacturer of the pipe (or owner of the workshop where it was manufactured) respectively.[217] The lack of overlap between names on *fistulae* at Ostia and the names of local elite families as known from monumental inscriptions suggests that a name in the genitive is more likely to record the manufacturer of the pipe than the owner of the property where it was installed.[218]

Besides appearing on manufactured goods, inscriptions also played an important role in ensuring imperial control over valuable raw materials. Typically, quarry marks, scratched directly onto the surface of marble blocks, included a consular date, the abbreviated names of the personnel responsible

---

[215] Bruun, *Water Supply* (above, n.28).

[216] C. Bruun, 'Private munificence in Italy and the evidence from lead pipe stamps', in *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3–6 sept. 1991 habiti*, eds. H. Solin, O. Salomies, and U.-M. Liertz (1995: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 104: Helsinki) 41–58, at 43 n.6.

[217] J.-J. Aubert, 'Workshop managers', in *The Inscribed Economy: Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of* instrumentum domesticum, ed. W. V. Harris (1993: *JRA* Supplement 6: Ann Arbor) 171–81.

[218] Bruun, *Water Supply* (above, n.28) 286–93.

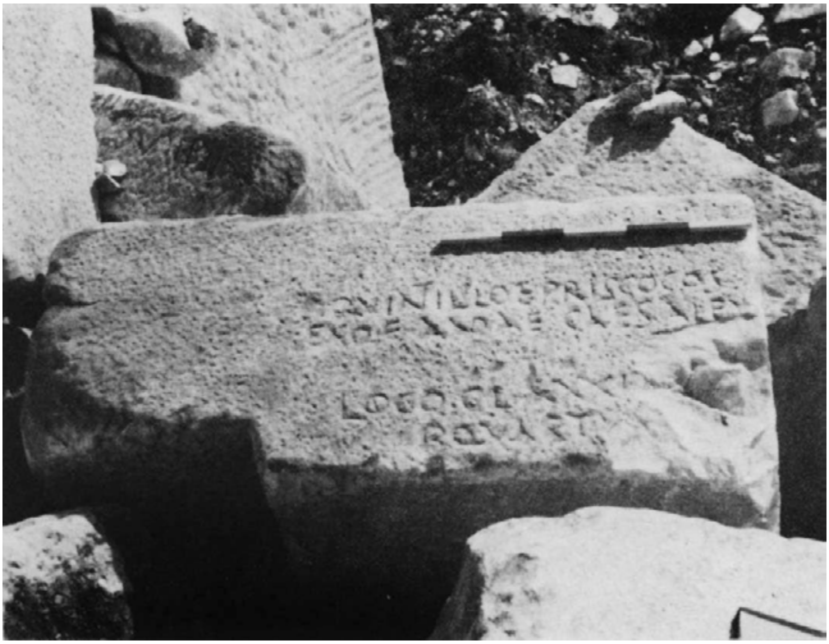


Fig. 2.18 Quarry-mark from Phrygia – *AÉpigr* (1994) 1690 (from J. C. Fant, Cavum antrum Phrygiae: *The Organization and Operations of the Roman Imperial Marble Quarries in Phrygia* (1989: British Archaeological Reports International Series 482: Oxford) no. 137, fig. 86)

for quarrying and checking the block, and identified where the block had come from within the quarry.

43 Quarry-mark from Phrygia: Fig. 2.18

AÉpigr (1994) 1690

J. C. Fant, Cavum antrum Phrygiae: *The Organization and Operations of the Roman Imperial Marble Quarries in Phrygia* (1989: British Archaeological Reports International Series 482: Oxford) no. 137, fig. 86; T. Drew-Bear, ‘Nouvelles inscriptions de Dokimeion’, *MÉFRA* 106 (1994) 747–844, at 803–4 no. 30 + fig. 30.

Quin̂tillo êt Prisco co(n)s(ulibus) / ex of(ficina) An̂dae caes(ura) Alex(andri) / (vac.) / *loco CLXXXII / b(racchio) quart(o)*

‘In the consulship of Quintillus and Priscus. From the workshop of Anda, extracted by Alexander. From site 182, 4th branch.’

This quarry-mark (letters height 4–5 cm) naming the consuls of AD 159 was found on a small block (height 55 cm, width 128 cm, depth 47 cm) among debris at the quarry at Docimium in central Phrygia, which produced the pale yellow marble with purple veins known as pavonazzetto.

These inscriptions occurred from the second century AD for the purposes of stockpiling and stock-checking to meet the demands of imperial building-projects around the empire, and were used in the imperial quarries which were producing the highest quality polychrome and white marbles.[219] The use of inscriptions was designed to meet the demand to be able to identify columns and blocks of the correct size for shipment to particular locations for use in specific buildings, and a block might even be labelled with its intended destination, as is the case with black marble blocks at Lepcis Magna: *dimittendus i[n sp]lendidissimam coloniam Leptim Magnam iussu Fulvi Plautiani c(larissimi) v(iri) praef(ecti) praet(orio) ac [ne]cessari dominorum nostrorum* ('For dispatch to the most splendid colony of Leptis Magna by command of Fulvius Plautianus, most distinguished senator, praetorian prefect, and relation of our lords').[220] Some marks at the Mons Claudianus quarry (Egypt) also appear to indicate the order in which blocks should be taken away from the quarry.[221] Stamps on metal ingots could serve a similar purpose, protecting and documenting the imperial monopoly over the exploitation of mines, as shown by stamps on lead pigs from the Mendip Hills (Somerset) in Britain, which bear the titles of Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus.[222] The information recorded in inscriptions added to copper ingots after they had been produced – weight, name of imperial official in charge (slave or procurator), and sometimes place of origin – appear designed to enable control over their distribution rather than production.[223]

---

[219] J. C. Fant, 'Ideology, gift, and trade: a distribution model for the Roman imperial marbles', in *The Inscribed Economy: Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of* instrumentum domesticum, ed. W. V. Harris (1993: *JRA* Supplement 6: Ann Arbor) 145–70; H. Dodge and B. Ward-Perkins, *Marble in Antiquity: Collected Papers of J. B. Ward-Perkins* (1992: Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome 6: London) 26–9; J. C. Fant, Cavum antrum Phrygiae: *The Organization and Operations of the Roman Imperial Marble Quarries in Phrygia* (1989: British Archaeological Reports International Series 482: Oxford).

[220] *IRT2009* 530a–b.

[221] D. P. S. Peacock, 'The Roman quarries of Mons Claudianus, Egypt: an interim report', in *Classical Marble: Geochemistry, Technology, Trade*, eds. N. Herz and M. Waelkens (1988: Kluwer: Dordrecht) 97–101, at 100.

[222] *RIB* II 2404.1, 3/24, 4–13, 14–15, 16–18, 19–22.

[223] C. Domergue, *Les mines de la péninsule ibérique dans l'antiquité romaine* (1990: CÉFR 127: Rome) 286–7.

Other inscriptions were independent of the object on which they were written (often in paint or ink), and instead related to its contents: this is the case for the *amphorae* and other pottery vessels used for transporting foodstuffs, and for the *dolia* that stored them. In particular, the complex demands of the Roman *annona*-system (taxation of consumables) resulted in an equally complex set of inscriptions upon the *amphorae* used to transport goods to Rome or to military units stationed around the empire, particularly on the Baetican olive oil containers (type Dressel 20) found in abundance on Monte Testaccio in Rome.[224] The fiscal status of the oil was explicitly recorded on the *amphorae* from at least AD 218, when the regular formula was *fisci rationis patrimoni / provinciae Baeticae* (or sometimes *Tarraconensis*).[225] The texts were highly abbreviated, and were designed to be comprehensible only to a limited audience of those involved in the tax system, whether provincial suppliers or state officials. The following types of inscriptions, written in black ink on different parts of the transport vessel, and nowadays conventionally designated with Greek letters, represented the official record of the *amphora* and its contents [Fig. 2.19]:[226]

- α, on the neck of the vessel: numerals specifying the *amphora*'s weight when empty
- β, high up on its belly: name(s) of the merchant(s) who purchased the *amphorae* and their contents and shipped them (variously, *navicularius/mercator/negotiator/diffusor*); during the third century, these personal names were replaced by reference to *ratio fisci*
- γ, towards the centre of the belly: numerals indicating the weight of oil
- δ, on the right handle: name in the nominative case of the *acceptor* who supervised the filling of the *amphorae*, preceded by *acc(epit)* and *g(ustavit)*; origin of the oil, naming the estate where it had been produced; weight of

---

[224] Full excavation reports in J. M. Blázquez Martínez and J. Remesal Rodríguez, eds., *Estudios sobre el Monte Testaccio (Roma)*, vols. I–V (1999–2010: Instrumenta nos. 6/10/14/24/35 Universitat de Barcelona). Shorter analyses in E. Rodríguez-Almeida, 'Graffiti e produzione anforaria della Baetica', in *The Inscribed Economy: Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of* instrumentum domesticum, ed. W. V. Harris (1993: *JRA* Supplement 6: Ann Arbor) 95–106; also 'Scavi sul Monte Testaccio: novità dai *tituli picti*', in *Epigrafia della produzione e della distribuzione* (1994: *CÉFR* 193: Rome) 111–31.

[225] *CIL* XV 4097–140.

[226] E. Rodríguez Almeida, *Il Monte Testaccio: ambiente, storia, materiali* (1984: Quasar: Rome) 175–251; B. Liou and A. Tchernia, 'L'interprétation des inscriptions sur les amphores Dressel 20', in *Epigrafia della produzione e della distribuzione* (1994: CÉFR 193: Rome) 133–56; J. Remesal Rodríguez and A. Aguilera Martín 'Los *tituli picti*', in *Estudios sobre el Monte Testaccio (Roma)*, vol. II, eds. J. M. Blázquez Martínez and J. Remesal Rodríguez (2001: Instrumenta no. 10: Universitat de Barcelona) 45–203; cf. vol. III (2003) 31–256, vol. IV (2007) 27–158, vol. V (2010) 41–166.

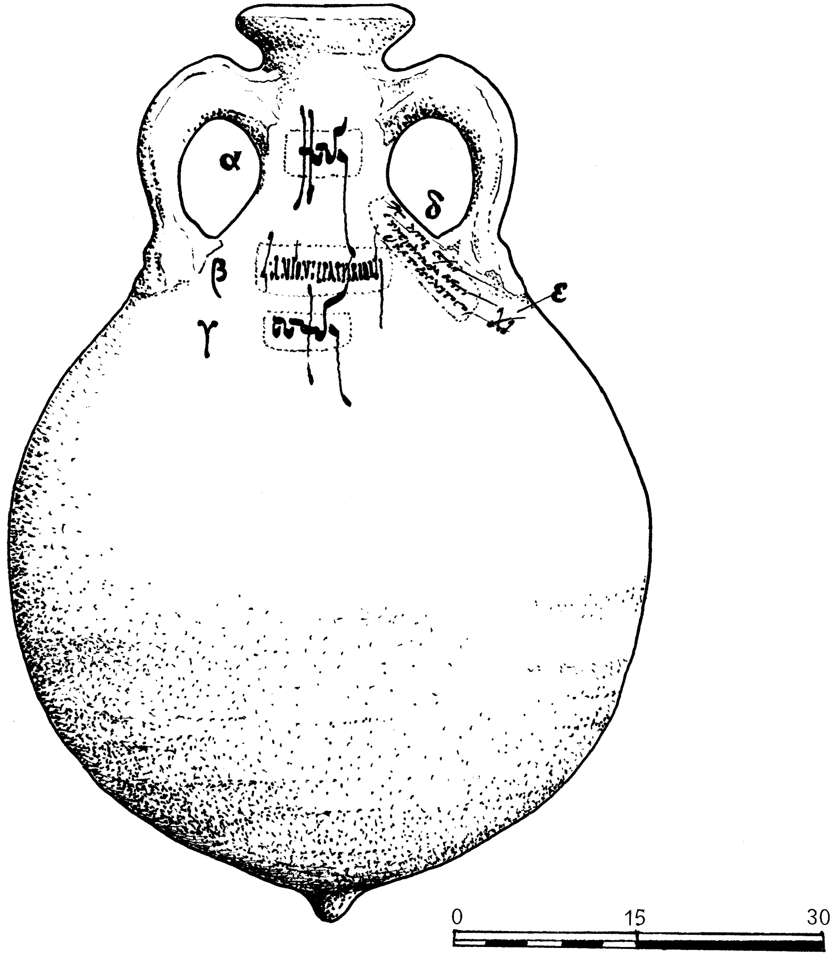


Fig. 2.19 Dressel 20 *amphora* (from E. Rodríguez Almeida, *Il Monte Testaccio: ambiente, storia, materiali* (1984: Quasar: Rome) 176 fig. 71)

oil and name of the measurer (*ponderator*) who had verified it; consular date

- ε, numerals of unclear significance (only sometimes included).

In this way, a standard set of inscriptions documented the quantity and origin of the oil and its shipping. In addition, other marks appear with less regularity: annotations that seem added at a later point sometimes also appear in red paint, perhaps relating to warehouse storage, and in bluish-black, perhaps added when the amphorae were being unloaded at the harbour.[227] The use of labels in this way for regulating the supply of olive oil for taxation was a particular characteristic of Baetica; painted labels on the North African *amphorae* that were the successors to the Baetican ones were used much less regularly and in a simpler format, even though they were also a major part of the *annona*-system.[228] This suggests that the use of inscriptions in this context was not imposed by central authorities at Rome, but was a local response on the part of the traders of Baetica to the demands of the taxation system, and was perhaps designed as much to protect the provincial traders as to reassure the authorities that they were receiving their due.

44 Painted inscriptions on an *amphora* from Monte Testaccio

CIL XV 3721

(α) XCIII
(β) *L Antoni Plebeiani*
(γ) CCXVS
(δ) *r(ecensitum) Aurelio Caesare I[II et Commodo II cos] / Salsense Clarini / ac(cepit) Alexa[nder]*

(α) '93'
(β) 'Of Lucius Antonius Plebeianus'
(γ) '215½'
(δ) 'Checked in the consulship of Aurelius Caesar for the third time and Commodus for the second; Salsensis oil of Clarinus; Alexander received (it)'

The whole sequence of painted inscriptions has been preserved upon this *amphora* found on Monte Testaccio in Rome. It had been exported by L. Antonius Plebeianus (β) in AD 161 (δ, l.1) and it contained oil from a *fundus Salsensis*, whose owner was Clarinus (δ, l.2). The oil had been approved by an official named Alexander (δ, l.3), who had presumably also verified its weight:[229] traces of numerals are visible at the end of text δ.

---

[227] Rodríguez Almeida, *Il Monte Testaccio* (above, n.226) 181–4.

[228] For inscriptions on African *amphorae* found at Monte Testaccio: J. Remesal Rodríguez and A. Aguilera Martín 'Los *tituli picti* sobre ánforas olearias norteafricanas', in *Estudios sobre el Monte Testaccio (Roma)*, vol. III, eds. J. M. Blázquez Martínez and J. Remesal Rodríguez (2003: Instrumenta no. 14/Universitat de Barcelona) 257–93; cf. vol. IV (2007) 159–72.

[229] Expanding *R* as *r(ecensitum)*, not *r(ecognitum)*: Rodríguez Almeida, *Il Monte Testaccio* (above, n.226) 235.

This complex system of multiple abbreviated texts, each serving a different function, was essentially intended to guard against fraud, perhaps on the part of Roman officials and provincial suppliers alike. Although, therefore, the taxation system generated a large proportion of such inscriptions, similar labels could be used to guarantee the soundness of commercial transactions between private individuals too, as stated in the legal code: *si vas aliquod mihi vendideris et dixeris certam mensuram capere vel certum pondus habere, ex empto tecum agam, si minus praestes* ('If you sell me a vessel with the specification that it has a definite capacity or is of a definite weight, I may sue on the purchase if you fall short').[230]

Inscriptions might act as guarantees for the quality and quantity of a whole variety of goods. Some such inscriptions might be directed towards private consumers, as in the case of manufacturers' marks stamped upon leather shoes and sandals, such as a lady's sandal found at Vindolanda (modern Chesterholm, Northumberland, Britain), stamped three times on the sole with the text *L(ucius) Aeb(utius) / Thales T(iti) f(ilius)* ('Lucius Aebutius Thales, son of Titus, made this').[231] In other cases, inscriptions were intended for officialdom: in the case of lead ingots, numerals indicated the extent to which an individual ingot fell short of or exceeded the ideal weight of 100 lb: such information was necessary for taxation purposes.[232] Numerals on *fistulae*, by contrast, served a variety of functions, sometimes indicating the weight of the pipe or its capacity, but in other cases indicating where the pipe belonged within a water-supply network.[233] Inscriptions might also record the fact that a set of weights and measures had been officially authorized. Various types of measures have been found in different parts of Italy with inscriptions stating that they have been authenticated as being in conformity with standardized weights and measures, sometimes explicitly at Rome itself.[234] For example, a bronze pot was inscribed *Imp(eratore) Caesare / Vespas(iano) VI / T(ito) Caes(are) Aug(usti) f(ilio) IIII co(n)s(ulibus) / mensurae / exactae in / Capitolio p(ondo) (decem)* ('In the consulship of Imperator Caesar Vespasian for the sixth time and Titus

---

[230] *Dig.* 19.1.6.4: T. Mommsen and P. Krueger, eds., *The Digest of Justinian*, trans. A. Watson (1985: University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia).

[231] *RIB* II 2445, 6. Cf. G. Baratta, '*Pelles scriptae*: Inschriften auf Leder und Lederwaren', in *Instrumenta Inscripta Latina*, vol. II, eds. M. Hainzmann and R. Wedenig (2008: Verlag des Geschichtsvereines für Kärnten: Klagenfurt) 1–23.

[232] Domergue, 'Production et commerce' (above, n.202) 79.

[233] Bruun, *Water Supply* (above, n.28) 51.

[234] *ILS* 8627–34; cf. Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina* (above, n.33) 316 no. 101 for a set of eight bronze weights from Aquileia; *AÉpigr* (1940) 38 + (1955) 167, Trajanic bronze weight with silver-encrusted lettering, testifying that it has been authorised by the prefect of the *annona* (Ostia).

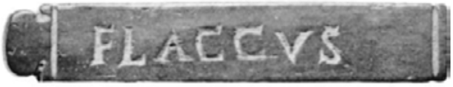


Fig. 2.20 A *tessera nummularia* from Rome – *ILLRP* 1026 = *CIL*^{2} I 911 (from J. Babelon, 'Les tessères consulaires ou "tesserae nummulariae" du Cabinet des Médailles', *Aréthuse* 5 (1928) pl. II no. 15)

Caesar son of Augustus for the fourth time, measures verified on the Capitol: 10 pounds').[235] Similar use of inscriptions for accountability is found on *tesserae nummulariae* ('financial tokens'). This is the term used of small rectangular rods of bone or ivory, a few centimetres in length, pierced with a hole, presumably so that they could be attached to a money-bag.[236] They typically had inscriptions on each of their four faces, with the names of a slave and his master (an individual man or woman, or a company of tax-collectors/*socii*) on two of the sides (or occasionally the name of a citizen). This named individual was the one responsible for having checked the contents of the money-bag. Another side usually has the word *spectavit* in an abbreviated format ('has examined'), and lastly came a date.

45 A *tessera nummularia* from Rome: Fig. 2.20

ILLRP 1026 = *CIL*^{2} I 911

J. Babelon, 'Les tessères consulaires ou "tesserae nummulariae" du Cabinet des Médailles', *Aréthuse* 5 (1928) 6–18, at 15 no. 9 + pl. II no. 15.

Flaccus / Rabiri (servus) / sp(ectavit) k(alendis) Apr(ilibus) / D(ecimo) Sil(ano) L(ucio) Mur(ena) (consulibus)

'Flaccus, (slave) of Rabirius has examined (this) on 1st April, in the consulship of Decimus Silanus and Lucius Murena.'

This token dates from 62 BC.

In contrast to the weights and measures, the tokens themselves were not the authenticated object, but the contents of the money-bag to which they were originally attached. The vast majority of them are dated to the late Republic and early Principate and were found in the city of Rome; several have been found elsewhere in Italy, but only six in various provinces. The inscription was clearly designed to certify something about the sum of money, perhaps before it was then deposited for safe-keeping somewhere or before it changed hands, but it is unclear whether it is verifying only the quality and authenticity of the coins, or also their quantity. What is clear is that the inscribed token acted as a guarantee to the recipient of the money-bag, and it is likely that the tokens circulated for money transfers only among a small group of financiers (perhaps specifically tax-collectors, as Andreau argues), who could trust the system.

---

[235] *ILS* 8628.

[236] *ILLRP* 987–1063; J. Andreau, *Banking and Business in the Roman World*, trans. J. Lloyd (1999: Cambridge University Press) ch. 7.

In such cases, the inscription was essential to the object's function, and the same harmony between form, text, and function is also true of slave-collars (extant examples being a feature of late antiquity, dating from Constantine to Honorius), intended to identify slaves as runaways in order to ensure their speedy return to their masters. Typical formulae state *tene me ne fugiam* ('keep hold of me to prevent me from escaping') and *revoca me* ('send me back to . . . '), with some topographical indicator.[237] Finally, love-tokens: gifts with messages, hopeful of affections reciprocated; brooches with the message *pignus amore escipe* ('receive a token with love'), inscribed on the letter *P*, from Walferdingen-Helmsingen in Luxembourg; or, from Bavaria, *ama / me / dulcis amo* ('love me, darling; I love (you)').[238] Similar sentiments are found on rings, mirrors, pottery and glass vessels, spoons, and cake moulds.

Other inscriptions may have served a promotional function. It was common practice for *amphorae* to be labelled with a description of their contents, sometimes also recording a consular date to identify the vintage in the case of high-quality wine: *Fal(ernum) Mas(sicum) / Q(uinto) Lutatio / C(aio) Mario co(n)s(ulibus)* ('Falernian from the Massican mountain. In the consulship of Quintus Lutatius and Gaius Marius').[239] In many cases, this may well have been simply an objective description for practical purposes, but the case of Umbricius Scaurus at Pompeii (above, no. 21) suggests that we may not be over-modernizing to suspect marketing objectives in at least some cases. In the case of lead ingots, for instance, the fact that not all stamps were necessary for taxation purposes perhaps suggests that their stamps were intended as advertisement for a particular production unit.[240] A stronger case, though, is represented by fineware manufactured at Puteoli, but stamped *Aretio* ('Arretine'), apparently a case of an enterprising craftsman muscling in on the reputation for excellence held by Arretine ware.[241] Finally, it is hard not to suspect some kind of self-promotion or customer reassurance on the part of eye ointments labelled with details of the cures they might effect as well as with simple descriptions of their contents. For example, one of the stamps of T. Vindacius Ariovistus describes the ointment as *anicet(um)* ('infallible salve').[242] It is a feature of the north-western provinces that labels were impressed upon ointment by small stone inscribed blocks, known as oculist or (more accurately) *collyrium* stamps (so as to emphasize their use rather than ownership). These consist of small rectangular blocks of stone incised on one side in retrograde letters with the name of the medic, and on the other with a description of the salve and sometimes specifying the ailment to be treated with it.[243] These stamps produced a text in a positive impression upon solid cakes or sticks of ointment. A single oculist might have a stamp bearing different labels for different treatments.

---

[237] *ILS* 8726–32; *CIL* XV 7172–98; survey by D. L. Thurmond, 'Some Roman slave collars in *CIL*', *Athenaeum* 82 (1994) 459–93.

[238] G. E. Thüry, 'Die erotischen Inschriften des *instrumentum domesticum*: ein Überblick', in *Instrumenta Inscripta Latina*, vol. II, eds. M. Hainzmann and R. Wedenig (2008: Verlag des Geschichtsvereines für Kärnten: Klagenfurt) 295–304, at 295–7, with Abb. 1, 3.

[239] Falernian wine from 102 BC, found at Rome: *ILS* 8579 = *CIL* XV 4554 = *ILLRP* 1181; Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina* (above, n.33) 296 no. 91.

46 *Collyrium* stamp: Fig. 2.21

J. Voinot, *Les cachets à collyres dans le monde romain* (1999: Monographies *instrumentum* 7: Éditions Monique Mergoil: Montagnac) no. 251; A. C. Floriano, 'Aportaciones arqueológicas a la historia de la medicina romana', *Archivo español de arqueología* (1941) 415–33.

AROUND THE SIX EDGES:

(a) *C [C] Fortunati / melin(um) ad calig(inem)*
(b) *C C Fortunati / psoric(um) ad clar(itatem)*
(c) *C C Fortunati / stact(um) ad scab(rities)*
(d) *C C Fortunati / nard(inum) ad impet(um)*
(e) *C C Fortunati / crocod(es) ad asp[r](itudinem)*
(f) *C C Fortunati / thurin(um) ad papu(las)*

---

[240] Domergue, 'Production et commerce' (above, n.202) 73.

[241] G. Pucci, 'Le terre sigillate italiche, galliche e orientali', in *L'instrumentum domesticum di Ercolano e Pompei nella prima età imperiale*, ed. M. Annecchino *et al.* (1977: Quaderni di cultura materiale 1: Bretschneider: Rome) 9–21, at 12.

[242] *RIB* II 2446, 3c.

[243] *ILS* 8734–42; V. Nutton, 'Roman oculists', *Epigraphica* 34 (1972) 16–29; J. Voinot, *Les cachets à collyres dans le monde romain* (1999: Monographies *instrumentum* 7: Editions Monique Mergoil: Montagnac).

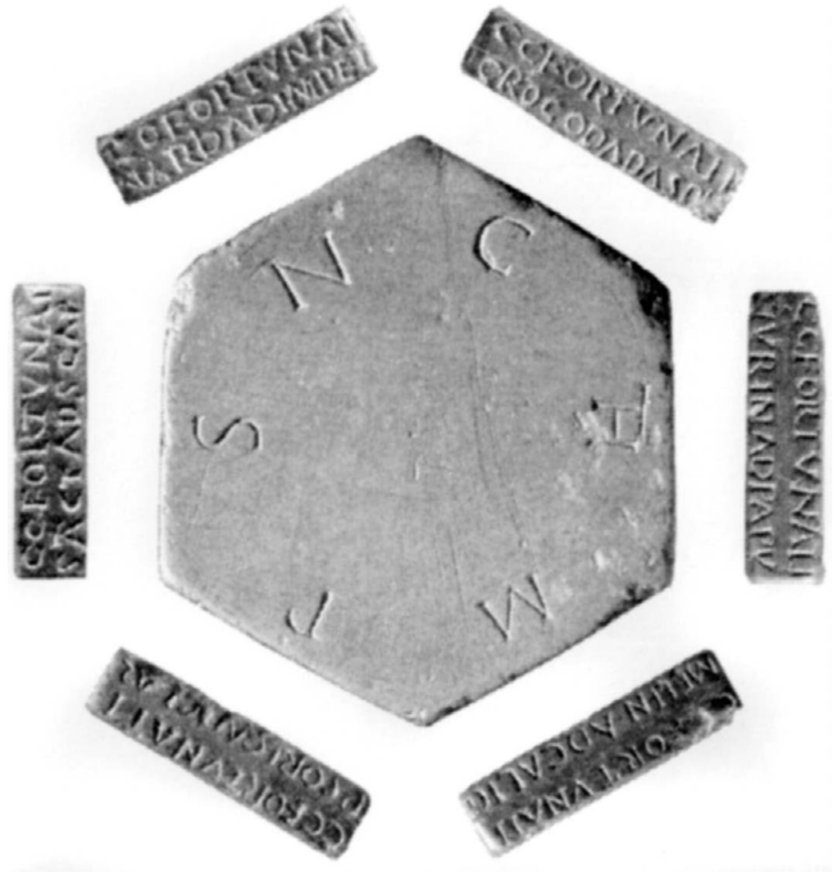


Fig. 2.21 *Collyrium* stamp – Voinot (1999) no. 251 (from J. Voinot, *Les cachets à collyres dans le monde romain* (1999: Monographies *instrumentum* 7: Éditions Monique Mergoil: Montagnac) no. 251)

TOP SURFACE

M(elinum) P(soricum) S(tactum) N(ardinum) C(rocodes) T̂h(urinum)

AROUND THE SIX EDGES

(a) ‘Of C. C. Fortunatus: alum from Melos for dim sight’
(b) ‘Of C. C. Fortunatus: medicament for clear vision’
(c) ‘Of C. C. Fortunatus: drops for inflammation’
(d) ‘Of C. C. Fortunatus: nard-oil salve for vigour’
(e) ‘Of C. C. Fortunatus: saffron salve for trachoma’
(d) ‘Of C. C. Fortunatus: frankincense for pustules’

TOP SURFACE
‘Alum from Melos, Medicament, Drops, Nard-oil salve, Saffron salve, Frankincense’

This hexagonal stamp (7.4 × 6.6 × 0.9 cm) – the only one of its type so far known – was found in the area of Colonia Caesarina Norba (modern Caceres, Spain). It bears stamps relating to six ointments, identified with their initial letter on the top surface of the block, each accompanied by an explanation of the cure it purported to bring.

The reason for the geographical concentration of oculist stamps in north-western provinces may reflect the dependence in those less urbanized areas on pre-prepared ointments issued by itinerant medics, in the absence of specialist eye-doctors. It seems that the stamps might be handed over between individuals, so that although in some cases the name on the stamp represented its owner, in other cases it recorded the name of the ointment’s inventor. Additional inscriptions on some stamps show that the same piece of stone could be used for inscribing stamps relating to the ointments of different individuals.[244] If this is all correct, it supports even more the idea that these stamps were not simply functional, identifying an ointment, but were designed to promote faith in its efficacy as well. It remains mysterious, however, why oculist stamps were also sometimes imprinted upon fineware.[245]

Another function of inscriptions, painted and scratched, on various types of object was to provide information relating to their transportation and distribution, as has already been illustrated in the case of pottery transport vessels. As related earlier, the discovery of *amphorae* in properties whose owners can be documented from other sources illustrates that painted inscriptions could be used as address labels. In a similar way, some stamps named the public building-sites in Rome and Ostia for which the bricks had been produced,[246] whilst lead water-pipes were also occasionally designated for individual buildings, such as the praetorian camp.[247] In such cases, the inscription itself was of use for only a limited space of time, becoming irrelevant upon reaching its designated destination, but shows how writing could be important in coordinating some of the large-scale building projects in the capital.

---

[244] *RIB* II 2446, 11, 22; cf. R. Jackson, ‘A new collyrium stamp from Cambridge and a corrected reading of the stamp from Caistor-by-Norwich’, *Britannia* 21 (1990) 275–83, at 276.

[245] G. C. Boon, ‘Potters, oculists and eye-troubles’, *Britannia* 14 (1983) 1–12.

[246] Rome: *CIL* XV 3 (praetorian camp); Ostia: *CIL* XV 4 (*horrea Postumiana*), *CIL* XIV 5308, 1 (*horrea Mamerciana*): F. Taglietti, ‘Un inedito bollo laterizio ostiense ed il commercio dell’olio betico’, in *Epigrafia della produzione e della distribuzione* (1994: *CÉFR* 193: Rome) 157–93, at 187–90.

[247] *CIL* XV 7239a–d.

Inscriptions might be used to indicate different kinds of ownership rights. In the case of lead pipes, for example, names in the genitive sometimes designated the owner of the right to the water-supply, coincidentally also the property owner.[248] Simply scratching one's name upon an object was a simple way of asserting ownership, whether of a leather shoe or piece of pottery.[249] A wide variety of objects, including wooden barrels, leather goods, foodstuffs, animals, and slaves, must also have been subject to stamping or branding, by applying pressure or heat to metal stamps, which then left an indelible mark of ownership (and in other cases, a manufacturing mark), mainly in the form of abbreviated personal names, but also the names of military units, and symbols and monograms whose meaning is now lost. Although the branded objects themselves rarely survive, metal dies (perhaps misleadingly dubbed 'seals', *signacula*) have been uncovered,[250] and occasional exceptional finds provide a glimpse of the variety of objects subject to branding, including the remains of wooden barrels from various sites in Britain and along the rivers Rhine, Danube, and Rhône.[251] In particular, *signacula* associated with army units suggest that it was common practice for the Roman army to brand items. Such stamps were used not only for indicating ownership, however, but might also function as manufacturing marks, sometimes resembling brick-stamps closely in appearance.[252]

47 A military branding-iron: Figs. 2.22–3

CIL XIII 10023, 1

C. Blümlein, *Bilder aus dem römisch–germanischen Kulturleben* (1918: R. Oldenbourg: Munich) 25 fig. 61; G. Spitzlberger, 'Die römischen

---

[248] Bruun, *Water Supply* (above, n.28) 371.

[249] Baratta, '*Pelles scriptae*' (above, n.231) 10; ownership graffiti were found on items of sigillata ware found associated with shipwreck B at Pisa: *Le navi antiche di Pisa: ad un anno dall'inizio delle ricerche*, ed. S. Bruni (2000: Polistampa: Florence) 235–6, with 238–9, 241–2: figs. 1b, 3b, 12b, 14c, 16b + 249 no. 53, 252 nos. 279–80.

[250] G. Baratta, 'Una particolare categoria di *signacula*: marchi per legno, pellame ed animali', in *XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae: Provinciae Imperii Romani Inscriptionibus Descriptae*, eds. M. Mayer i Olívé, G. Baratta, and A. Guzmán Almagro (2007: Monografies de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica X: Barcelona) 99–108; E. M. Loreti, '*Signacula* bronzei dell'Antiquarium Comunale di Roma', in *Epigrafia della produzione e della distribuzione* (1994: *CÉFR* 193: Rome) 645–53; M. Buonocore, '*Signacula* nel Museo Profano della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana', *Epigraphica* 46 (1984) 158–67.

[251] *RIB* II 2442; G. Baratta, 'Bolli su botti', in *Epigrafia della produzione e della distribuzione* (1994: *CÉFR* 193: Rome) 555–65.

[252] Taglietti, 'Un inedito bollo laterizio ostiense' (above, n.246) 162–9.

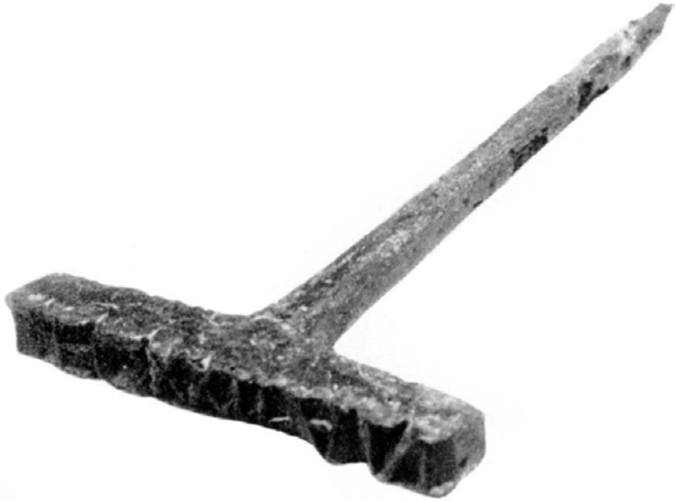


Fig. 2.22 A military branding-iron – *CIL* XIII 10023, 1 (from G. Spitzlberger, 'Die römischen Ziegelstempel im nördlichen Teil der Provinz Raetien', *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 25 (1968) 110 fig. 14)

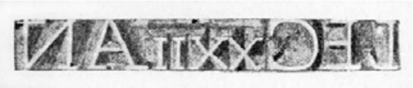


Fig. 2.23 A military branding-iron: close-up of stamp – *CIL* XIII 10023, 1 (from C. Blümlein, *Bilder aus dem römisch–germanischen Kulturleben* (1918: Oldenbourg: Munich) 25 fig. 61)

Ziegelstempel im nördlichen Teil der Provinz Raetien', *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 25 (1968) 65–184 at 110 fig. 14; G. Baratta, 'Una particolare categoria di *signacula*: marchi per legno, pellame ed animali', in *XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae: Provinciae Imperii Romani Inscriptionibus Descriptae*, eds. M. Mayer i Olívé *et al.* (2007: Monografies de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica X: Barcelona) 106 no. 14.

Leg(io) XXII An̂t(oniniana)

'22nd Antonine Legion'

A long-handled branding-iron (letters height 1.5 cm) used by the legion based at Mainz, granted the victory-title Antoniniana by the emperor Caracalla following successful campaigning in Germany.

Not all stamped inscriptions, however, were limited to serving mere practical purposes, and a few appropriated the kind of text more commonly associated with monumental commemorative inscriptions. Very occasionally, *fistulae* inscriptions showed some affinity with building-inscriptions, echoing their language with expressions recording acts of imperial generosity, referring to emperors' *indulgentia* ('indulgence') and *liberalitas* ('generosity').[253] Where emperors appeared in the nominative case, it is likely that they were being named as benefactors,[254] and the same is true of the genitive case too, on the pattern of supplying a phrase like *ex munificentia* ('as a gift').[255]

48 Lead pipe of Gavius Maximus, Ostia: Fig. 2.24

AÉpigr (1995) 246a–b

P. Cicerchia and A. Marinucci, *Scavi di Ostia* XI: *Le terme del foro o di Gavio Massimo* (1992: Libreria dello Stato: Rome) 222 C109 + tav. XIV, fig. 151; C. Bruun, 'Private munificence in Italy and the evidence from lead pipe stamps', in *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3–6 sept. 1991 habiti*, eds. H. Solin, O. Salomies, and U.-M. Liertz (1995: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 104: Helsinki) 41–58, at 58

M(arci) Gavi Maximi pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio) e(minentissimi viri)
Belenius Verus fec(it) ⊂ palma ⊃

l.1 On the pipe appears PR PP E

'Of Marcus Gavius Maximus, praetorian prefect, most eminent. Belenius Verus made (this).' {picture of a palm}

This lead pipe was found in the *palaestra* of the sumptuous Forum Baths (I.xii.6) at Ostia, which covered over 3000 m^2. It supports the contention that the praetorian prefect of Antoninus Pius, M. Gavius Maximus, paid for one of the most impressive bath buildings in the town during the third quarter of the second century AD. This had already been suggested by the partially preserved inscription on fragments of an architrave, which appeared to allude to repairs undertaken at the end of the fourth century on the 'baths of Gavius

---

[253] *CIL* XV 7879 = XIV 3036, Praeneste (Palestrina): *ex indulgentia d.n. Severi / Antonini et [[Gete A]]ugg. L.f.*; *CIL* XV 7772 = XI 3586 Castrum Novum (Torre Chiarucci): *ex liber[al.] Imp. Antonini.*

[254] Pyrgi: *Imp. Hadrianus Aug. Pyrgensibus* = G. Colonna, 'XV – Santa Severa (Roma) – Fistula iscritta da Pyrgi', *NSc* (1960) 363.

[255] Bruun, *Water Supply* (above, n.28) 30–1; 'Private munificence in Italy' (above, n.216).

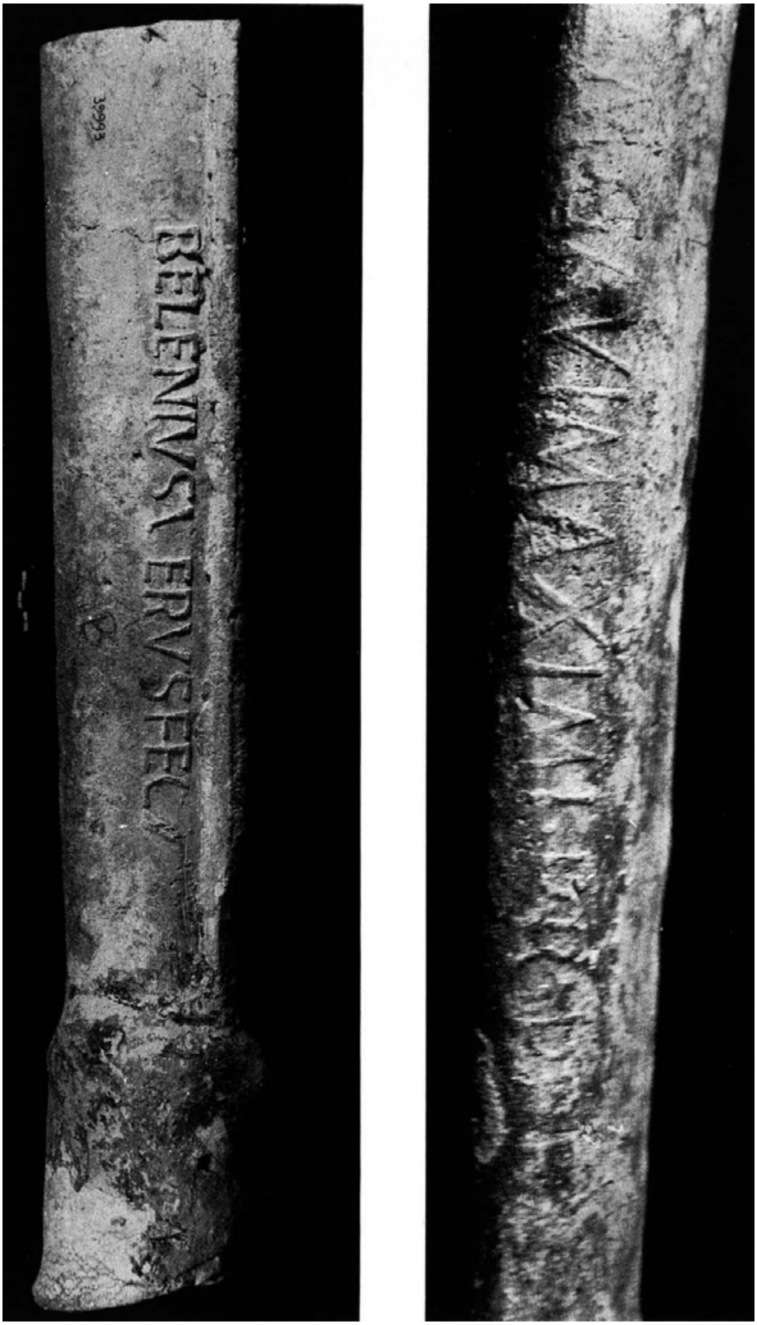


Fig. 2.24 Lead pipe of Gavius Maximus, Ostia – *AÉpigr* (1995) 246a–b (from P. Cicerchia and A. Marinucci, *Scavi di Ostia*, vol. XI, *Le terme del foro o di Gavio Massimo* (1992: Libreria dello Stato: Rome) tav. XIV, fig. 151)

Maximus'.[256] This seems more likely than the alternative interpretation of a text in the genitive, which would make Gavius Maximus owner of the water-conduit, and, by extension, the property. It also names the *plumbarius*, who manufactured the pipe.

Some brick-stamps during the sixth century acquired a commemorative function and this continued into the mediaeval period. This use of brick-stamps had been foreshadowed in some very rare examples from the late Republic. Euergetistic stamps on bricks, lead pipes, and tiles have been found relating to the Ostrogothic kings Theodoric and his successor Atalaric at Rome, Ravenna, and Milan. At the start of the sixth century, after a hiatus in the production of building materials, Theodoric's keen sponsorshop of building activities prompted once again the production of fresh construction materials and also led to a revival in the use of stamps. These now contained new formulae influenced by Byzantine practice, including the indiction dating system, with encomiastic turns of phrase perhaps borrowed from coinage, such as *regnante d(omino) n(ostro) Theoderico / bono Romam p(er) indictionem IIII* ('in the reign of our lord Theoderic, beneficial to Rome, in the 4th indiction').[257] At Rome, brick-stamps recording generosity on the part of popes may be traced to the early mediaeval period, such as those of Pope John VII in the early eighth century.[258] Admittedly such examples are few and far between, but they illustrate the potential flexibility of the medium of stamps for communicating different types of message for a range of viewers.

In short, mass-produced inscriptions on *instrumenta domestica* cannot be neatly compartmentalized: such inscriptions were not concerned solely with the production process, nor were they necessarily addressed only to their manufacturers. They might also sometimes be concerned with quality control. It is crucial to make a distinction between different types of inscription (stamps, graffiti, and painted), between inscriptions added at different points in the object's life-cycle (before and after the object was manufactured), and between the different agents involved in creating the texts. Each element resulted in different uses of writing. Many puzzles remain unresolved, notably how to explain the selective use of inscriptions. Was only one sample within a batch stamped? Or was a product stamped only if it was going to be used beyond the local region? If the latter, then this implies that the stamp was not an essential part of the production, but distribution process.[259] Although the majority of inscriptions appear somehow connected with commercial activity, we even catch tantalizing glimpses of what might be dubbed 'ideological', or at any rate 'non-functional' use of inscriptions.

---

[256] M. Gavius Maximus: *PIR*^{2} G 104. *CIL* XIV 4718 + *AÉpigr* (1955) 287 = H. Bloch, 'The name of the baths near the forum of Ostia', in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, vol. II, eds. M. E. Mylonas and D. Raymond (1953: Washington University: Saint Louis, Mo.) 412–18; P. Cicerchia and A. Marinucci, *Scavi di Ostia XI: le terme del foro o di Gavio Massimo* (1992: Libreria dello Stato: Rome) 216 C106; R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (2nd edn, 1973: Clarendon Press: Oxford) 415.

[257] V. Righini, 'Felix Roma – felix Ravenna: i bolli laterizi di Teoderico e l'attività edilizia teodericiana in Ravenna', in *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina XXXIII* (1986: Edizioni del Girasole: Ravenna) 371–98, tile-stamp at 378 no. 2b + fig. 1, AD 525/6. Two lead-pipe fragments from Ravenna, each with the inscription, *D.n. Rex Theodericus civitati reddidit*, relate to Theoderic's restoration of Trajan's aqueduct – *AÉpigr* (1941) 94, AD 502. V. Righini, 'Materiali e techniche da costruzione in età tardoantica e altomedievale', in *Storia di Ravenna*, vol. II, *Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana*, ed. A. Carile (1991: Marsilio: Venice) 193–221, at 213–14.

[258] *CIL* XV 1694.

Inscriptions within artistic media, including on paintings, mosaics, reliefs, and glassware, performed a whole range of functions.[260] Firstly, writing could be incorporated into an image as an intrinsic part of it. An inscription could be depicted as itself part of a picture: a mosaic from Salona (modern Solin, Croatia) depicted a *stele* legibly inscribed with the epitaph of nine-year-old T. Aurelius Aurelianus, alongside a herm and the seated figure of a boy holding a scroll.[261] Depictions of writing and reading implements in art might include text, such as a painting at Pompeii which shows writing implements, including a letter sealed and addressed to M. Lucretius.[262] Similarly, a mosaic depicting Virgil with two Muses shows the poet seated holding a scroll on which verse eight from book one of the *Aeneid* can be read.[263] Words might also appear as labels on images of architectural structures. Although this was in imitation of real life as regards the location of a text, it was not necessarily an accurate representation of reality. For example, the triumphal arches on the relief from the tomb of the Haterii at Rome have labels upon them (*arcus ad Isis* – 'arch near Isis' – and *arcus in summa sacra via* – 'arch at the top of the Sacred Way') where viewers would have expected there to be an inscription in real life, but the original real inscription would probably have displayed the name of the arch's builder. In this way, the relief avoids celebrating someone else on a tomb commissioned for a particular family by changing the nature of the inscriptions into topographical labels.[264]

---

[259] Manacorda and Panella, 'Anfore' (above, n.203) 62.

[260] M. Corbier, 'L'écriture dans l'image', in *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3–6 sept. 1991 habiti*, eds. H. Solin, O. Salomies, and U.-M. Liertz (1995: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 104: Helsinki) 113–61, and *Donner à voir, donner à lire* (above, n.25) ch. 3.

[261] *AÉpigr* (2006) 1011; N. Duval, *La mosaïque funéraire dans l'art paléochrétien* (1976: Longo: Ravenna) 15 fig. 2: Split Museum inv. 5492/1.

[262] *CIL* IV 879.

[263] J. Lancha, *Mosaïque et culture dans l'occident romain (I^{er}–IV^{e} s.)* (1997: Bretschneider: Rome) 43 no. 9, from Hadrumetum (Africa Proconsularis, modern Sousse).

Many inscriptions incorporated within art were designed to help the viewer to interpret the significance of the picture, adding names to individual figures, whether real (such as poets and other authors),[265] mythological, or divine (particularly the nine Muses),[266] allegorical or geographical. The addition of labels could enable complex series of images to be elaborated, such as a mosaic cosmology in a house at Emerita (Lusitania, modern Mérida), within which twenty-eight figures were labelled, ranging from names of rivers, winds, and geographical phenomena (for example, *Polum* ('pole'), *Mons* ('mountain'), *Nebula* ('fog')) to abstract concepts such as *Saeculum* ('century'), *Tranquillitas* ('tranquillity'), and *Chaos* ('chaos').[267] Labels are found identifying figures in different artistic media associated with early Christianity, including paintings, gilded glass, and mosaics, enabling viewers to relate the image to a specific biblical passage, such as the figure of Daniel in the lion's den in a painting in the catacomb of St Marcellinus and St Peter at Rome.[268] Labels were also sometimes used to help to explain allegorical scenes: in the same catacomb, the female figures serving at table who are labelled *Agape* and *Irene* are less likely to be viewed as real individuals than as symbols of Christian ideals, representatives of love and peace, in accordance with their names.[269] In other contexts, however, name-labels can act in the opposite way, evoking a real situation rather than a generic scene.

49 Mosaic of Magerius, Smirat: Fig. 2.25

AÉpigr (1967) 549

A. Beschaouch, 'La mosaïque de chasse à l'amphithéâtre découverte à Smirat en Tunisie', *CRAI* 110 (1966) 134–57; K. M. D. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of*

---

[264] Corbier, 'L'écriture dans l'image' (above, n.260) at 116; Corbier, *Donner à voir, donner à lire* (above, n.25) 66.

[265] Lancha, *Mosaïque et culture* (above, n.263) 74–5 no. 33, Sufetula (Africa Proconsularis) – Xenophon; 131–6 no. 68, Augusta Treverorum (Gallia Belgica) – Cicero, Menander, Ennius, Virgil, Homer, Hesiod.

[266] Lancha, *Mosaïque et culture* (above, n.263) 151–3 no. 76, El Ponaig/Moncada (Hispania Tarraconensis); 190–3 no. 91, Italica (Baetica); 202 no. 100 Ulia (Baetica); 131–6 no. 68, Augusta Treverorum (Gallia Belgica).

[267] Lancha, *Mosaïque et culture* (above, n.263) 223–9 no. 107.

[268] D. Mazzoleni, 'Riferimenti alla catechesi nelle iscrizioni cristiane del IV secolo', in *Epigrafi del mondo cristiano antico* (2002: Lateran University: Rome) 29–37, with Daniel on 30 (repr. from *Atti del convegno su esegesi e catechesi dei Padri* (1993: Rome) 163–70).

[269] *ICUR* VI 15946: *Agape / misc/e*; Mazzoleni, 'Riferimenti alla catechesi' (above, n.268) 32.

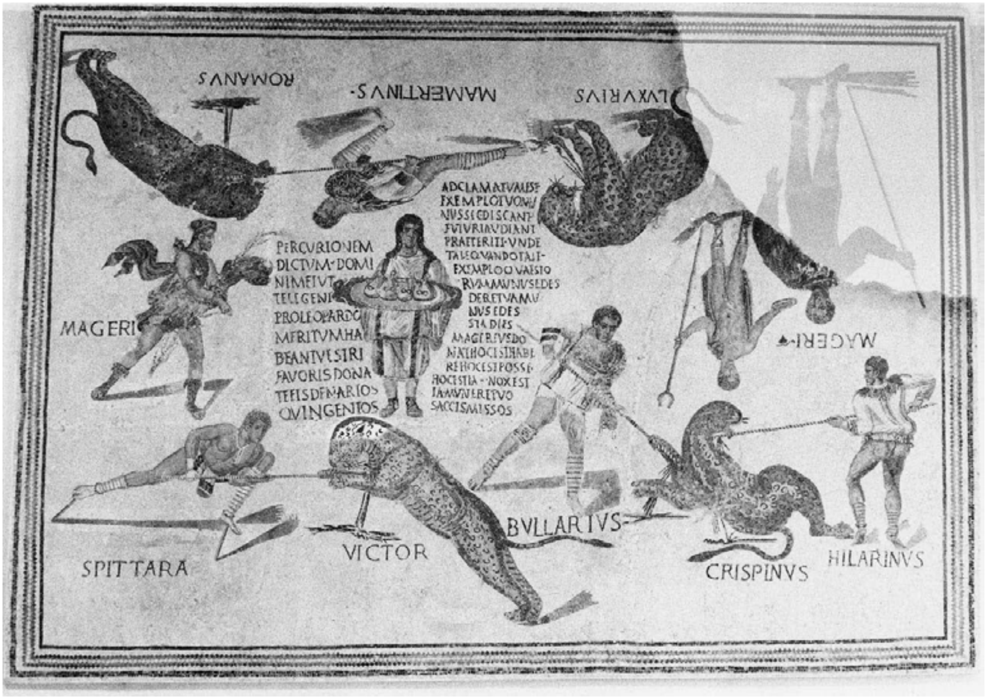

ROMANVS
MAMERTINVS·
LVXVRIVS
ADCLAMATVMEST
EXEMPLOTVOMV
NVSSICDISCANT
FVTVRIAVDIANT
PRAETERITI·VNDE
TALEQVANDOTALE
EXEMPLOQVAESTO
RVMMVNVSEDES
DERETVAMV
NVSEDES
STADIES
MAGERIVSDO
NATHOCESTHABE
REHOCESTPOSSE
HOCESTIA·NOXEST
IAMVNERETVO
SACCISMISSOS
PERCVRIONEM
DICTVM·DOMI
NIMEIVT
TELEGENI
PROLEOPARDO
MERITVMHA
BEANTVESTRI
FAVORISDONA
TEEISDENARIOS
QVINGENTOS
MAGERI
MAGERI
SPITTARA
VICTOR
BVLLARIVS
CRISPINVS
HILARINVS

Fig. 2.25 Mosaic of Magerius, Smirat – *AÉpigr* (1967) 549 (from K. M. D. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (1978: Clarendon Press: Oxford) pl. XXII no. 53)

Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage (1978: Clarendon Press: Oxford) 67–9 + pl. XXII no. 53.

Online images: www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=$AE_1967_00549_1.jpg;$AE_1967_00549_2.jpg

Spittara Bullarius Hilarinus Mamertinus ‖ *Victor Crispinus Romanus Luxurius* ‖ *Per curionem / dictum domi/ni mei ut / Telegeni /*[5] *pro leopardo / meritum ha/beant vestri / favoris dona/te eis denarios /*[10] *quingentos* ‖ *Mageri Mageri* ‖ *Acclamatum est / exemplo tuo mu/nus sic discant / futuri audiant /*[5] *praeteriti unde / tale quando tale / exemplo quaesto/rum munus edes / de re tua munus edes /*[10] *(i)sta dies / Magerius do/nat hoc est habe/re hoc est posse / hoc est ia(m) nox est /*[15] *ia(m) munere tuo / saccis missos*

(Labels, giving hunters'names): 'Spittara; Bullarius; Hilarinus; Mamertinus'
(Labels, giving leopards' names): 'Victor; Crispinus; Romanus; Luxurius'

(Herald's announcement): 'Spoken by the herald: "My lords, so that the Telegenii, in exchange for a leopard, may receive the prize of your approval, give them 500 *denarii*".' (Audience acclamation): '"Magerius! Magerius!" Shouted out: "By your example, may future men learn thus what a show is! May past men hear of it! From what source have we ever had such a show? When have we ever had such a show? You provide a show according to the example of the quaestors, you give a show at your own expense; that day is yours. Magerius is the donor. This is what it is to be rich, this is what it is to be powerful, this is the case now! Night is already here. The performers have been dismissed with money-bags from your show".'

This polychrome mosaic (AD 231–50; 4.20 × 2.20 m) offers a lavish illustration of the way in which multiple texts might be incorporated into a picture in order to commemorate a real occasion, in this case a leopard hunt, held in an arena in a nearby town. Found in a coastal villa at Smirat, near Hadrumetum (Africa Proconsularis), it depicts around its edges the leopards with their human combatants (a famous troupe known as the *Telegenii*), labelled with their individual names – implicitly inviting viewers to walk around the mosaic as well as evoking the elliptical shape of the arena – and a partially preserved figure carrying a staff, perhaps Magerius himself. Whereas these images all evoke the real world, the addition of two other figures, interpreted as Diana and Dionysus, introduce a note of allegory, signifying the deities under whose protection the hunters performed. In the centre is a herald carrying money-bags on a dish, framed by an acclamation from the audience declaring that Magerius has shown what real generosity should be: he has in fact donated to the leopard-hunters double the sum requested, but this is only apparent from the way in which the four money-bags are labelled with the symbol for 1000 *denarii*. The total sum donated by Magerius would be roughly equivalent to £100 000 in modern terms: small wonder that he wanted to perpetuate the memory of his generosity via the mosaic and its inscriptions.[270]

In other cases, the use of words helped to reinforce the narrative implicit in a set of images, animating figures with speech bubbles (see above, Chapter 1, for scenes in a tavern painting at Pompeii).

Whilst some texts accompanying images might, therefore, be intended to elucidate what was being represented, in other cases the inclusion of literary allusions in the form of inscriptions might also make implicit claims to cultural and literary knowledge on the part of patron and viewer. A scene of Europa in the *triclinium* of the villa at Lullingstone (Kent, Britain) created in the fourth century AD, was accompanied by a poetical tag adapted from *Aeneid* I.50: *invida si t[auri] vidisset Iuno natatus / iustius Aeolias isset adusque domos* ('If jealous Juno had seen the swimming of the bull, with more justification she would have gone to the house of Aeolus'). The elegiac couplet appears to have been commissioned specifically to accompany this mosaic image, which, in turn, seems to have been designed especially for its spatial context in the apse of this *triclinium.*[271]

---

[270] D. L. Bomgardner, *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre* (2000: Routledge: London) 211.

Finally, craftsmen's signatures represent a type of inscription that appeared on paintings and mosaics, but which was independent of the images themselves. In the case of mosaics, identifying precisely the significance of such names can be complex, since a name might record the individual who designed the original picture in painted form rather than that of the mosaic craftsman who created the copy in a new medium. This distinction is illustrated in a mosaic which identifies the designer of the picture as well as the workshop from which it had been executed in mosaic: *ex o<f>ficina Mas[culi]ni / pingit Hirmius* ('from the workshop of Masculinus; Hirmius painted (it)').[272] Another complication arises from the fact that verbs such as *fecit, perfecit*, and *tesselavit* can refer to the act of paying for the mosaic, not to the actual making of it, in the sense 'had it done/ completed/ executed in mosaic').[273] A trend during the fourth to sixth centuries AD in North Africa and Spain for mosaics in private houses to include texts on the pattern *ex officina* + a name in the genitive ('from the workshop of . . . ') may indicate no increase in status for the craftsman, but rather in that of the workshop-owner.[274] In general, therefore, the comparative rarity of signatures reflects the low social status of the artisans producing such work.

Graffiti – defined as texts scratched upon a hard surface – tend to be separated off from other types of inscription in a category of their own, for example being published apart from other types of inscriptions. This separation is justifiable to some extent, since in some crucial ways graffiti did differ fundamentally from monumental inscriptions. For example, graffiti were written directly and spontaneously by their authors, not via an intermediary; their spatial context was usually unimportant (although for an important exception, see below Section 2.3.2 on Christian graffiti); they were essentially temporary, especially if scratched upon wall-plaster; and they were written upon a surface not intended for writing. Some ancient graffiti seem strikingly similar to modern examples: scrawling obscene drawings and words or simply recording one's name seem to fulfil some basic instinct, probably prompted by boredom.[275] Other graffiti were more purposeful. Curiously enough, the obscenities written upon sling-shot hurled during the civil war between 'Octavian' and Lucius Antonius and Fulvia at Perusia find a resonance in those scrawled upon bombs launched by US troops in modern times against Iraq, both sharing the idea of making missiles bear ironic messages to the enemy.[276] Another purpose of many modern graffiti is to voice political discontent, but trying to trace similar scenarios in the Roman world can present difficulties of interpretation. For example, a graffito on a brick from Intercisa (Pannonia) containing the imperial titles (in the dative or ablative) of Diocletian, Maximian, and Constantius alongside a drawing of two figures standing above two animals being hunted has been interpreted by MacMullen as a caricature drawn in a 'deflating' style, but by Bruun as a demonstration of loyalty. In any case, the relationship between text and image is unclear, given that we have two figures, but three names. It is even possible that the imperial titles are simply to be interpreted as a dating formula, and that the picture is otherwise unrelated to the text.[277]

---

[271] *AÉpigr* (1951) 131; Lancha, *Mosaïque et culture* (above, n.263) 285–6 no. 120; A. A. Barrett, 'Knowledge of the literary classics in Roman Britain', *Britannia* 9 (1978) 307–13, at 309–13.

[272] Lancha, *Mosaïque et culture* (above, n.263) 164–8 no. 82, Carranque (Hispania Tarraconensis).

[273] C. Balmelle and J.-P. Darmon, 'L'artisan-mosaïste dans l'Antiquité tardive', in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Age*, vol. I, *Les hommes*, ed. X. Barral i Altet (1986: Picard: Paris) 235–53, at 236; cf. *tesselavit* used on sixth(?)-century AD mosaic pavings donated in the synagogue at Hammam Lif (Tunisia) – J.-P. Darmon, 'Les mosaïques de la synagogue de Hammam Lif: un réexamen du dossier', in *Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics*, ed. R. Ling (1995: *JRA* supplement 9.2: Ann Arbor) 7–29.

[274] M. Donderer, *Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung* (1989: Erlanger Forschungen: Erlangen) 84 A 47, 89 A55, 90 A57, 95 A66, 96 A68, 101 A70.

Despite such potential similarities in Roman and modern uses of graffiti, it is important to disassociate the term 'graffiti' from its modern context, and to use it instead in a neutral way, to refer to a method of writing. There is no hint in ancient sources that graffiti were considered illegal vandalism; indeed, the word 'graffiti' only started to be used negatively to refer to unauthorized writing during the nineteenth century: up until then, the word was neutral in tone.[278] Nor is it clear to what extent we can justifiably assume that graffiti were created by 'common people'. In this respect, looking at Roman graffiti alongside early modern European domestic interior walls is more helpful, where we find games, recipes, school lessons, memorials, house rules, prayers, extracts from the Bible, personal memoranda, and advice to others. Indeed, a wide range of graffiti drawings and texts was an acceptable component of the interior walls and pillars of English churches during the mediaeval period, when priests' names and dates might be commemorated upon door-jambs, whilst church musicians might benefit from the mnemonic aid of graffiti musical notation.[279]

---

[275] R. Reisner, *Graffiti: Two Thousand Years of Wall Writing* (1971: Henry Regnery: Chicago).

[276] J. P. Hallett, '*Perusinae glandes* and the changing image of Augustus', *AJAH* 2 (1977) 151–71.

[277] E. B. Vágó and I. Bóna, *Die Gräberfelder von Intercisa*, vol. I, *Der spätrömische Südostfriedhof* (1976: Akadémiai Kiadó: Budapest) 185, with pl. XX, who also interpret the drawing as 'spöttisch'; C. Bruun, 'Roman emperors in popular jargon: searching for contemporary nicknames', in *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power*, eds. L. De Blois *et al.* (2003: J. C. Gieben: Amsterdam) 69–98, at 78–79, with fig.; R. MacMullen, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome* (1988: Yale University Press: New Haven) 114, with fig. 16.

[278] J. Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (2001: Reaktion Books: London) 40; P. Kruschwitz, 'Attitudes towards wall inscriptions in the Roman Empire', *ZPE* 174 (2010) 207–18.

In particular, over-focusing upon the modern use of the word risks ignoring another important use of graffiti in the Roman world, namely as a substitute for more expensive forms of inscriptions. Graffiti could in fact serve exactly the same function as inscriptions carved in stone, echoing the same language. In the catacomb of S. Ilario *ad bivium* near Valmontone (Rome), dating from the fourth and fifth centuries AD, the following inscription was found scratched upon the plaster surface of the tiles that formed the closure to the *loculus* for the burial: [– – –]+++ *Simplicia hic / dormit* ('[– – –]+++ Simplicia sleeps here').[280] The formula is identical to that used in numerous Christian epitaphs. This one example raises the prospect that the epigraphic habit was in fact more widespread among early Christians than might seem purely from monumental inscriptions, but that the practice of using graffiti upon plaster simply means that the survival rates for their inscriptions is very low. Nor or course was this only a feature of late antiquity when the epigraphic habit is generally thought to have faded away considerably: in the necropolis beneath St Peter's in Rome, an individual probably of slave status was commemorated simply by a graffito scratched beneath a niche on the east wall of Mausoleum E: *Profeta / hic/ situs est* ('Profeta is buried here').[281] Some graffiti, therefore, were authorized, deliberately planned texts, whose location was integral to their meaning.

The final category of inscriptions to be considered here is that of **rock-cut inscriptions**.[282] A wide range of inscriptions has been found cut directly into rock-faces. Some are similar to monumental inscriptions, including epitaphs, religious dedications, building-inscriptions, honorific texts; others, such as texts and images on a sexual theme, names, and alphabets, are more akin to graffiti.[283] These broaden out our perspective of Latin epigraphic culture beyond a picture that is otherwise dominated by cities: although many rock-cut inscriptions were located alongside roads, some appeared even in remote mountainous regions, such as an inscription bearing the consular date of 4 BC, which commemorated the dedication by two priests of a shrine to Jupiter Atratus and to the gods of the locality (*dis Indigetibu[s]*) on an upland plain between two mountains in the territory of Cereatae Marianae (modern Casamari, *Regio* I).[284] What is striking in this case, however, is that, despite its remote situation, the inscribed text itself would have been equally at home in an urban context.

---

[279] Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (above, n.278) 33–58.

[280] A. E. Felle, 'I reperti epigrafici del complesso di S. Ilario *ad bivium* presso Valmontone (Roma)', *Vetera Christianorum* 38 (2001) 247–85.

[281] *AÉpigr* (1987) 106; W. Eck, 'Inschriften aus der Vatikanischen Nekropole unter St. Peter', *ZPE* 65 (1986) 245–93, at 248, 3 + pl. XIV, 3.

[282] L. Gasperini, ed., Rupes loquentes: *Atti del convegno internazionale di studio sulle iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia* (1992: Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica: Rome); S. Antolini, *Le iscrizioni latine rupestri della* Regio IV *augustea* (2004: Documenti per la storia d'Abruzzo 17: Edizioni Libreria Colacchi: L'Aquila); A. Rodríguez Colmenero and L. Gasperini, eds., Saxa scripta *(inscripciones en roca)* (1995: Anejos de Larouco 2: Ediciós do Castro: Sada); A. Rodríguez Colmenero, *Corpus-catálogo de inscripciones rupestres de época romana del cuadrante noroeste de la península ibérica* (1993: Anejo de Larouco 1: Ediciós do Castro: La Coruña).

In a few cases, the fact that a text was cut into a rock-face was integral to its function. This is particularly true of boundary-markers, whose immoveability served to guarantee their authenticity. The gromatic writer Hyginus gives a good impression of the extensive use of inscriptions in order to designate territorial boundaries, recommending the carving of inscriptions on rocks in order to indicate boundaries: *si fuerit mons asper et confragosus, per singulas petras finitimas notas inponemus et ubi potuerit inscriptiones: sic et in forma significavimus* ('If there is a precipitous and rough mountain, we shall place on individual rocks marks denoting a boundary, and, where possible, inscriptions; and we shall indicate this on the map').[285] In this way, the choice of location for an inscribed boundary-marker was essential to its function, and we find rock-cut inscriptions used by a whole range of authorities – municipal, provincial, and imperial – in order to fix boundaries.[286] Consequently, ease of access was not necessarily a priority, as in the case of the boundary-inscription cut into the rock-face high up in the Alps, almost at the summit of Mt Pèrgol, in order to establish the boundary between the Tridentini and Feltrini. No hastily hewn text this, but nicely engraved capital letters carefully centred upon the rock-face.[287] A sense of appropriateness between form and function is also reflected in the creation of rock-cut shrines for certain deities, such as Silvanus who was typically associated with woodlands and fields, or local deities perceived to belong intrinsically as part of the landscape.[288]

---

[283] Rock-cut sexual inscriptions: *AÉpigr* (1992) 1150 – Alpine region, with G. Mennella, 'Le iscrizioni rupestri della valle delle Merviglie e della valle dell'Ossola', in Rupes loquentes: *Atti del convegno internazionale di studio sulle iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia*, ed. L. Gasperini (1992: Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica: Rome) 13–31, at 14–17. Alphabets: A. Valvo, 'Iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Valcamonica e Valtellina', in Rupes loquentes: *Atti del convegno internazionale di studio sulle iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia*, ed. L. Gasperini (1992: Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica: Rome) 49–88, at 60–1.

[284] *CIL* X 5779 = *ILS* 3071, revised by H. Solin and M. Kajava, 'Iscrizioni rupestri del *Latium Adiectum*', in Rupes loquentes: *Atti del convegno internazionale di studio sulle iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia*, ed. L. Gasperini (1992: Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica: Rome) 335–83, at 365–9.

[285] *Corpus agrimensorum*, Hyginus, *Constitutio Limitum* – B. Campbell, *The Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors* (2000: *JRS* Monograph 9: London) 156.

[286] Boundary-markers: Valvo, 'Iscrizioni rupestri' (above, n. 283) 79–80 no. 16; E. Cavada, 'L'iscrizione confinaria del Monte Pèrgol in Val Cadino nel Trentino Orientale', 99–115; E. Buchi, 'Le iscrizioni confinarie del Monte Civetta nel Bellunese', 117–49; L. Quilici,

Rock-cut inscriptions were particularly associated with road-building and other engineering projects, such as the construction of a water-lifting device (*opus cochli*) in Commagene in the names of Vespasian and Titus by the legate Marius Celsus in AD 73, or the excavation and later consolidation of an artificial canal via a tunnel at Seleucia for the Flavians and then Antoninus Pius, so as to commemorate in an immediate fashion the completion of often quite complex feats of engineering.[289] Vespasian's opening up of a tunnel on the *via Flaminia* near Fanum Fortunae, for example, is commemorated by an inscription cut into the rock in monumental

---

'L'iscrizione del *Promunturium Veneris* al Circeo', 407–29; L. Gasperini, 'Il macigno dei Balari ai piedi del Monte Limbara (Sardegna nord-orientale)', 579–89: all in Rupes loquentes: *Atti del convegno internazionale di studio sulle iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia*, ed. L. Gasperini (1992: Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica: Rome); Rodríguez Colmenero, *Corpus-catálogo de inscripciones rupestres* (above, n.282) nos. 1–4; J.-F. Breton, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, vol. VIII, part 3, *Les inscriptions forestières d'Hadrien dans le mont Liban* (1980: Librairie orientaliste P. Geuthner: Paris) 5001–87, imperially owned trees in Syria, with M. Le Glay, 'Conclusion', in Rupes loquentes: *Atti del convegno internazionale di studio sulle iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia*, ed. L. Gasperini (1992: Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica: Rome) 601–9, at 604.

[287] Cavada, 'L'iscrizione confinaria del Monte Pèrgol' (above, n.286).

[288] L. B. Taborelli, 'L'iscrizione rupestre di "Maometto" presso Borgone di Susa (Alpi Cozie)', in Rupes loquentes: *Atti del convegno internazionale di studio sulle iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia*, ed. L. Gasperini (1992: Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica: Rome) 33–48; *CIL* X 6308, Terracina and *CIL* X 5709, Sora – both in Solin and Kajava, 'Iscrizioni rupestri del *Latium Adiectum*' (above, n.284) 349–53, 357–62. For further discussion of rock-cut inscriptions associated with the cult of Silvanus, see Antolini, *Le iscrizioni latine rupestri della* Regio IV *augustea* (above, n.282) 61–71.

[289] *AÉpigr* (1903) 256 = V. Chapot, 'Antiquités de la Syrie du nord', *BCH* 26 (1902) 161–208, at 205–8 no. 61; *IGLSyr* III 1131, 1135–6, with D. van Berchem, 'Le port de Séleucie de Piérie et l'infrastructure logistique des guerres parthiques', *BJb* 185 (1985) 47–87, esp. 53–61 + App. 3: Le Glay, 'Conclusion' (above, n.286) 605–6. Road-building commemorated by rock-cut inscriptions: Rodríguez Colmenero, *Corpus-catálogo de inscripciones rupestres* (above, n.282) no. 12; *CIL* V 6649 = *ILS* 5884, discussed by Mennella, 'Le iscrizioni rupestri della valle delle Merviglie e della valle dell'Ossola' (above, n.283) 21–6; *CIL* V 1862 = *ILS* 5885, and *CIL* V 1863, with G. Bandelli, 'Le iscrizioni rupestri del passo di Monte Croce Carnico: aspetti generali e problemi testuali', in Rupes loquentes: *Atti del convegno internazionale di studio sulle iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia*, ed. L. Gasperini (1992: Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica: Rome) 151–205.

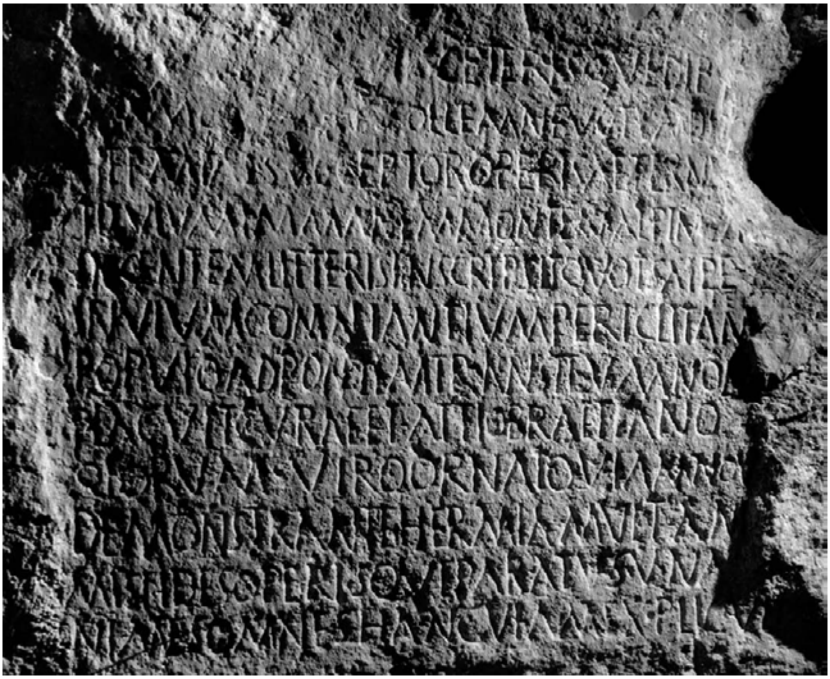


Fig. 2.26 Commemorating road-building through the Alps – *CIL* V 1863 (photo: O. Harl 2009)

lettering on a rectangular surface smoothed back above the tunnel's entrance.[290] The inscription itself is similar in content to building-inscriptions on other imperial projects in towns; the rock-face is used simply for convenience.

50 Commemorating road-building through the Alps: Fig. 2.26

CIL V 1863; Buecheler, *CLE* 891; *ILS* 5886

P. M. Moro, *Iulium Carnicum (Zuglio)* (1956: Bretschneider: Rome) 200–3 no. 5; G. Bandelli, 'Le iscrizioni rupestri del passo di Monte Croce Carnico: aspetti generali e problemi testuali', in Rupes loquentes: *Atti del convegno internazionale di studio sulle iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia*, ed. L. Gasperini (1992: Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica:

---

[290] *CIL* XI 6106, with G. Paci, 'L'iscrizione viaria del Furlo sulla Flaminia', in Rupes loquentes: *Atti del convegno internazionale di studio sulle iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia*, ed. L. Gasperini (1992: Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica: Rome) 225–41 = *AÉpigr* (1992) 563. Photographs: www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=PH0001578;PH0002727&nr=1

Rome) 151–205, at 174–84 with figs. 6–7 = *AÉpigr* (1992) 728; *AÉpigr* (1994) 697.

A good variety of photographs is available online showing the inscription close up and in its broader context:

www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=$CIL_05_01863_1.jpg
www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=$CIL_05_01863_2.jpg
www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/imagelink/index.php?Nr=11293

[I(ovi) O(ptimo)] M(aximo) / [Triviis Quadri]viis ceterisque dibu[s] / [a]ram c[u]m [signo] sollemne votum di[c(avit)] / Hermias succeptor operis aeterni /[5] *titulum immanem montem Alpinum / ingentem litteris inscripsit quot saipe(!) / invium commiantium periclitante / populo ad pontem transitum non / placuit curiae et Attio Braetiano /*[10] *q(uaestore) eorum viro ornato viam nov(am) / demonstrante Hermia mult(um) ani/mis fide(n)s operisque paratus una/nimes omnes hanc viam explicuit*

'To Jupiter Best and Greatest, to the gods of crossroads and intersections and to the rest of the gods, Hermias, who has undertaken work that will last forever, has consecrated an altar with a statue as a solemn vow: he has made an immense Alpine mountain into an enormous inscription with letters, given that it displeased the town council that the crossing-point near the bridge should often be inaccessible for travellers, with people being put at risk, and the distinguished Attius Braetianus, their quaestor, outlining the new road, Hermias, having great confidence in people's support and ready for the task, everyone being in full support, completed this route.'

This inscription is cut onto the rock-face of the mountain pass at Monte Croce Carnico (Venetia and Histria, *Regio* X), in the territory of Iulium Carnicum (modern Zuglio). The surface is smoothed away to accommodate the inscription (height 85 cm, width 90 cm; letters height 9–3 cm). The inscription is both a religious dedication and a commemoration of the road-building project undertaken by Hermias, possibly a public slave or customs official. The text contains a mixture of poetry and prose. It probably dates from the third/fourth century AD.

Other inscriptions are less elaborate, but still bear eloquent testimony to work completed. The numerals inscribed within cartouches extending up the cliffside at Terracina (modern Tarracina, *Regio* I) remain a simple, and yet remarkable, record of the new route of the *via Appia* commissioned by Trajan, which required a deep cutting through the mountainside. The numbers extend from X to CXX, and occur at ten-feet intervals above each other, demonstrating the depth of cutting required to pursue this new route for the major highway.[291] In addition to these high-profile imperial and municipal projects, individuals too sometimes chose to commemorate their rather more modest contributions to improving the lot of travellers: the freedman C. Pomponius Tigranus, for example, had an inscription cut into the rock alongside the wagon-route which he had funded near Atina (modern Casalattico, *Regio* I).[292]

The practice of using caves as burial-chambers also resulted in the use of their rock surfaces for epitaphs, both on the interior and exterior of the caves.[293] These could be quite elaborate, as in the exceptional case of the 'grotta delle vipere' on Sardinia.[294] Here, the interior of a cave was adapted for funerary usage by creating niches for cinerary urns inside three burial chambers. Fourteen out of the sixteen inscriptions – nine in Latin, seven in Greek – that accompanied the burials were metrical in form, showing a high quality of literacy despite their remote location. This unusual level of elaboration is reflected further in the way in which the entrance to the cave was transformed into an artificial architectural elevation so as to resemble a temple, complete with pediment, pillars, and capitals cut out of the natural rock-face. The architrave created in this way bore a carefully engraved monumental dedicatory inscription. Even though the rock-cut inscriptions associated with this cave seem pretty exceptional at first glance, other rock-cut inscriptions in its immediate vicinity suggest that it was not entirely isolated, and that there was a pocket of unusual epigraphic activity in this area.[295]

In many cases, however, the fact that a text was cut into rock was immaterial to its character; rock-cut inscriptions were often designed and executed so as to resemble monumental inscriptions in appearance and function, imitating the same monumental capital lettering and overall appearance, whether moulded frame, *tabula ansata*, and even *stele* with pediment.[296] The surface of the rock was often cut back and smoothed in order to create a suitable epigraphic field, and the inscription was formally laid out and engraved.[297] Some inscriptions were set within an architectural framework hewn out of the rock, or images were carved next to them in relief.[298] This was particularly characteristic of rock-cut shrines, whose pedimented niches might house a figure carved in relief and an inscription, in imitation of their urban counterparts.[299] One of the most elaborate examples of monumentality presented by a rock-cut inscription is that carved in honour of A. Quinctilius Priscus, a large-scale monument consisting of a niche with pilasters and pediment cut into a rock-face just outside the confines of Ferentinum (modern Ferentino, *Regio* I). Thought to have been located within the town's new forum, the inscription is really a continuation of urban epigraphic practice, even though cut into rock.[300] In other cases, the inscription was not formally engraved, but is, instead, in effect a graffito.

---

[291] *CIL* X 6849, with Solin and Kajava, 'Iscrizioni rupestri del *Latium Adiectum*' (above, n.284) 356–7.

[292] *AÉpigr* (1981) 210 = H. Solin, 'Iscrizioni di Sora e di Atina (in collaborazione con Eugenio Béranger)', *Epigraphica* 43 (1981) 45–102, at 68–71; Solin and Kajava, 'Iscrizioni rupestri del *Latium Adiectum*' (above, n.284) 362–4 = *AÉpigr* (1992) 243.

[293] C. Letta, 'Iscrizioni latine rupestri della *Regio IV*', in Rupes loquentes: *Atti del convegno internazionale di studio sulle iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia*, ed. L. Gasperini (1992: Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica: Rome) 291–317, at 310–13 for caves in the area of the Fucine lake.

[294] R. Zucca, 'Il complesso epigrafico rupestre della "grotta delle vipere"', in Rupes loquentes: *Atti del convegno internazionale di studio sulle iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia*, ed. L. Gasperini (1992: Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica: Rome) 503–40.

[295] A. Mastino, 'Le iscrizioni rupestri del *templum* alla *Securitas* di Tito Vinio Benillo a Cagliari', in Rupes loquentes: *Atti del convegno internazionale di studio sulle iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia*, ed. L. Gasperini (1992: Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica: Rome) 541–78.

It is perhaps worth ending by underlining the point that rock-cut inscriptions were not really a distinctive category, but belonged to the broader epigraphic culture that pervaded both town and countryside, albeit in different densities. They did not form an inferior semi-literate sub-category of inscription, as might perhaps be expected, but instead often resembled their urban monumental counterparts closely. This may in part be the result of the fact that some rock-cut inscriptions were commissioned by the same urban authorities as set up inscriptions in their towns, but private funerary inscriptions illustrate that this is not a universal explanation for the phenomenon of rural rock-cut inscriptions.

---

[296] Valvo, 'Iscrizioni rupestri' (above, n.283) 64–6 no. 9, in 'squared capitals'. Inscriptions within moulded frames: Rodríguez Colmenero, *Corpus-catálogo de inscripciones rupestres* (above, n.282) no. 30; *CIL* X 6471 + 5163 = *ILS* 3863, with Solin and Kajava, 'Iscrizioni rupestri del *Latium Adiectum*' (above, n.284) at 336–9 + 369–76; *CIL* IX 4125, *CIL* IX 3845, rock surface cut back so as to resemble a *stele* with a triangular pediment – both discussed by Letta, 'Iscrizioni latine rupestri della *Regio IV*', (above, n.293) at 301–3 and 307–10, and Antolini, *Le iscrizioni latine rupestri della* Regio IV *augustea* (above, n.282) 115 AE1, 91 MARS 2.

[297] On the variety of techniques used for cutting letters and preparing surfaces found on rock-cut inscriptions, see L. Gasperini, 'Iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia', in Saxa scripta *(inscripciones en roca)*, eds. A. Rodríguez Colmenero and L. Gasperini (1995: Anejos de Larouco 2: Ediciós do Castro: Sada) 297–331, at 305–11. Surface prepared for epitaph, *CIL* V 5001 = *II* X/5 1093: G. Ciurletti, 'Le iscrizioni rupestri della Val Cavédine (Trento)', in Rupes loquentes: *Atti del convegno internazionale di studio sulle iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia*, ed. L. Gasperini (1992: Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica: Rome) 89–98, at 90–6; votive: Rodríguez Colmenero, *Corpus-catálogo de inscripciones rupestres* (above, n.282) no. 45.

[298] An epitaph within a *tabula ansata*, accompanied by a relief figure, probably representing the deceased: *CIL* X 326 = *AÉpigr* (1992) 313, discussed by R. Zucca, 'La "tomba del crociato" rivisitata', in Saxa scripta *(inscripciones en roca)*, eds. A. Rodríguez Colmenero and L. Gasperini (1995: Anejos de Larouco 2: Ediciós do Castro: Sada) 353–74.

[299] Rodríguez Colmenero, *Corpus-catálogo de inscripciones rupestres* (above, n.282) no. 37; Taborelli, 'L'iscrizione rupestre di "Maometto"' (above, n.288); two pedimented shrines cut into rock near Terracina (*Regio* I): *CIL* X 6300 = *ILS* 8066a + *CIL* X 6351 = *ILS* 8066b, with Solin and Kajava, 'Iscrizioni rupestri del *Latium Adiectum*' (above, n.284) 342–9.

[300] *CIL* X 5853 = *ILS* 6271, with Solin and Kajava, 'Iscrizioni rupestri del *Latium Adiectum*' (above, n.284) 339–42 and A. Pasqualini, 'Sul testo dell'iscrizione rupestre di Ferentino (*C.I.L.* X 5853)', in Rupes loquentes: *Atti del convegno internazionale di studio sulle iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia*, ed. L. Gasperini (1992: Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica: Rome) 385–405.

In many ways, therefore, we have seen how the conventional categorization of inscriptions is inadequate for understanding their cultural context. It is crucial not to separate the text from its monument context, since text and monument may complement each other. Indeed, one of the fundamental functions of any inscription was to influence how a monument was viewed; through the inscription, different facets of the monument could be emphasized. Writing was a powerful tool: it allowed complex processes to be organized; it reinforced the social hierarchy; it invoked the support of the gods; it could serve a promotional function; it could simply be decorative; and it could authenticate legal status. Changing epigraphic fashions were influenced by Roman social hierarchy: the adoption of new epigraphic practices often reflected the desire to imitate powerful entities, whether emperors or town councils. In the end, however, it is important to remember that our overall view of epigraphic practices in the Roman world is inevitably distorted, given the uneven preservation of different types of writing materials. We have, for example, only tantalizing glimpses of the use of whiteboards and precious metal for inscriptions. Nevertheless, there is perhaps more overlapping in the use of different media and writing techniques than might have been expected. We cannot simply compartmentalize within their own separate categories texts that took different forms, whether engraved on marble, scratched upon wall plaster, painted, or cut into rock. Epigraphic culture was admittedly much denser within urban environments, but rural landscapes too have preserved a wide variety of inscriptions. Inscriptions were not, however, so omnipresent so as to be banal: they were always the result of a conscious choice to use writing, and it is this social and cultural context of inscriptions to which we should now turn.

2.3 Epigraphy in society

2.3.1 Monuments, not documents

One of the most valuable contributions made by inscriptions to our understanding of ancient Rome and its empire is the result of their use by modern scholars as historical documents, when they are examined for insights into political and administrative developments in the way in which Rome ruled its empire. Documents such as laws, senatorial decrees, magisterial edicts, treaties, imperial letters, and rescripts have all been preserved as inscriptions on bronze (chiefly in the West) and stone (mainly in the Greek East). Nevertheless, whereas copies of decrees, laws, and other official texts would have been deposited in an archive as standard procedure, the creation of an inscribed monumental version was always prompted by a particular set of circumstances.[301] Until AD 538, there was no requirement for legislation to be published in order for it to take effect: the inscribing of legal regulations reflected imperial self-representation and a desire to emphasize the permanent validity of individual measures rather than a requirement to disseminate laws in this form.[302] This in turn influenced the way in which some documents were summarized. The copies on bronze of the senatorial decree concerning Piso senior of AD 20 found in Baetica, for example, did not simply offer a record of a single decree issued by the senate, but collated and edited an authorized version of the senate's opinion about the case of Piso, which was derived from more than one decree.[303] Furthermore, the textual differences found in the two main copies of the senatorial decree suggest that there was no requirement for the original document issued by the senate to be recorded with exact precision: it was entirely acceptable to include changes to the original text that might be regarded as improvements.[304] Such inscriptions were not, however, originally intended to have a documentary, practical function; where practical dissemination of information was the aim, it took the form of writing on whiteboards.[305] It was not standard procedure for documents issued by Roman magistrates and governing bodies to be sent out to provincial communities to be set up as public inscribed monuments: even in the case of honours for the dead Germanicus of AD 19/20, where the senate did give instructions for their decrees to be published in *coloniae* and *municipia* in Italy and *coloniae* in the provinces, they did not prescribe its publication as a monumental inscription, but probably intended it to be disseminated on whiteboards.[306]

---

[301] Coudry, 'Senatus-consultes et *acta senatus*' (above, n.157); Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (above, n.14) 235.

[302] Kreuzsaler, 'Aeneis tabulis scripta proponatur lex' (above, n.159); Eck, 'Documenti amministrativi' (above, n.21) 351.

[303] *SCPP* l.169, with W. Eck, A. Caballos, and F. Fernández, *Das Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone patre* (1996: Beck: Munich) 259–64 and M. Griffin, 'The senate's story', *JRS* 87 (1997) 249–63, at 254.

[304] Eich, 'Diplomatische Genauigkeit oder inhaltliche Richtigkeit?' (above, n.160) 273–5.

[305] Eck, 'Inschriften auf Holz' (above, n.12) 212–16; also 'I sistemi di trasmissione delle communicazioni d'ufficio in età alto imperiale', in *Temi di antichità romane*, vol. IV, *Epigrafia e territorio, politica e società*, ed. M. Pani (1996: Edipuglia: Bari) 331–52.

Valuable insights into epigraphic culture can be gained by discarding any notion that such inscriptions might in any way be objective documents, and by considering instead what might lie behind the setting up of official documents in inscribed form.[307] Labelling collections of such inscribed documents 'archives' gives a misleading impression, since it risks ignoring the subjective and selective nature of such dossiers. Groups of documents were inscribed not in order to preserve a comprehensive record of administrative affairs, but in order to project a particular self-representation, whether of a city or of an individual, or sometimes to try to solve a specific problem.[308] One obvious consequence of this is that the documents chosen for epigraphic monumentalization tend to be uniformly positive in tone: the occasional inscription containing a negative message for a community might be set up by rivals of that community. It was, therefore, at Aphrodisias that a letter from Augustus refusing a request from the Samians was inscribed, since it incidentally confirmed the uniquely privileged status of Aphrodisias.[309]

Given that monumental inscriptions were primarily concerned with memorialization, it is worth considering what exactly was being memorialized in each instance.[310] In some cases, the monument was intended to redound to the glory of the city as a whole, but in others it was much more personal in focus, being set up for the prestige of an individual and his or her family.[311] This is particularly clear in the Greek East, where in many cases it is possible to trace personal motivations behind the decision to transfer an official document into an inscribed form.[312] In fact, the whole character of official documents could be transformed by their new monumental context: letters from Julius Caesar, senatorial decrees, and a treaty, when inscribed alongside local honorific decrees upon a large monument at Mytilene, became in effect honorific inscriptions, contributing to the prestige of Potamon, a leading member of the local elite who was being honoured with the monument for the benefits he had conferred upon the town by leading a successful embassy to Rome.[313] The same appears also to be true of the Latin West. Two inscriptions – a fragmentary marble inscription from Sardis and a bronze tablet from Italica – both deal with the same meeting of the senate at which the matter of lowering the price of gladiators was discussed in AD 177, with the aim of reducing the financial burden upon members of the local elite obliged to fund gladiatorial shows. Whereas the inscription from Sardis recorded the speech delivered on behalf of the joint emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, the bronze tablet from Italica contained the speech of the senator who delivered the first *sententia* after the imperial speech suggesting changes to the emperors' proposals. It is likely that the decision to inscribe the senator's speech on bronze at Italica was the result of the desire to promote that individual senator rather than to make known the senate's decree.[314]

---

[306] *Tabula Siarensis* frag. b, col. II, 24–7: Crawford, ed., *Roman Statutes* (above, n.20) I 518, with Eck, 'Öffentlichkeit, Politik und Administration' (above, n.21) 78–80. For discussion of the *lex portorii Asiae* from Ephesus as acquired by the Ephesians rather than as issued by the state, see G. D. Rowe, 'The elaboration and diffusion of the text of the *Monumentum Ephesenum*', in *The Customs Law of Asia*, eds. M. Cottier *et al.* (2008: Oxford University Press) 236–50, esp. 245–8.

[307] Eck, 'Documenti amministrativi' (above, n.21), 'Öffentlichkeit, Politik und Administration' (above, n.21).

[308] R. Haensch, 'Die Städte des griechischen Ostens', in *Selbstdarstellung und Kommunikation: die veröffentlichung staatlicher Urkunden auf Stein und Bronze in der römischen Welt*, ed. R. Haensch (2009: Vestigia 61: Beck: Munich) 173–87. Cf. the dossier relating to the praetorian soldier Aurelius Pyrrhus at Skaptopara in Thrace, AD 238: T. Hauken, *Petition and Response: An Epigraphic Study of Petitions to Roman Emperors 181–249* (1998: Monographs from the Norwegian Institute at Athens 2: Bergen) 74–126.

[309] J. M. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (1982: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies: London) no. 13 = *IAph2007* 8.32.

[310] On the role of inscriptions in writing history at Rome, see A. E. Cooley, 'History and inscriptions, Rome', in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. I, *Beginnings to AD 600*, eds. A. Feldherr and G. Hardy (2011: Oxford University Press) 244–64.

[311] Ferrary, 'La gravure de documents publics' (above, n.156).

Although all too often we lack the archaeological evidence necessary to form a judgement about the original topographical context of an inscription, it is clear that choice of location could contribute to its meaning. In the case of the city of Rome, we can trace how particular types of inscription clustered in different areas of the city. Sometimes this simply reflected the location of the administrative institutions that generated the inscriptions: for example, inscriptions resulting from the activities of the urban prefect were set up in the vicinity of his offices near the Basilica of Maxentius.[315] Similarly, we can sometimes trace how its spatial context complements a text at the level of individual inscriptions, as in the case of the senatorial decree honouring Claudius' freedman Pallas. It was set up in AD 52 next to a statue of deified Julius, probably in the vicinity of the office *a rationibus* in the Forum Iulium, the accounts department of which Pallas was the chief secretary.[316] The Capitol, however, offers a more elaborate example of the possible interrelationship of topography and inscribed monument. Despite the fact that few inscriptions have actually been discovered there, literary texts give a good impression of the way in which the Capitol, as symbol of empire, was regarded as the prime location appropriate for inscriptions connected with non-Roman peoples.[317] Many inscriptions were displayed on the Capitol that related to Rome's dealings with foreigners, both collectively and as individuals. These inscriptions derived some of their validity through juxtaposition with particular temples and monuments on the Capitol. For example, the treaty between Rome and Carthage dating from as early as 509/8 BC was set up, according to Polybius, near the Temple of *Fides* ('Good Faith').[318] Similarly, the Capitol seemed the appropriate context for displaying the *lex Antonia de Termessibus* of 68 BC, which granted freedom and other privileges to the inhabitants of Termessos Maior in Pisidia.[319] Another major category of inscriptions was represented by the large bronze tablets displaying the imperial constitutions listing army units and names of individuals receiving privileges, from which diplomas were derived. Their locations shifted over time, presumably as the available space was exhausted (with some also appearing just beyond the Capitol itself), but they were displayed on the Capitol itself at the Temple of *Fides* ('Good Faith'), and the *aerarium militare* (military treasury). Constitutions relating to veterans of the German war under Domitian were posted up on a monument honouring Germanicus.[320] As well as displaying documents issued at Rome, the Capitol was also a location where foreigners might be granted permission to set up inscribed monuments, with the senate's permission. Some of these are mentioned only in literary sources, such as the votives set up by British kings to commemorate their friendship with Rome,[321] but surviving fragments of a bronze tablet found on the Capitol also show that three individuals of comparatively humble status could also be permitted to display there a copy of the senate's decree granting them privileges in 78 BC, the *senatus consultum de Asclepiade* ('senatorial decree concerning Asclepias').[322]

---

[312] Kokkinia, 'The role of individuals in inscribing Roman state documents' (above, n.156); A. E. Cooley, 'The publication of Roman official documents in the Greek East', in *Literacy and the State in the Ancient Mediterranean*, eds. K. Lomas, R. Whitehouse, and J. B. Wilkins (2007: Accordia Specialist Studies on the Mediterranean 7: London) 203–18; and 'From document to monument: inscribing Roman official documents in the Greek East', in *Epigraphy and the Historical Sciences*, eds. J. K. Davies and J. Wilkes (2012: British Academy/Oxford University Press: Oxford).

[313] *IGRR* IV 33 = *RGE* 83 = *RDGE* 26 = *SIG*^{3} 764.

[314] *CIL* II 6278 = *FIRA* I^2 49; J. H. Oliver and R. E. A. Palmer, 'Minutes of an act of the Roman senate', *Hesperia* 24.4 (1955) 320–49. Cf. the suggestion that the text of Claudius' Anauni edict of AD 46 may originally have been displayed in the house of the *delator* Camurius Statutus: Eck, 'Documenti amministrativi' (above, n.21) 362–3; *CIL* V 5050 = *ILS* 206.

[315] Corbier, *Donner à voir, donner à lire* (above, n.25) 65.

---

[316] Corbier, *Donner à voir, donner à lire* (above, n.25) ch. 5.

[317] A. E. Cooley, 'Inscribing history at Rome', in *The Afterlife of Inscriptions*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2000: BICS Supplement 75: London) 7–20.

[318] Polybius 3.21–6; C. Reusser, *Der Fidestempel auf dem Kapitol in Rom und seine Ausstattung: ein Beitrag zu den Ausgrabungen an der Via del Mare und um das Kapitol 1926–1943* (1993: Bretschneider: Rome) 162 with n.19.

[319] Crawford, ed., *Roman Statutes* (above, n.20) I no. 19a.

[320] Corbier, *Donner à voir, donner à lire* (above, n.25) part 2 ch. 4.

[321] Strabo *Geog.* 4.5.3.

If inscriptions are considered simply as texts printed on a page, we also lose a sense of how they interacted with their social environment. In the case of building-inscriptions in North Africa during the fourth century AD, for example, care was taken to coordinate the dedicatory ceremony of a new public building with an imperial festival, even if the emperor himself was not present.[323] The unveiling of a new building was an occasion for celebration, and might be marked by a distribution of coins, a banquet, or games.[324] Commemoration was a key function of inscriptions, and this function could be activated in a variety of ways. It was not always simply left to chance that people would read and take note of an inscription. In the case of a treaty, for example, annual proclamation of its text by a herald in public reinforced its terms by reminding a community of the obligations to which it had bound itself.[325]

Inscribed monuments also acted as the focal point for remembering and honouring an individual. Funerary monuments were the focus of rituals – typically, sacrifices, libations, scattering flowers, and meals – on the universal festivals of the dead, such as the *rosalia* (11th May), *violaria* (22nd March), and *parentalia* (13th–21st February), and on anniversaries associated with the individual deceased.[326] Such rituals were not always the concern of the family alone: the deceased might bequeath a lump sum of money to a *collegium* or citizens of a town, the interest from which was intended to finance commemorative rituals at the graveside, to ensure that his or her memory was honoured in the appropriate fashion.[327] Such legacies show a high level of concern on the part of the deceased to ensure the continuation of anniversary rituals, in some cases even reallocating the legacy to an alternative *collegium* in case the *collegium* originally designated should neglect its duty.[328] Other activities took place around statues. These might take place at the initial dedicatory ceremony, when the dedication of a statue with its inscribed base might be celebrated through distribution of coins or food, the provision of a banquet or games.[329] Such activities could also recur on an annual basis, for example, to mark the honorand's birthday.[330] It is often the case that individuals remembered in this way were in fact deceased, and that either the deceased made provision for the annual ceremonies by providing money in a will, or relations – notably parents – might institute the custom for a lamented son or daughter.[331] For example, A. Quinctilius Priscus at Ferentinum made provision for banquets and for his statue to be adorned each year on his birthday,[332] whilst the father of Fabius Hermogenes at Ostia established annual distributions of money in front of his son's statue in the Forum.[333] During the mid second century AD, Q. Cominius Abascantus took particularly elaborate steps at Misenum to ensure the perpetuation of his memory. First of all, during his lifetime, he established substantial trust funds, of 110 000 sesterces under the control of the town councillors in order to finance a wine party (*mulsatio*) for the town councillors and townsfolk each year on his birthday, and of 20 000 and 10 000 sesterces to the fully enrolled *Augustales*, to fund a distribution of cash and wine also each year on his birthday. He then also bequeathed a legacy of 10 000 sesterces to the *Augustales*, on condition that they use it to commemorate him at the *parentalia* each year by cleaning, anointing, and decorating with flowers the two statues of *classis tutela* and *genius municipi* ('protectress of the fleet' and 'genius of the town') which Cominius had earlier presented to the Forum; by engaging ten pairs of wrestlers to perform at his tomb; by holding a banquet for local dignitaries at his tomb; by pouring perfume over his remains, decorating the tomb with flowers, and performing a sacrifice in his memory.[334] In these ways, the memorializing function of inscriptions was not simply left to chance, but was encouraged through formal ceremonies.

---

[322] C. Pietrangeli, 'Frammenti del "Senatus consultum de Asclepiade" recuperati sul Campidoglio', *BullCom* 69 (1941) 109–12.

[323] A. Chastagnol, 'Les inscriptions des monuments inaugurés lors des fêtes impériales', *MÉFRA* 100.1 (1988) 13–26.

[324] *CIL* III 1805 = *ILS* 5695, dedication of baths at Narona marked by a banquet, AD 280; *CIL* II 1956 = *ILS* 5512, Cartima (Baetica), a whole series of public benefactions marked by a banquet and games.

[325] Treaty with Astypalaia of 105 BC was to be read aloud each year in the Assembly: A, ll.14–15: *IGRR* IV 1028 = *RDGE* 16A–B = *RGE* 53.

[326] Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine* (above, n.64) 252–5.

[327] Hopkins, *Death and Renewal* (above, n.61) ch. 4; cf. Iunia Libertas at Ostia, *AÉpigr* (1940) 94 = A. Magioncalda, *Documentazione epigrafica e 'fondazioni' testamentarie* (1994: Giappichelli: Turin) no. 7; *CIL* XI 6520 = *ILS* 6647 = Magioncalda, *Documentazione epigrafica e 'fondazioni' testamentarie* no. 13.

---

[328] *AÉpigr* (1987) 198, Ostia; *CIL* XI 1436 = *ILS* 7258 = Magioncalda, *Documentazione epigrafica e 'fondazioni' testamentarie* (above, n.327) no. 12.

[329] *CIL* X 5918 = *ILS* 406, Anagnia, late second century, dedication of an honorific statue marked by a distribution of money and and a banquet.

[330] Annual distributions, possibly in front of the benefactor's statue: *CIL* II 4511 = Magioncalda, *Documentazione epigrafica e 'fondazioni' testamentarie* (above, n.327) no. 4; *ILS* 6468 = Magioncalda, *Documentazione epigrafica e 'fondazioni' testamentarie* (above, n.327) no. 5.

[331] *CIL* XI 6377 = Magioncalda, *Documentazione epigrafica e 'fondazioni' testamentarie* (above, n.327) no. 3.

[332] *CIL* X 5853 = *ILS* 6271, with Hopkins, *Death and Renewal* (above, n.61) 248.

[333] *CIL* XIV 353 = *ILS* 6148.

[334] J. H. D'Arms, 'Memory, money, and status at Misenum: three new inscriptions from the *collegium* of the Augustales', *JRS* 90 (2000) 126–44.

The final important result of considering inscriptions as monuments rather than as documents is to draw attention to their subjectivity. The question of authorship is particularly relevant in the case of so-called 'cursus' inscriptions: far from offering objective datasets revealing typical career patterns of officials, which in turn may illuminate the workings of Roman governmental administration, what they reveal is how individuals wanted to be remembered. On a basic level, for example, some individuals who had been promoted by Domitian wished to avoid mentioning him directly once he had been assassinated, but at the same time did not want to neglect an aspect of their public *persona*. As a result, L. Roscius Aelianus Maecius Celer, who had served as Domitian's quaestor and had also received military decorations from him was honoured as *quaest(ori) Aug(usti)* ('quaestor of Augustus') and *donato ab imp(eratore) Aug(usto) militarib(us) donis* ('presented with military awards by Imperator Augustus'). This conveyed the idea of imperial favour without having to mention the disgraced emperor by name.[335] A detailed study of the inscriptions on the tomb of the Plautii at Tibur demonstrates how different family members manipulated the epigraphic record to leave a more favourable impression of the importance of their careers than was perhaps justified.[336] The same individual could even have his career represented in different ways in different contexts, as has been argued in the case of Numerius Cluvius during the late Republic at Puteoli, who appears to have offered two slightly divergent versions of his career over a period of possibly a decade, omitting a less important magistracy (quattuorvirate at Caudium) once he had acted as senior magistrate at Capua.[337] The monumental appearance of an inscription could also focus on particularly important aspects of a career, as in the case of L. Cossonius Gallus, on whose statue base at Pisidian Antioch (modern Yalvac) the larger letters used in the word *proCOS* emphasized his status as equestrian governor of the province of Sardinia, since he had been in fact the first proconsul allocated to govern the island, in place of a mere procurator.[338] The role of subjectivity in compiling 'cursus' inscriptions is especially relevant for men of equestrian status, since, contrary to the impression left by the inscriptions, there was in fact no fixed career pattern for equestrians. Indeed, it is likely that the very imitation by equestrians of the career patterns as presented by senators was intended precisely to create the impression that equestrians were as valuable to the state as senators: 'It may be that the standardization which can be seen in equestrian career inscriptions owes something to attempts to give the service the external appearance of being similar in form to the senatorial contribution to the *res publica*, and is not solely determined by the bare facts of a career.'[339]

---

[335] *CIL* XIV 3612 = *ILS* 1025, with Eck, 'Auf der Suche nach Personen und Persönlichkeiten' (above, n.85) 66.

[336] *CIL* XIV 3605–8, discussed by M. Beard, 'Vita inscripta', in *La biographie antique*, ed. W. W. Ehlers (1998: Fondation Hardt Entretiens 44: Geneva) 83–118, at 98–111.

[337] E. Bispham, 'Carved in stone: the municipal magistracies of Numerius Cluvius', in *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2000: BICS Supplement 73: London) 39–75, discussing *CIL* X 1572–3.

[338] *ILS* 1038 = *CIL* III 6813 = *AÉpigr* (1888) 90, with Eck, 'Auf der Suche nach Personen und Persönlichkeiten' (above, n.85) 62.

2.3.2 The emergence of Christian epigraphy?

The rooting and growth of Christianity in the Roman empire was the catalyst for many significant changes in political ideology, society, and culture that together created the distinctive character of the period now known as 'late antiquity'.[340] These changes did not occur all of a sudden, in a clean break with tradition, even though people of the time (particularly among the senatorial elite at Rome) self-consciously used that tradition as a reference point; consequently, it would be wrong to expect there to have been a sudden clean break in epigraphic culture either.[341] The Constantinian and then Theodosian periods punctuated particularly significant phases in the integration of the new faith within the state, and these also found a reflection in epigraphic changes, but even with the exertions of Theodosius I a homogeneous orthodox Christian community remained an elusive goal.[342] The development of a distinctively Christian epigraphic culture did not occur as soon as individuals started to be converted to the new faith, nor should we expect to uncover bland uniformity extending through Italy and the provinces. Indeed, on one view, Christian epigraphy should not be viewed as a distinctive phenomenon at all, but rather that both secular and religious epigraphic practices evolved at the same time.[343] This section will explore the distinctiveness of Christian epigraphy, in order to address the question of whether or not the rise of Christianity produced over time new attitudes to and new uses for inscriptions, focusing upon the period we might term 'early late antiquity', from the third century to the late sixth century, by which time Christianity had become firmly embedded. The question may be posed as follows (to borrow from Carletti):[344] is it valid to speak of 'Christian epigraphy' rather than 'epigraphy set up by Christians'?

---

[339] Bruun, *Water Supply* (above, n.28) 377–8, quotation from 378.

[340] R. Markus, 'Between Marrou and Brown: transformations of late antique Christianity', in *Transformations of Late Antiquity: Essays for Peter Brown*, eds. P. Rousseau and M. Papoutsakis (2009: Ashgate: Farnham) 1–13; *Interpreting Late Antiquity: Essays on the Postclassical World*, eds. G. W. Bowersock, P. Brown, and O. Grabar (2001: Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass.) – on the development of a new political ideology from Constantine onwards, see C. Kelly, 'Empire building', 170–95, and on Christian ambivalence to domestic decoration, see H. Maguire, 'The good life', 238–57.

[341] P. R. L. Brown, 'Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman aristocracy', *JRS* 51 (1961) 1–11; A. Cameron, 'The last pagans of Rome', in *The Transformations of Urbs Roma in Late Antiquity*, ed. W. V. Harris (1999: *JRA* Supplement 33: Portsmouth, R.I.) 109–21; J. Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century* (2000: Clarendon Press: Oxford) ch. 7; C. Carletti, '"Preistoria" dell'epigrafia dei cristiani: un mito storiografico *ex maiorum auctoritate*?', in *Origine delle catacombe romane*, eds. V. Fiocchi Nicolai and J. Guyon (2006: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana: Vatican City) 91–119.

[342] R. Lim, 'Christian triumph and controversy', in *Interpreting Late Antiquity: Essays on the Postclassical World*, eds. G. W. Bowersock, P. Brown, and O. Grabar (2001: Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass.) 196–218.

We are dependent upon archaeological context for detecting the earliest Christian inscriptions.[345] Of these, epitaphs are even more prominent within the surviving epigraphic record than is the case for non-Christian epigraphy, comprising roughly 94% of all Christian inscriptions from Rome. Being able to trace the evolution of the catacombs at Rome on archaeological grounds reveals the gradual transformation of Christian **funerary epigraphy**. Catacombs were used by Christian communities at Rome for burials from the end of the second century/first half of the third century, and were controlled by clerics appointed by the pope.[346] The deacon Callistus, for example, was placed by Pope Zephyrinus in charge of the catacombs developing beneath the *via Appia* as early as 198/217.[347] By the end of the third century, a network of places for worship and burial had been established, and the city had been divided up into parishes within dioceses, each assigned its own cemetery.[348] In itself, the use of the catacombs for burying those who belonged to Christian communities was a novelty: previously, burials had been structured by households or by *collegia* ('burial-clubs'), whereas now the right to burial was conceded to faith, regardless of family or social position.[349] Nevertheless, the innovative nature of the catacombs was not immediately reflected in the epitaphs set up within them. Just over 200 Latin inscriptions were found in the original nucleus of the catacomb of St Priscilla, which was created in a former tufa quarry on the *via Salaria* during the first half of the third century. Over 80% of these epitaphs were 'neutral', with no specifically religious content. Over 60% of them consisted simply of the deceased's name. Their Christian character is suggested only by references to *pax* ('peace') in a small minority of the inscriptions, such as *Caelestina pax* ('Caelestina peace');[350] beyond Rome, in Arelate (Gallia Narbonensis, modern Arles), the formula *pax tecum* appears in pre-Constantinian epitaphs, whilst the formulae *in pace* and *cum pace* appear scratched upon *loculi* (burial-niches) in the 'Catacomb of the Good Shepherd' at Hadrumetum (modern Sousse, Tunisia) dating from the mid third/early fourth centuries.[351] A similar pattern emerges at the catacomb of St Callistus on the *via Appia*, where the vast majority of inscriptions was once again 'neutral'. By contrast, during the second half of the third century only 50% of the inscriptions found in area I–Y in the cemetery of St Marcellinus and St Peter on the *via Labicana* were 'neutral', and the first references to *depositio* ('burial') occur there (on which see below).[352]

---

[343] Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine* (above, n.64) vi.

[344] C. Carletti: '"Epigrafia cristiana" "Epigrafia dei cristiani": alle origini della terza età dell'epigrafia', in *La terza età dell'epigrafia*, ed. A. Donati (1988: Epigrafia e antichità 9: Fratelli Lega: Faenza) 115–35.

[345] See the various studies by C. Carletti: '"Epigrafia cristiana" "Epigrafia dei cristiani"' (above, n.344); 'Nascita e sviluppo del formulario epigrafico cristiano: prassi e ideologia', in *Le iscrizioni dei cristiani in Vaticano*, ed. I. Di Stefano Manzella (1997: Inscriptiones Sanctae Sedis 2: Vatican City) 143–64; '"Un mondo nuovo": epigrafia funeraria dei cristiani a Roma in età postcostantiniana', *Vetera Christianorum* 35 (1998) 39–67, and '"Preistoria" dell'epigrafia dei cristiani (above, n.341), specifically tackling the problem of identifying early Christian inscriptions beyond the catacombs; also D. Mazzoleni, 'L'epigrafia cristiana al tempo dei Severi', in *Epigrafi del mondo cristiano antico* (2002: Lateran University Press: Rome, repr. from *Gli imperatori Severi*, eds. E. dal Covolo and G. Rinaldi (1991: Biblioteca di Scienze Religiose 138: Rome) 273–83). On tracing the emergence of Christian funerary epigraphy in North Africa, which poses similar problems, see N. Duval, 'L'épigraphie funéraire chrétienne d'Afrique: traditions et ruptures, constantes et diversités', in *La terza età dell'epigrafia*, ed. A. Donati (1988: Epigrafia e antichità 9: Fratelli Lega: Faenza) 265–314.

[346] L. V. Rutgers, *Subterranean Rome: In Search of the Roots of Christianity in the Catacombs of the Eternal City* (2000: Peeters: Leuven).

[347] Hippolytus, *Philosophumena* 9.12.

A rare and invaluable insight into the development of Christian commemorative practice beyond the catacombs is offered by a complex dating from the early third century, which was preserved when it was filled in and covered over by the memorial established in honour of the apostles Peter and Paul (*memoria apostolorum*) on the *via Appia* (on which see further below).[353] The complex seems to have begun as an ordinary burial area in the mid second century, which was adapted during the second half of the second century to accommodate inhumations rather than cremations. Towards the end of the second century/early third century, paintings apparently alluding to Christian themes were introduced, but by the mid third century the whole area was buried under the new apostolic memorial. In this case, the monumental epitaphs themselves are not the decisive factor in indicating that the burials included Christians, most of them being 'neutral' in tone, including the formula *bene merenti fecit* ('did it for (him/her) well deserving').[354] Instead, Christian beliefs may be deduced for M. Clodius Hermes from the paintings on his mausoleum, which included a scene from the New Testament of demons being exorcized and diverted onto pigs, another scene depicting the parable of the good shepherd, and what may be interpreted as a 'de-paganized' gorgon's head. Against this background, the erasure of the abbreviated formula *d(is) m(anibus)* ('to the departed spirits') on the *stele* of Nice may also suggest objections to traditional religious practices, not least since it was replaced by decorative vegetation.[355]

---

[348] Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital* (above, n.341) 37–40.

[349] Carletti, 'Nascita e sviluppo del formulario epigrafico cristiano' (above, n.345) 145.

[350] *ICUR* IX 25046.

[351] Arles: *CIL* XII 831, 833–4, 850, 878, 964, 971, *AÉpigr* (1974) 417; A. Ferrua, 'L'epigrafia cristiana prima di Costantino', in *Atti del IX congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana* (1978: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana: Vatican City) I 583–613, at 602; Hadrumetum: Duval, 'L'épigraphie funéraire chrétienne d'Afrique (above, n.345) 284–5; A. Ferrua, 'Hadrumetum: le iscrizioni delle catacombe', *Aevum* 47 (1973) 189–209, at 190–201.

[352] Carletti, '"Epigrafia cristiana"' (above, n.345) 119–29; *depositio*: *ICUR* VI 16469 (first half of fourth century), 16243.

[353] C. Carletti, 'Pagani e cristiani nel sepolcreto della "piazzola" sotto la Basilica Apostolorum a Roma', *Vetera Christianorum* 18 (1981) 287–307.

The earliest detectable Christian epitaphs, from the third century AD, may be characterized by their brevity, usually comprising just the single name of the deceased.[356] It was only during the fourth century that new types of epigraphic monument and new linguistic formulae emerged in a major way as a result of the impact of mass conversion and of the spread of Christianity into the upper classes.[357] Another innovation was the use of neologisms to express the new conceptions of death integral to Christian beliefs: the words *petitio* and *arcessitio* ('summoning') alluded to the idea of life being given back to the one who had granted it. Above all, death had become a moment of rebirth, a gateway to a better life: this idea was encapsulated in the use of the verb *transire* ('to cross over') to mean 'to die', and referring to the day of death as being one's birth-day (*natalis*).[358] This did not mean, however, that Christians did not express regret at the death of a loved one: the lamentation from the third century of the parents of the young Claudius Aurelius Reginus over his early death is similar in sentiment to numerous non-Christian epitaphs, and this pattern continued into the fifth century.[359] The new importance given to the date of death led to recording the exact date of burial, often including consular names to identify the year, and reference to burial (*depositus*/*depositio* – 'buried/burial') now became prominent. The earliest definite example of this practice is from AD 273, but consular dates became a regular feature of fourth-century epitaphs.[360] Alongside this new vocabulary, a repertoire of new symbols developed as well, at first images of fish and/or anchors, with more variety later including doves, olive-branches, and palms.[361] The only symbol exclusive to Christianity, however, was the monogram of the intertwined Greek letters chi–rho, standing for *Chr(istus)*, adopted first by Constantine.[362] The chi–rho monogram was particularly common in the context of so-called 'a nastro' inscriptions, which were scratched upon the fresh mortar sealing the *loculus* (burial-niche dug out of the walls of the catacombs' passageways). This implies that the act of writing the monogram could be closely associated with the actual moment of burial. As the *loculus* was sealed up, the chi–rho monogram was incised upon its plaster, sometimes repeatedly. This suggests that adding the monogram was not so much a declaration of faith, but was regarded as having protective properties, and would safeguard the burial within the *loculus*.[363]

---

[354] *ICUR* V 12890, 12891 (with images of an anchor and fish), 12895.

[355] *ICUR* V 12895.

[356] Carletti, '"Un mondo nuovo"' (above, n.345) 47.

[357] Carletti, '"Un mondo nuovo"' (above, n.345).

[358] B. I. Knott, 'The Christian "special language" in the inscriptions', *VigChr* 10 (1956) 65–79.

[359] *ICUR* X 26560. Cf. *ICUR* I 727, AD 393; *ICUR* I 713, AD 403.

The transformation and distinctiveness of Christian epitaphs was not absolute, however.[364] Most notably, some Christian epitaphs, albeit a small minority of them, continued to use the formula *dis manibus* and its variants at Rome until the mid fifth century.[365] Elsewhere it persisted even longer, as in North Africa, where Christian epitaphs at Mactar and Altava continued to use *d(is) m(anibus)* and *d(is) m(anibus) s(acrum)* during the sixth/seventh centuries.[366] It is misleading to expand the abbreviation differently so as to Christianize it, as *d(eo) m(aximo)*, *d(eo) m(agno)* or *d(ulci) m(emoriae)*: a few inscriptions still contained the formula written out in full, whilst its equivalent in Greek, Θ K, likewise persisted.[367] The formulae *d(is) m(anibus)* and *d(is) m(anibus) s(acrum)* perhaps persisted in the hope that this would protect the inviolability of the tomb; they tended, however, not to be used with a name in the genitive, divorcing the spirits from the deceased person.

---

[360] *ICUR* III 6496, AD 273 from the catacomb of Domitilla; Carletti, 'Nascita e sviluppo del formulario epigrafico cristiano' (above, n.345) 150–1.

[361] Carletti, 'Nascita e sviluppo del formulario epigrafico cristiano' (above, n.345) 147.

[362] Carletti, '"Un mondo nuovo"' (above, n.345) 53.

[363] Carletti, 'Nascita e sviluppo del formulario epigrafico cristiano' (above, n.345) 154.

[364] Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead* (above, n.50) ch. 10.

[365] M. L. Caldelli, 'Nota su *d(is) m(anibus)* e *d(is) m(anibus) s(acrum)* nelle iscrizione cristiane di Roma', in *Le iscrizioni dei cristiani in Vaticano*, ed. I. Di Stefano Manzella (1997: Inscriptiones Sanctae Sedis 2: Vatican City) 185–7; D. Mazzoleni, 'L'epigrafia cristiana ad Aquileia nel IV secolo', in *Epigrafi del mondo cristiano antico* (2002: Lateran University Press: Rome, repr. from *Antichità Altoadriatiche* 22 (1982) 301–25); *ILCV* II 3884–957 + index, III pp.425–27.

[366] N. Duval, 'Une *mensa* funéraire de Tharros (Sardaigne) et la collection chrétienne du Musée de Cagliari', *Revue des études Augustiniennes* 28 (1982) 280–8, at 283.

[367] *Dis manibus*: *ICUR* IV 9601, VI 15936a, VIII 23476a, IX 24260b; cf. allusion to the *manes* in verse epitaph: *ICUR* VI 16961; Θ K: *ILCV* 3884, 3884A.

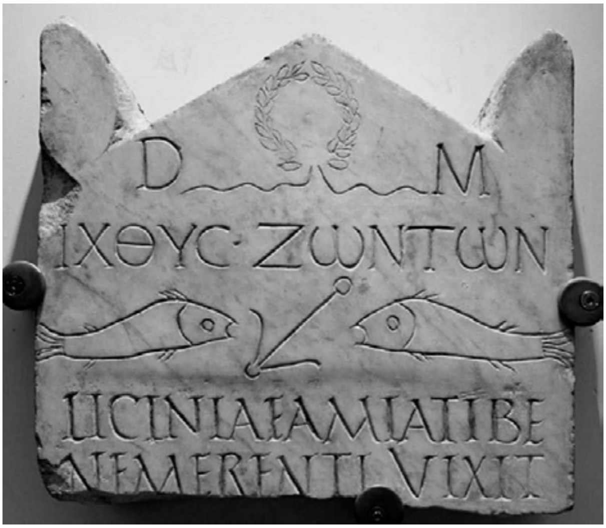


Fig. 2.27 Epitaph of Licinia Amias, Vatican – *ICUR* II 4246 (from G. Filippi in I. Di Stefano Manzella, ed., *Le iscrizioni dei cristiani in Vaticano* (1997: Inscriptiones Sanctae Sedis 2: Vatican City) 218–20: 3.2.2a)

51 Epitaph of Licinia Amias, Vatican: Fig. 2.27

ICUR II 4246

ILCV 1611B; G. Filippi in *Le iscrizioni dei cristiani in Vaticano*, ed. I. Di Stefano Manzella (1997: Inscriptiones Sanctae Sedis 2: Vatican City) 218–20 = *AÉpigr* (1997) 166–75, 3.2.2; *AÉpigr* (1999) 247; *AÉpigr* (2000) 186; *AÉpigr* (2006) 150 = C. Carletti, '"Preistoria" dell'epigrafia dei cristiani: un mito storiografico *ex maiorum auctoritate*?', in *Origine delle catacombe romane*, eds. V. Fiocchi Nicolai and J. Guyon (2006: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana: Vatican City) 91–119 at 102 no. 4.
Photograph:www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=$ICUR-02_04246.jpg

d(is) ⊂ garland ⊃ m(anibus) / ἰχθὺς ζώντων / ⊂ fish – anchor – fish ⊃ / Liciniae Amiati be/ne merenti vixit [– – –]

'To the departed spirits. Fish of the living. To Licinia Amias, well deserving (who) lived . . . '

This *stele* of white marble is traditional in form (height 30.3 cm, width 33.5 cm, depth 7 cm), a pedimented slab with *acroteria*, inscribed with an epitaph (letters height 3.4–2.3 cm). Its lower half is missing. It was found near St Peter's basilica, and dates from the end of the second/first half of the third century. It originally belonged to an open-air necropolis. It illustrates the juxtaposition of the traditional formula invoking the spirits of the dead with Christian images, and the difficulties of interpretation which this raises. Various interpretations of the inscription have been offered, exploring when it might have taken on undeniable Christian characteristics: for example, it has been suggested that the *stele* was modified over time in three phases: firstly, that the dedication *d m* and the images of fish and anchor belonged to an epitaph that was later completely erased when the epitaph to Licinia Amias was added; finally, the Greek words were perhaps added only at a later stage, making the monument take on an undeniably Christian tenor. The fish can even be explained as a non-Christian motif, playing on the name of the deceased, ἀμίας meaning 'tuna' in Greek.

The juxtaposition of Christian and traditional funerary practices also occurred beyond Rome, for example at Aquileia and Clusium (modern Chiusi).[368] Furthermore, the symbols of fish and anchor were not exclusive to Christians in the third century: the anchor had long been regarded as a metaphor for reaching a safe harbour at the end of life's journey.[369]

Despite this, a major shift can be observed between the early and late fourth century, as Christian epitaphs became increasingly distinctive, self-consciously so. During this period, epitaphs tended to become more descriptive, including details about the person's age and position within family and society, the date of burial, and epithets relating to his or her faith.[370] Similarly, references to baptism began to appear, referring to the deceased as *neofitus* (most famously in the case of the urban prefect Iunius Bassus, who died in 359),[371] incidentally showing that quite a number of Christians were baptized when adults, just before they died.[372] By the end of the fourth century, individuals' names had increasingly begun to be used as a way of reflecting their Christian ideals, and certain names became popular for their associations with saints (such as Johannes or Petrus), or for their etymological links with Christian values and beliefs (Agape, Irene) and festivals (Paschasius, Anastasius).[373] The association of her name with the resurrection was made explicit in the epitaph of Anastasia from the catacomb of Comodilla, from the second half of the fourth century.[374] Other names expressed the idea of life having been granted by God, in the forms Adeodatus, Deusdedit, and Quodvultdeus. Non-Christian names remained popular if they had been borne by a famous saint, whilst some traditional names, such as Felix and Victor, also continued, but with new resonance. Converts might adopt a new baptismal name alongside their former one. On the other hand, what might appear to be 'names of humility', such as Stercorius, Calumniosus, Proiectus, Exitiosus, and Importunus, simply reflect structural changes in patterns of nomenclature, as *cognomina* ending with -osus or -ius emerged from the early third century, and became popular during the fourth century.[375] Finally, new forms of praise emerged, reflecting changes in social values promoted by the Christian faith. The most striking is that the deceased might be praised as having been *amicus/amator/amatrix pauperum* ('friend of the poor').[376] These descriptions then became common during the fifth and sixth centuries, spreading far beyond Rome, and incidentally served as a defining characteristic of the elite within the church, although not exclusive to them:[377] in North Africa, Bishop Alexander of Tipasa (Mauretania Caesariensis) and Cresconius, bishop of Cuicul (Numidia, modern Djemila) were both commemorated through almost identical metrical mosaic inscriptions in their churches as *pauperum amator (a)elemosinae deditus* ('lover of the poor devoted to almsgiving') during the late fourth/early fifth and early fifth/mid sixth centuries respectively.[378]

---

[368] *CIL* V 1713 = *ILCV* 1362; *ILCV* 3033, 3916–24.

[369] Carletti, 'Nascita e sviluppo del formulario epigrafico cristiano' (above, n.345) 147.

[370] Carletti, '"Un mondo nuovo"' (above, n.345) 47; for example *ICUR* I 729, AD 405; I 529, AD 435.

[371] *ICUR* II 4164.

[372] *ICUR* I 396, 647, 1614; IV 9896.1; V 13443, 14490; Carletti, '"Un mondo nuovo"' (above, n.345) 48–51.

[373] I. Kajanto, 'Roman nomenclature during the late empire', in *Le iscrizioni dei cristiani in Vaticano*, ed. I. Di Stefano Manzella (1997: Inscriptiones Sanctae Sedis 2: Vatican City) 103–11.

In common with non-Christian inscriptions relating to burials in earlier centuries, there was more to Christian funerary epigraphy than simply epitaphs. As in earlier periods, inscriptions might also be used to assert ownership of a tomb area. This became increasingly important as mass conversion to Christianity at Rome brought about pressure upon available space.[379] Consequently, individuals tended to wish to secure their burial-spaces during their lifetimes, by paying a fee to the *fossores* ('diggers') in charge of the catacombs.[380] Such inscriptions might simply identify a particular burial location: *em(p)tu(m) a Bener/osu gradu quin/tu discendentibus* ('bought from Benerosus (i.e., Venerosus) at the fifth step as you descend').[381] It was important to be able to establish one's legal right to be buried in a particular place, therefore, and some inscriptions named witnesses to the purchase: *Caianus emit cum vivit / sibi et uxori suae ab Adeo/dato fossore sub praesenti<a> sancti Maximi presbiteri* ('Caianus bought (this) in his lifetime for himself and for his wife from Adeodatus the digger in the presence of holy presbyter Maximus').[382] This concern to buy a particular burial-space could now assume a religious significance as well: the right to be buried in a particular place took on an especial importance with the rise of the cult of martyrs towards the end of the fourth century, notably as Pope Damasus promoted the importance of martyr cults at Rome from 366, seeking out the bodies of the martyrs, and then commissioning hagiographic verse epigrams to be elegantly engraved by Furius Dionysius Filocalus in their honour, which were set up next to these relics.[383]

---

[374] *ICUR* II 6130.

[375] I. Kajanto, 'On the problem of "names of humility" in early Christian epigraphy', *Arctos* 3 (1962) 45–53.

[376] *ICUR* I 1420, AD 341, I 947; II 4815, AD 377, II 5090, AD 554. Cf. *omnibus amicatus*, *ICUR* I 1441, AD 385; A. Giardina, '*Amor civicus*: formule e immagini dell'evergetismo romano nella tradizione epigrafica', in *La terza età dell'epigrafia*, ed. A. Donati (1988: Epigrafia e antichità 9: Fratelli Lega: Faenza) 78–85.

[377] Carletti, '"Un mondo nuovo"' (above, n.345) 52; R. Finn, *Almsgiving in the Later Roman Empire: Christian Promotion and Practice 313–450* (2006: Oxford Classical Press) 198–99.

[378] *CIL* VIII 20905 = *ILCV* 1103; *ILAlg* II/3 8299 = *AÉpigr* (1922) 25.

[379] Carletti, 'Nascita e sviluppo del formulario epigrafico cristiano' (above, n.345) 156.

One way of interpreting the rise of martyr-cult at this time is as a mechanism 'by which Christians of the fourth and fifth centuries tried to allay the anxieties over the gulf that had come to divide their triumphant Church from its persecuted predecessor . . . ', as part of the 'response by the Christian community to a felt need for restoration of the lost continuity with the past'.[384] As well as venerating the martyrs themselves, the new custom arose of burial near the tombs of martyrs (*ad sanctos*), since it was popularly believed that proximity to a martyr's remains would facilitate communication with the martyr, who might then intercede on someone's behalf in the afterlife.[385] Such ideas were explicitly articulated by the presbyter Crispinus at Guadamur in Hispania Citerior in 693, who expressed in some detail in his impressive monumental epitaph the expectation that he would be protected by the saints until Judgement Day, and then would benefit from their intercession: + *quisquis hunc tabule / l[ustra]ris titulum huius / [cern]e locum respice situm / [p(er)spice vic]inum malui (h)abere / [locum sa]c[r]um* (vac.*) / [sac(er?) ipse m(i)n(is)]ter annis sexsa/[ginta p]eregi tempora / [vite] /* (vac.*) / [..? fun]ere perfunctum s(an)c(t)is / [co]mmendo tuendum / [ut cum] flamma vorax ve/[n]iet conburere terras / cet[i]bus s(an)c(t)orum merito / sociatus resurgam / hic vite curso anno(rum) finito / Crispinus pr(e)sb(i)t(er) peccator / in Xp(ist)i pace quiesco (a)era DCC /* (vac.*) XXXI.* ('Whoever surveys this inscription of this tablet, look at the place, take note of the site, perceive the neighbour I have chosen to have is a holy place. I myself a holy minister lived through 60 years in my life . . . after my funeral, I commend (myself) to the saints for protection, so that when the devouring fire comes to burn up the lands, in the company of the deserving saints I shall rise up, having completed my life's course of years, Crispinus, presbyter, sinner, in the peace of Christ I am at rest. Year 731').[386] Individuals were, therefore, prepared to pay several gold coins (*solidi*) in order to secure a desirable burial-space near to the remains of a martyr.[387] This led to a trend from the mid fourth century whereby the martyr's name became an integral part of the formula relating to the purchase of the burial-place, as illustrated in the following fifth-century inscription found in the crypt of the popes in the catacomb of Cornelius: *Ser<pe>ntiu/s emit loc<u>/m a Quinto / fossore ad / santum Co/rnelium* ('Serpentius bought the place from Quintus the digger at saint Cornelius').[388]

---

[380] J. Guyon, 'La vente des tombes à travers l'épigraphie de la Rome chrétienne (III^{e}–VII^{e} siècles): le rôle des *fossores, mansionarii, praepositi* et prêtres', *MÉFRA* 86 (1974) 549–96; cf. *ICUR* I 420, 1190.

[381] *ICUR* IV 12339, second half of the fourth century.

[382] *ICUR* II 6096, fifth century.

[383] A. Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana* (1942: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana: Vatican City); Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital* (above, n.341) 148–55; D. Trout, 'Damasus and the invention of early Christian Rome', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33.3 (2003) 517–36.

[384] Markus, 'Between Marrou and Brown' (above, n.340) 8–9.

[385] Carletti, '"Un mondo nuovo"' (above, n.345) 56–9 for burial *ad sanctos*. For a sceptical note, see *ICUR* VII 18017, 6–8, by the archdeacon Sabinus in the early fifth century, who observed *nil iuvat, immo gravat, tumulis haerere piorum* ('Clinging to the tombs of the holy does no good: on the contrary, it is unwholesome').

This practice brought about a major shift away from the egalitarian nature of earlier Christian burials, and was accompanied after the fifth century by a movement away from burial underground in the catacombs to burial in basilicas. The privileged character of these locations emerges from the richness of their epigraphic memorials: almost 60% of the burials in basilica cemeteries have been found with inscriptions, in contrast to a much smaller proportion in the catacombs, and this appears to reflect that the deceased were on average of higher social and economic status.[389] Similarly, epitaphs in basilicas also displayed much higher cultural pretensions, especially in espousing the form of verse inscriptions.[390] Although, therefore, it is possible that early Christian communities during the third century favoured the egalitarian flavour of inscriptions bearing a simple name and of burial in a *loculus* that was the same for all, by the late fourth century, social distinctions were once again becoming important and were expressed via epitaphs and place of burial. Finally, from *c.*500 in Rome, burial *ad sanctos* became a privilege granted by the pope in return for ecclesiastical service, as the most desirable plots for burial had already been pressed into service: the subdeacon Marcellus and his descendants, for example, were granted a burial-place in St Peter's basilica by Pope John in 563.[391]

---

[386] *ILCV* 3483 = *ICERV* 293.

[387] *ICUR* V 14115, five *solidi*, for a burial-place near saints Felicissimus and Agapitus, end of fourth century; *ICUR* II 6077, one and a half *solidi*, AD 426.

[388] *ICUR* IV 9441; Carletti, '"Un mondo nuovo"' (above, n.345) 56–9; cf. *ICUR* II 6077; IV 12458.

[389] Carletti, '"Un mondo nuovo"' (above, n.345) 45–6.

[390] *ICUR* I 307, verse epitaph of the consul Insteius Pompeianus; cf. *ICUR* I 396, 947; Carletti, '"Un mondo nuovo"' (above, n.345) 60–1.

Although this desire for burial *ad sanctos* became prominent at Rome only towards the end of the fourth century, it had already been popular in North Africa some decades earlier, where it seems to have arisen on popular initiative rather than with the encouragement of the church authorities.[392] Augustine gave a distinctly lukewarm response to an enquiry from Bishop Paulinus of Nola regarding the value of such burials. According to Augustine, the location of a burial was in itself unimportant: what mattered was the intensity of prayer offered up on behalf of the deceased: *quod vero quisque apud memorias martyrum sepelitur, hoc tantum mihi videtur prodesse defuncto ut commendans eum etiam martyrum patrocinio affectus pro illo supplicationis augeatur* ('But, that someone is buried at the memorials of martyrs, this seems to me to profit the departed only inasmuch as while commending him also to the martyrs' patronage, the intensity of prayer on his behalf is increased').[393] In his view, therefore, only if burial *ad sanctos* in effect encouraged more prayer would that be of any significance. Such views do not seem to have acted as a deterrent, however. The earliest such burials appear linked to tombs where local martyrs were buried, but the martyrs in question were not always named in inscriptions: even unnamed martyrs were evidently believed to be effective protectors. After the mid fifth century, reference to burial *ad sanctos* disappears from inscriptions, but this may reflect the fact that it was from then on regarded as obvious, and no longer needed to be stated explicitly.

The growing popularity of martyr-cult also led to the common practice among the faithful of incising **graffiti** on the walls of holy places.[394] To call them ‘pilgrims’ would be misleading because in only a few cases can it be demonstrated that the writers of the graffiti had travelled away from home in order to visit a shrine.[395] It is likely that many graffiti were incised by visitors to the shrine who lived in the locality. Communicating with the gods via graffiti had long been a custom in the Roman world, as discussed earlier, but Christians used the familiar practice of writing graffiti in various new ways. There was evidently a hope that prayers specifically addressed to the saints associated with that particular holy place and incised on the spot would stand a greater chance of being answered. The earliest illustration of this practice are the several hundred graffiti incised in Latin and Greek at the memorial honouring the apostles Peter and Paul on the *via Appia* (*memoria Apostolorum*). The graffiti belong to a relatively confined chronological period, since it seems likely that the memorial was established in 258, but by 350 had been covered over by Constantine’s *basilica Apostolorum* (also known as St Sebastian’s). The graffiti suggest that believers flocked to this shrine, which included a porticoed courtyard equipped with benches (*triclinia*) for funerary banquets (*refrigeria*).[396] The graffiti served a variety of functions, commemorating individuals’ participation in ritual meals, attesting to an individual’s visit to the shrine, and recording vows that had been fulfilled or prayers to the saints for intercession. Graffiti pictures of horses crowned with victory-palms even suggest that prayers may also have been directed towards influencing the outcome of horse races in the nearby circus.[397]

---

[391] *ICUR* II 4186.

[392] Y. Duval, Loca sanctorum Africae: *le culte des martyrs en Afrique du IV^{e} au VII^{e} siècle* (1982: CÉFR 58: Rome) II 501–23. Compare too the Spanish peninsula, where burial *ad sanctos* appears at Tarraco during the fourth/fifth centuries, and continues down to the seventh century: Y. Duval, 'Projet d'enquête sur l'épigraphie martyriale en Espagne romaine, visigothique (et Byzantine)', *AnTard* 1 (1993) 173–206, esp. 198–202.

[393] Augustine, *De cura pro mortuis gerenda* 18.22.

[394] D. Mazzoleni, 'Iscrizioni nei luoghi di pellegrinaggio', in *Epigrafi del mondo cristiano antico* (2002: Lateran University Press: Rome) 61–72, repr. from *Akten des XII Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie* (1995: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung: Münster)

The act of recording names was crucial to the effectiveness of such graffiti, which both invoked the saints by name and stated the name of the individual concerned: *Petre et Paule sub/venite Prim[o] / peccatori* (‘Peter and Paul:

I 301–9); W. Eck, ‘Graffiti an Pilgerorten im spätrömischen Reich’, in *Akten des XII Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie* (1995: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung: Münster) I 206–22 (repr. in *Tra epigrafia, prosopografia e archeologia* (1996: Vetera 10: Quasar: Rome) ch. 4).

[395] For example, Primus from Beneventum, at the *memoria Apostolorum*: *ICUR* V 12966. Cf. A. E. Felle, ‘Due nuove iscrizioni ruiniche dalla catacomba romana *ad duas lauros*’, *ZPE* 149 (2004) 205–12.

[396] *ICUR* V 12907–13096; A. Ferrua, ‘Rileggendo i graffiti di S. Sebastiano’, in *Scritti vari di epigrafia e antichità cristiane* (1991: Edipuglia: Bari) 297–314. Graffiti in the catacomb of St Pamphilus, dating from the sixth to ninth centuries, were written in response to the introduction of a memorial to the martyr into the existing catacomb, perhaps when relics of St Pamphilus were brought from North Africa by exiles of the Vandal persecutions there: D. Mazzoleni, ‘Novità epigrafiche della catacomba di Panfilo’, in *Epigrafi del mondo cristiano antico* (2002: Lateran University Press: Rome) 97–106, at 103–6 (repr. from *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia* 63 (1990/1) (1993) 95–113).

[397] A suggestion by Ferrua that still finds favour: Eck, ‘Graffiti an Pilgerorten’ (above, n.394) 218.

help Primus, sinner').[398] Prayers were offered by the living both on their own behalf and also on behalf of the deceased. Location was crucial to the effectiveness of communication: just as it was believed that burial in proximity to a martyr would make for more effective intercession, so graffiti were written around paintings representing the martyrs, such as St Cecilia in the catacomb of St Callixtus.[399] Indeed, it was one of the valuable facets of graffiti, in contrast to monumental inscriptions, that they could be added in immediate proximity to painted images of the saints. The commonest prayer at the *memoria Apostolorum* was that the apostles should remember an individual – *in mente habete* – a formula that is sometimes completed with *in orationibus vestris* ('in your prayers').[400] Such appeals for intercession from the martyrs were not confined to graffiti: similar hopes are expressed in a mosaic inscription from the catacomb of Pamphilus – *martures / sancti boni / benedicti bos {i.e., vos} / atiutate {= adiuvate} Quiriacu(m)* ('Holy good blessed martyrs, help Quiriacus') – but the medium of graffiti was more immediate.[401] Even so, the apostles evidently did not hold a complete monopoly on intercession: an appeal is also made to Florentia for her to intercede for a list of named individuals,[402] and in another graffito, the writer asks for the reader as well as the apostles to remember Sozomenus: *X k(a)l(endas) Iulias / Paule Petre in mente / habete Sozomenum / et tu qui leges* ('22nd June: Paul, Peter, remember Sozomenus; and you who read (this)').[403]

It would be no exaggeration to claim that the way in which individuals themselves scratched graffiti upon the walls of holy places itself became part of the act of homage that was an integral aim of visiting such sites.[404] This distinctive use of graffiti established itself so firmly that it continued into the early mediaeval period. Over 165 Latin texts were scratched onto the walls of the cave-sanctuary of St Michael the Archangel on Monte Gargano (Apulia) during the mid seventh to mid ninth centuries. This was a popular place of pilgrimage favoured by the Lombard regime.[405] The graffiti themselves mostly consist of personal names, but alongside some of them are formulae such as *biba in deo semper* ('may you always live in God'),[406] and *qui legis ora pro me* ('you who read this, pray for me').[407] Analysis of the lettering suggests that some of the graffiti may have been inscribed by the same hand, and two 'professional' individual writers name themselves as Sabilo and Gaidemari.[408] They produced texts on behalf of high-status clients: perhaps pilgrims could commission official graffiti as an act of devotion, something that would be in contrast to the autographs of the earlier period.[409] A still more remarkable continuity in devotional purpose is found in the fifty-three Latin graffiti of the eighth/ninth centuries on the plaster of a fresco in the rural church of St Eusebius at Ronciglione (Latium). As with the graffiti in the *memoria Apostolorum* on the *via Appia* some 400 or 500 years earlier, we find invocations to the saints, prayers, and appeals to the reader to pray on the writer's behalf. A much narrower cross-section of society was represented here than had appeared at Rome, however, with roughly half of the writers identifying themselves as clerics, but some of the fundamental impulses prompting graffiti remained the same.[410] That this was not some quirky coincidence is confirmed by further graffiti from the seventh to ninth centuries written around painted portraits of St Peter and St Paul in the apse of the 'Tempietto sul Clitunno' near Spoleto (Umbria), where the writers explicitly requested the saints to remember the faithful by name on Judgement Day. As in the catacombs, promixity to the figures of the saints – albeit in painted form – was regarded as a way of increasing the potency of the graffiti in securing the saints' protection.[411]

---

[398] *ICUR* V 12967.

[399] C. Jäggi, 'Graffiti as a medium for *memoria* in the early and high middle ages', in *Memory and Oblivion*, eds. W. Reinink and J. Stumpel (1999: Kluwer: Dordrecht) 745–51, at 746–7.

[400] *ICUR* V 12914: *Petrus et Paulus in men/te abeatis Antonius*; cf. *ICUR* V 12922, 12973, 12980, 13000a, 13002a, 13013.1, 13020b.

[401] *ICUR* X 26350; D. Mazzoleni, 'Considerazioni preliminari sulle iscrizioni della catacomba di Panfilo', in *Epigrafi del mondo cristiano antico* (2002: Lateran University Press: Rome) 87–95, (repr. from *Bessarione Quaderno* 7 (1989) 149–60).

[402] *ICUR* V 13092.3.

[403] *ICUR* V 12980.

[404] Compare too graffiti in a variety of holy sites in early mediaeval Gaul and Spain: M.A. Handley, *Death, Society and Culture: Inscriptions and Epitaphs in Gaul and Spain, AD 300–750* (2003: British Archaeological Reports International Services 135: Oxford) ch. 8.

Locations where we find clusters of graffiti can give the impression of uniformity and consensus among the visitors to a shrine in their responses to it.[412] It is not necessarily true, however, that all visitors would have interpreted and responded to a shrine in the same way, and writing upon walls may have provided the means by which a visitor could assert his or her individual interpretation. This is difficult to trace, but one example may illustrate the possibility of variant approaches to the same holy place. In the catacomb of Domitilla at Rome, a painting on an *arcosolium* from the second half of the fourth century depicts the deceased, labelled *Veneran/da dep(osita) / VII idus Ia/nuari/as* ('Veneranda, buried on 6th January'), with another figure labelled as *Petr/o/nel/la mart(yr)*.[413] The picture appears to represent the idea that the martyr is escorting the deceased woman into paradise. What is curious is that the figure of Petronella was not otherwise regarded as a martyr in this period: her cult was probably established only in the sixth century.[414] Although later honoured as the daughter of St Peter, Petronella was probably originally a prominent Christian from a wealthy family. No martyr she, having died in her bed! This painted inscription identifying her as a martyr is the sole foreshadowing of her later cult, which was certainly well established by the seventh century. In this way, writing did not constrict individual believers to conformity, but might allow them to express their own opinions about the sanctity of a particular site. As was already clear from the *memoria Apostolorum*, individuals might use graffiti for different purposes.

---

[405] C. Carletti, 'Iscrizioni murali', in *Il santuario di S. Michele sul Gargano dal VI al IX secolo: contributo alla storia della Langobardia meridionale*, eds. C. Carletti and G. Otranto (1980: Vetera Christianorum: Scavi e ricerche 2: Edipuglia: Bari) 9–180; N. Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, c.568–774 (2003: Cambridge University Press) 265–74; D. E. Trout, 'Inscribing identity: the Latin epigraphic habit in Late Antiquity', in *A Companion to Late Antiquity*, eds. P. Rousseau with J. Raithel (2009: Wiley-Blackwell: Oxford) 170–86, at 179–80.

[406] Carletti, 'Iscrizioni murali' (above, n.405) nos. 5, 7, 18, 34, 42, 62, 63, 65, 66, 79, 81, 96, 108, 124.

[407] Carletti, 'Iscrizioni murali' (above, n.405) nos. 77, 79.

[408] Carletti, 'Iscrizioni murali' (above, n.405) nos. 72, 82.

[409] Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy* (above, n.405) 269.

[410] C. Tedeschi, 'I graffiti della chiesa di S. Eusebio, Ronciglione', in *Papers from the EAA Third Annual Meeting at Ravenna 1997*, vol. II, *Classical and Medieval*, eds. M. Pearce and M. Tosi (1998: British Archaeological Reports International Services 718: Oxford) 136–9.

[411] Jäggi, 'Graffiti as a medium for *memoria*' (above, n.399).

In the case of graffiti, then, we can see how Christians both adopted and transformed existing writing practices, and similar patterns can be seen in the case of other types of inscription too. With **building-inscriptions**, for example, there was a shift both in terms of content and medium, with mosaic inscriptions becoming much more popular than those carved on stone from the fifth century in particular.[415] A fundamental shift in the character and function of such inscriptions is clear: previously, the monumentalizing of the donor's name was a key factor in deciding to set up a building-inscription. Traditionally, donating a public building was a means of displaying one's social status, promoting one's family, and fulfilling civic responsibilities; the emphasis now shifted to making donations, particularly for the benefit of the poor, in the hope of securing rewards in heaven.[416] Euergetism was supplanted by charity, and the act of recording the names of benefactors reflected the hope that those who saw their names would pray for them. In some cases even, a new sense of humility among Christians resulted in a benefactor's name not being recorded at all, being replaced merely by the phrase *cuius nomen Deus scit* ('whose name God knows').[417] Another feature that emerged during the fifth century and that became widely shared was the idea that since all property was believed to have originated as a gift from God, any benefaction by individuals was simply an act of restoring to God part of what he had given, as a sign of gratitude, *de donis/dono Dei* ('from the gift(s) of God').[418]

---

[412] J. Elsner, 'Piety and passion: contest and consensus in the audiences for early Christian pilgrimage', in *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods*, eds. J. Elsner and I. Rutherford (2005: Oxford University Press) 411–34.

[413] *ICUR* III 6963; Mazzoleni, 'Riferimenti alla catechesi' (above, n.268) 31, with fig. 6.

[414] P. Pergola, 'Petronella martyr: une évergète de la fin du IV^{e} siècle?', in Memoriam Sanctorum Venerantes: *Miscellanea in onore di Monsignor Victor Saxer* (1992: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana: Vatican City) 627–36.

[415] P.-A. Février, 'La lettre et l'image', in *La mosaïque gréco-romaine*, vol. IV, eds. J.-P. Darmon and A. Rebourg (1994: Supplément au Bulletin de l'A.I.E.M.A.: Paris) 383–401; J.-P. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges* (1993: CÉFR 175: Rome); D. Mazzoleni, 'Le iscrizioni musive cristiane della "*Venetia et Histria*"', in *Epigrafi del mondo cristiano antico* (2002: Lateran University Press: Rome) 187–203 (repr. from *Antichità Altoadriatiche* 28 (1986) 311–29).

Some floor mosaics incorporated quotations from scripture, inviting viewers to make an appropriate response to their spatial context: a fifth-century fragmentary mosaic paving from Storgosia (Moesia Inferior, modern Pleven, Bulgaria), for example, presented a verse from the Vulgate version of Psalm 42.4, *[intr]oibo ad altarem dei / [ad d]eum qu[i laet]if[i]ca[t iu]/[ventutem meam]* ('I shall come to the altar of God, to God who gives joy to my youth'), in front of the presbytery.[419] Inscriptions could also reinforce the message of the sermons preached around them, as at Tipasa (Mauretania Caesariensis), where the Basilica of Alexander of *c.*400 contained a large mosaic inscription stating *clausula iustitiae est / martyrium votis optare / habes et aliam similem ae/lemosinam viribus facere* ('It is part of justice to wish for martyrdom in one's prayers. Yours is another like part: to give alms with your resources').[420] The same basilica even offered a coherent overall programme, guiding the faithful through the building via a series of mosaic texts which echoed the liturgy appropriate to each space.[421] In this way, mosaic inscriptions were used to reinforce the church's teachings. Furthermore, ceiling mosaics incorporating both words and images also became a feature of churches. These mosaics reflected the light within the building, complementing comparisons with heavenly light and divine glory made in their inscriptions within several buildings at Rome, including the basilicas of St Peter, St Agnes, and Sts Cosmas and Damian; the medium helped to reinforce the message.[422]

---

[416] Y. Duval and L. Pietri, 'Évergétisme et épigraphie dans l'occident chrétien (IV^{e}–VI^{e} s.)', in *Actes du Xe congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine*, eds. M. Christol and O. Masson (1997: Publications de la Sorbonne: Paris) 371–96; Giardina, '*Amor civicus*' (above, n.376) 78; on St Augustine's criticisms of traditional euergetism, see C. Lepelley, *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au bas-empire* (1979: Études Augustiniennes: Paris) I 378–85.

[417] *AÉpigr* (1975) 411a, Aquileia; *CIL* VIII 11133 = *ILCV* 2488, Beni Hassan (Africa Proconsularis); Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie* (above, n.415) 464.

[418] *CIL* VI 41430, mid third/mid fourth century, Rome; *AÉpigr* (2000) 279, Albanum (*Regio* I); *CIL* V 1619 = *ILCV* 1880, Aquileia (*Regio* X); *AÉpigr* (1899) 122, sixth century, Ksar Madoudja (Africa Proconsularis); *AÉpigr* (1937) 115, Vegesela (Numidia); *CIL* III 10146 = *ILCV* 1940, Mali Losinj (Dalmatia); *ILCV* 1941 = V. Beševliev, *Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien* (1964: Akademie Verlag: Berlin) 56 no. 84, Bizone (Moesia Inferior); Duval and Pietri, 'Évergétisme et épigraphie' (above, n.416) 377.

[419] *ILBulg* 228 = Beševliev, *Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien* (above, n.418) 34 no. 49.

Another mechanism for 'Christianizing' existing epigraphic practices was to add Christian symbols to otherwise traditional types of epigraphic monument. The origins of this practice suggest, however, that it began not so much as a way of Christianizing an inscription, but almost as part of Constantine's imperial titulature. A particularly early example is represented by a **milestone** at the second mile on the road from Cuicul (modern Djemila) to Lambaesis in Numidia: ⊂ chi–rho ⊃ *d(omino) n(ostro) imp(eratori) Cae(sari) / Fla(vio) Vale(rio) / Consta(n)ti/no in(victo) pio / fe(lici) Aug(usto) / et [[Licinio / Liciniano / nob(ilissimo) Caes(ari)]]* (Image of chi–rho. 'To our lord Imperator Caesar Flavius Valerius Constantine Invictus Pius Felix Augustus and to Licinius Licinianus most noble Caesar').[423] It seems most likely that the original inscription dates from 319, when Constantine and Licinius shared the consulship; Licinius' name and title were later erased and replaced with *bono rei p(ublicae) nato* ('born for the good of the republic') as part of Constantine's titles. Although it is possible that the Christian monogram was added only in 324, when the erasure was executed, its style of engraving implies that it did belong to the original dedication of the milestone. Five other milestones stood alongside this one, three of which bear legible dedications to the Caesars Crispus, Constantine II, and Licinius II; to Constantine II Caesar; and to Licinius II Caesar. None of these others is engraved with a monogram, however, which suggests that the monogram was regarded as Constantine's own personal symbol at this point.

---

[420] *ILCV* 2035; Finn, *Almsgiving in the Later Roman Empire* (above, n.377) 198–9, with his translation.

[421] Février, 'La lettre et l'image' (above, n.415) 390–3; L. Leschi, *Études d'épigraphie, d'archéologie et d'histoire africaines* (1957: Arts et Métiers Graphiques: Paris) 371–6.

[422] Sts Cosmas and Damian: *ILCV* 1784; St Peter's: *ILCV* 1756 = *ICUR* II 4105; St Agnes: *ILCV* 1769A; L. Pietri, 'Pagina in pariete reservata: épigraphie et architecture religieuse', in *La terza età dell'epigrafia*, ed. A. Donati (1988: Epigrafia e antichità 9: Fratelli Lega: Faenza) 137–57, at 154; Février, 'La lettre et l'image' (above, n.415) 396–401.

[423] P. Salama, 'Le plus ancient chrisme officiel de l'Afrique romaine', in *Atti del VI congresso internazionale di archeologica cristiana* (1965: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana: Vatican City) 537–43; *AÉpigr* (1992) 1885.

By contrast, the addition of the chi–rho monogram to a **patronal tablet** at Paestum (Campania) a few years later, in 347, suggests a more complex situation.[424] This bronze patronal tablet continued long-standing civic practice, recording the municipal decree adlecting Aquilius Nestorius and Aquilius Aper, father and son, as the town's patrons. In the pediment of the tablet a garland is displayed prominently. Within it is a large chi–rho monogram, flanked by two doves. At the same time, however, Aquilius Nestorius was lauded in the decree for the games which he had given as *flamen*, priest of the imperial family. It is possible in this case, therefore, that adding a prominent chi–rho symbol was intended to demonstrate that the honorands could be Christians and yet still participate in traditional civic religious duties as well, and that the Christian symbol was included only in the tablet being presented to the patron himself for display in his house, and not on tablets displayed in public.[425]

Even humdrum **tile-stamps** might contain explicitly Christian blessings and good wishes.[426] Tiles stamped with Christian symbols and phrases have been found at various places in the Iberian peninsula. Some early-seventh-century tiles in Urso (Baetica, modern Osuna) were elaborately designed, with a chi–rho monogram flanked by alpha and omega in the centre, within an architectural frame (an archway supported by two columns), and with a text around the edge alluding to the welfare of the bishop: *salvo epis(copo) || Marciano* ('Bishop Marcianus being well').[427] This reflected the underlying view of the bishop as guardian of a community, as articulated explicitly on a marble tablet from the fifth century at Rome: *salbo Fortunato episc(opo) semper crescamus in via divina* ('whilst Bishop Fortunatus is well, let us always grow in the divine way').[428] The context of some stamped bricks appears deliberately chosen. Bricks stamped with *spes in deo* ('hope in God') are obviously appropriate in a church, whilst *vivas in deo* ('may you live in

---

[424] P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, 'Una nuova tabula patronatus da Paestum', *Miscellanea greca e romana* 15 (1990) 235–56 = *AÉpigr* (1990) 211.

[425] A. Chastagnol, 'Le chrisme des tables de patronat', in Orbis Romanus Christianusque: *travaux sur l'antiquité tardive rassemblés autour des recherches de Noël Duval* (1995: De Boccard: Paris) 33–41 = *AÉpigr* (1995) 74.

[426] G. Wesch-Klein, 'Glück- und Segenswünsche auf Ziegeln', in *Instrumenta Inscripta Latina*, vol. II, *Akten des 2. Internationalen Kolloquiums Klagenfurt 2005*, eds. M. Hainzmann and R. Wedenig (2008: Verlag des Geschichtsvereines für Kärnten: Klagenfurt) 333–45.

[427] *AÉpigr* (1986) 327; *CIL* II^2/5, 1110 (AD 629–38); online image at www2.uah.es/imagines_cilii/CILII/astigitanus6.htm.

[428] *ICUR* VI 15679.

God') took on active significance when incorporated into a tomb.[429] Unlike their earlier counterparts, such tile- and brick-stamps appear unconnected with manufacturing issues of production and distribution.

Finally, we should consider the emergence of two types of inscribed objects whose Christian character was integral to them. The first category, of ***mensae martyrum*** ('martyrs' tables'), was a feature of North Africa.[430] These stone tables were integral to the practice of offering by invitation a meal to the poor (*agape*) alongside the clergy on the occasion of martyrs' festivals.[431] They do not appear always to have been linked to martyrs' relics or burials nor to altars. Many of them were offered as ex-votos, whilst their inscriptions typically recorded the names of martyrs and the names of their dedicators, who tended to be lay-people. Some tables continued to be associated with burials, and had epitaphs engraved upon them.[432] In this way, the pre-existing tradition of holding feasts at the graveside was adapted into a new form, and the *agape* tables were linked to the new ideal of charity that was developing within Christianity.

52 *Mensa martyrum*, Tixter (modern Kherbet Oum el-Ahdam): Fig. 2.28

CIL VIII 20600

M. Audollent, 'Mission épigraphique en Algérie', *MÉFRA* 10 (1890) 397–588, at 440–68; Y. Duval, Loca sanctorum Africae: *le culte des martyrs en Afrique du IV^e au VII^e siècle* (1982: *CÉFR* 58: Rome) I 331 no. 157. Now in Louvre Museum; autopsy Nov. 2009.

⊂ chi–rho ⊃ *memori/a sa(n)cta* ‖ *de ter(r)a promis(si)onis ube natus est Cristus / apostoli Petri et Pauli nomi/na m[a]rturu(m) Datiani Dona/[t]ian[i] Cipriani Nemes(i)ani /^{5} Citini et Victo/[ri]a[i]s an(n)o provi/n[ciae t]recenti vige(ismo)* ‖ *posuit Bene/natus et Pequaria* ‖ *Victorinus septimu(m) id/us Sept(e)m(b)r(es) / Miggin BDV / et Dabula [e]t de lignu crucis*

'Holy memorial. Part of the earth of promise where Christ was born, (relics?) of the apostles Peter and Paul. Names of the martyrs Datianus, Donatianus, Cyprian, Nemesianus, Citinus, and Victoria. In the provincial year 320.

---

[429] *CIL* II^2/7, 195b (first half of seventh century), 727a (fourth century).

[430] Duval, Loca sanctorum Africae (above, n.392) II 525–42; D. Mazzoleni, 'Riferimenti epigrafici alle persecuzioni del IV–V secolo', in *Epigrafi del mondo cristiano antico* (2002: Lateran University Press: Rome) 49–60 (repr. from *I martiri della Val di Non e la reazione pagana alla fine del IV secolo*, eds. A. Quacquarelli and I. Rogger (1985: EDB: Bologna) 117–34).

[431] Duval, 'Une *mensa* funéraire de Tharros (Sardaigne)' (above, n.366); Finn, *Almsgiving in the Later Roman Empire* (above, n.377) 103–4.

[432] Duval, 'Une *mensa* funéraire de Tharros (Sardaigne)' (above, n.366), perhaps fourth century.

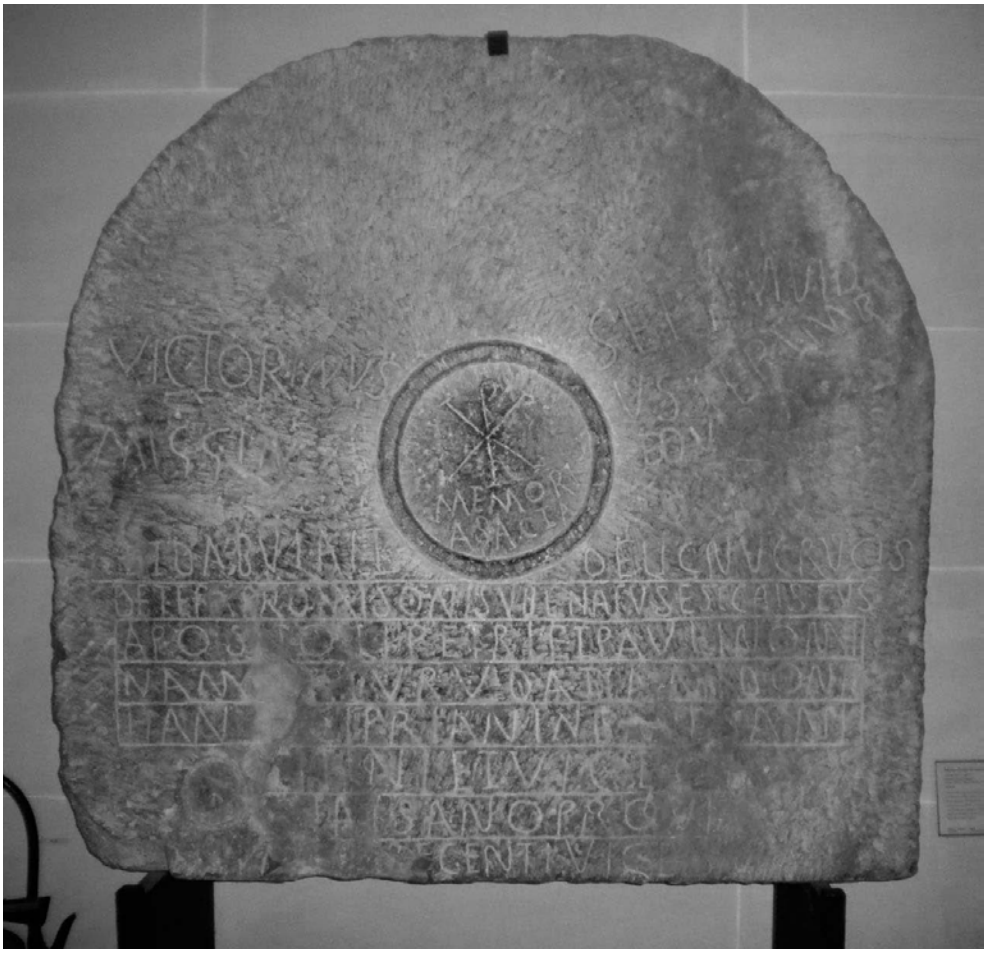


Fig. 2.28 *Mensa martyrum*, Tixter (modern Kherbet Oum el-Ahdam) – *CIL* VIII 20600 (photo: A. E. Cooley)

Benatus and Pequaria set (this) up. Victorinus, Miggin – 7th September, and Dabula and part of the wood of the cross.'

This large limestone table (height 130 cm, width 130 cm, depth 16–25 cm) was discovered among what might have been remains of a church in Mauretania Sitifiensis. In its centre is engraved a circle, within which appears the chi–rho monogram and the words *memoria sa(n)cta.* This serves as a sort of title to the memorial. Beneath it follows a seven-line text, which mentions a rare relic, of earth from Bethlehem, (relics of) the apostles Peter and Paul, and then a list of martyrs, probably all of African origin. The table is dated by provincial era to

AD 359. On its front edge is engraved a brief dedication. Finally, supplementary names and reference to another relic – part of the cross – have been added on either side of the circular motif at the top of the table. The date perhaps recalled the death-days of the martyrs or the date on which the relics were deposited. The table itself seems to be a multifaceted memorial, honouring Christ and his apostles, and various local martyrs, as well as commemorating the deposition of relics from the Holy Land and probably Rome (in the case of the apostles). It is unclear whether relics of the martyrs were also present nearby. The table appears to be neither an altar nor a funerary table, but was probably used for ceremonial *agape* meals.

The other type of inscription which likewise was related to martyr-cult and found mainly in North Africa (but to a lesser extent and in a slightly different way also in Spain during the seventh century) records the deposition of relics.[433] Three of these inscribed records have been found dating to the second half of the fifth century, but on the whole they were created during the period from the mid sixth to early seventh centuries. They commemorated the ceremonial by which the relics had been deposited in a particular place, recording both the name of the individual church officials involved and a date. The following inscription, for example, appeared upon the covering of the *loculus* (burial-niche) where relics of St Laurence had been deposited at Sétif (Mauretania Sitifiensis): *in hoc loco sancto deposi/tae sunt reliquiae sancti / Laurentii martiris, die III n<i>on(as) / Aug(ustas) cons(ulatu) Herculani v(iri) [c(larissimi)] / die Dom(i)n(i) dedicante Laurentio / VVS p(ost) mor(tem) Dom(ini) an(no) p(rovinciae) CCCCXIII. Amen.* ('In this holy place have been deposited relics of St Laurence the martyr, on 3rd August, in the consulship of Herculanus, most distinguished senator, on the Lord's day, Laurence, venerable bishop (?), carrying out the dedication, after the death of the Lord in the provincial year 413. Amen').[434] It bears the date of AD 452 (unusually for this period referring to a consular date as well as the provincial era), and is the oldest known example of this type of inscription. The details included in the account suggest a desire to establish the authenticity of the relics, as well as to give credit to the individual(s) who had brought them to a new resting-place. The ceremonial installation of the relics may have been linked to the dedication of the shrine itself, but this hypothesis cannot be confirmed, given that the inscription was found out of context.

---

[433] Duval, 'Projet d'enquête sur l'épigraphie martyriale en Espagne' (above, n.392) 174–80.

[434] Duval, Loca sanctorum Africae (above, n.392) I 306 no. 146; *CIL* VIII 8630.

By contrast, inscribed metal slave-collars seem at first sight a rather unexpected invention within Christian epigraphic practice.[435] Slave-collars have only been found dating from the fourth century, and a number of them bore distinctively Christian symbols, such as the chi–rho monogram, whilst others alluded to their Christian masters: a slave-collar from Sardinia names the slave's owner as one Felix, archdeacon, whilst another from Rome identifies the slave as *servus dei fugitivus* ('runaway slave of God'), in other words, a slave owned by the church.[436] Although in the past some attempt has been made to distance Christians from slave-owning by explaining the collars as dog-collars, this is an anachronistic interpretation. Instead, it is possible to explain the emergence of inscribed metal slave-collars as the result of new Christian ways of thinking, with the use of such collars replacing the practice of simply branding a slave upon his face.[437] There is at any rate some evidence from the law codes suggesting that Constantine took steps to ban the branding of criminals' faces.[438] Although Christianity and slavery seem completely incompatible to modern eyes, therefore, this was certainly not so clear-cut during late antiquity, but what we do witness is the emergence of another distinctively Christian epigraphic habit in the form of slave-collars.

To conclude. The rise of Christianity did herald the development of a new epigraphic culture, and to refer to 'Christian epigraphy' seems entirely justifiable. Although traditional elements from the pre-Christian era often persisted as well, Christian inscriptions adopted new linguistic formulae reflecting Christian values, onomastic patterns changed in order to reflect individuals' faith, symbols exclusive to Christianity appeared alongside others to which new meaning was attributed, and writing was used in new ways, particularly in the sphere of graffiti. The emergence of martyr-cults had an important role in stimulating Christian epigraphic habits among a range of people, from pope to priest to pilgrim, as writing could be used to authenticate relics and above all to allow individuals to negotiate with martyrs as intermediaries in heaven. Inscriptions could also be used in didactic ways, to reinforce the aural message of sermons, to explain the meaning of images, and even to offer a visual reflection of the glory of God. Even commonplace objects such as bricks might convey a Christian message. Although early

---

[435] Thurmond, 'Some Roman slave collars' (above, n.237).

[436] G. Sotgiu, 'Un collare di schiavo rinvenuto in Sardegna', *ArchCl* 25/6 (1973/4) 688–97; *CIL* XV 7177 = *ILCV* 1454, *servus dei*; cf. *CIL* XV 7184 = *ILCV* 642, alpha–omega and chi–rho; 7190 = *ILS* 8730.

[437] Thurmond, 'Some Roman slave collars' (above, n.237) 492; G. B. De Rossi, 'Dei collari dei servi fuggitivi' *BACrist ser.* 2 (1874) 41–67, esp. 58–61.

[438] *Cod. Theod.* 9.40.2.

Christian inscriptions did, therefore, at first simply continue existing practices, the epigraphic culture that developed by the fifth century trumpeted its difference from what went before, and made this clear to viewers at a glance.

2.4 The geography of epigraphy: a case-study of Tripolitania

Tripolitania (now part of modern Libya) is a good case-study for an investigation of the relationship between epigraphy and geography, given that the region is relatively isolated compared with other parts of the Mediterranean. Ancient literary sources such as Strabo and Pomponius Mela painted a dramatic picture of the dangers to navigation posed by the double gulf of the Greater and Lesser Syrtes. These authors can be shown to have exaggerated the difficulties somewhat, however, and the distribution of pottery in particular appears to demonstrate human willingness to make the journey, given sufficient promise of financial reward at its end. Travel by land, however, was no less hazardous, with the prospect of a long waterless journey and the potential for sandstorms. As a result, the region's environment encouraged movement on a north–south axis rather than along the coast to east or west, with the result that Tripolitania was largely cut off from Cyrenaica to its east and, to a lesser extent, from Tunisia to its west [Fig. 2.29].[439]

The other distinguishing feature of the province is the major difference between its cultivable coastal region and the much wider region occupied by the pre-desert interior. This should allow for a nuanced picture to be delineated of the relationship between geography and epigraphic culture. Even though Tripolitania was not formally created as a Roman province until AD 303, these environmental factors had long made it a distinct region. As its name implies, Tripolitania essentially consisted of three major cities – Sabratha, Lepcis Magna, and Oea (modern Tripoli) – all founded as Phoenician trading-posts along the coast. Of these three cities, Oea is least well known as it has been buried by modern Tripoli, but both Sabratha and Lepcis Magna have been extensively excavated.[440]

---

[439] Strabo *Geog.* 17.30.20; Pomponius Mela 1.35. P. Kenrick, *Libya Archaeological Guides: Tripolitania* (2009: Silphium Press: London) 1; D. J. Mattingly, *Tripolitania* (1995: Batsford: London) ch. 1. For a more positive account of the interconnectedness of the region, see J. Quinn, 'Across the Syrtes', in *Money, Trade and Trade Routes in Pre-Islamic North Africa*, eds. A. Dowler and E. R. Galvin (2011: British Museum Press: London) 11–20.

[440] Kenrick, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 16–21, 38–68, 86–133; Mattingly, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 116–27.

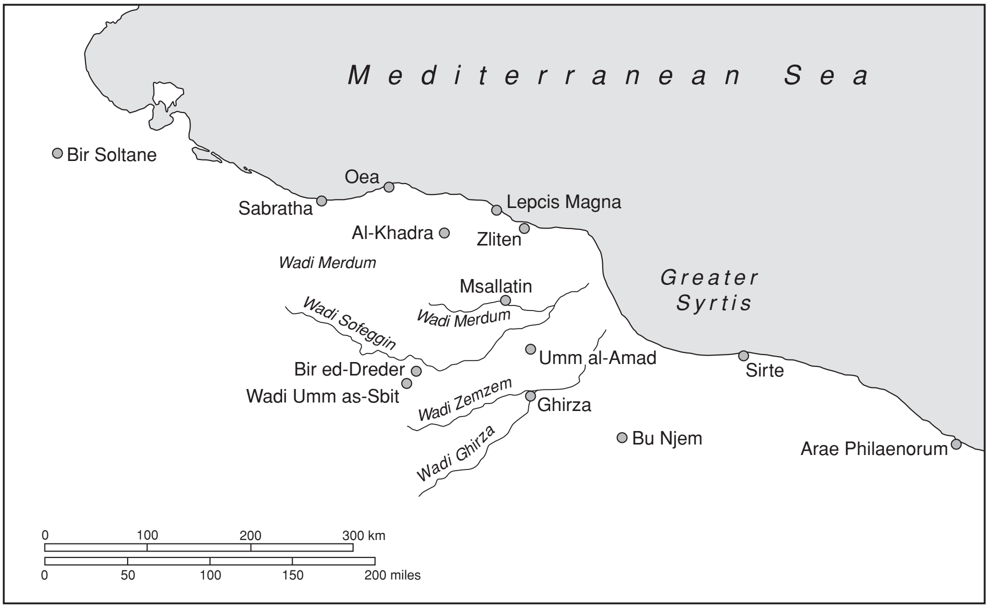

Mediterranean Sea
Bir Soltane
Oea
Sabratha
Lepcis Magna
Al-Khadra
Zliten
Wadi Merdum
Msallatin
Greater Syrtis
Wadi Sofeggin
Wadi Merdum
Umm al-Amad
Sirte
Bir ed-Dreder
Wadi Umm as-Sbit
Wadi Zemzem
Ghirza
Bu Njem
Arae Philaenorum
Wadi Ghirza
0
100
200
300 km
0
50
100
150
200 miles

Fig. 2.29 Map of Tripolitania

A wide range of inscribed monuments has revealed that a complex variety of epigraphic cultures coexisted in Tripolitania, not just in urban centres, but also in areas of the pre-desert.[441] We find different languages in the region – Libyan,[442] Punic written in neo-Punic script,[443] Greek, and Latin – being used in different contexts, and different scripts adopted, such as Punic written in the Greek or Latin alphabets (known as Latino-Punic, which replaced neo-Punic from the second to fourth centuries AD), or Greek language but using Punic formulae.[444] We even find examples of mixed languages, where an inscription starts in Latin, but then lapses into a form of Punic or Libyan.[445]

---

[441] The major corpora are: *IRT* = J. B. Ward-Perkins and J. M. Reynolds, *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (1952: British School at Rome: London), republished as *IRT2009* in an enhanced electronic reissue by G. Bodard and C. Roueché (2009) http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/; *IPT* = G. Levi della Vida and M. G. Amadasi Guzzo, *Iscrizioni puniche della Tripolitania (1927–1967)* (1987: Bretschneider: Rome); *LPE* = K. Jongeling and R. M. Kerr, *Late Punic Epigraphy: An Introduction to the Study of Neo-Punic and Latino-Punic Inscriptions* (2005: Mohr Siebeck: Tübingen); K. Jongeling, *Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions* (2008: Mohr Siebeck: Tübingen). Overview by F. Millar, 'Local cultures in the Roman empire: Libyan, Punic and Latin in Roman Africa', *JRS* 58 (1968) 126–34.

[442] J. N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (2003: Cambridge University Press) 245–7.

[443] Jongeling, *Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions* (above, n.441) xiii.

[444] Latino-Punic: G. Levi della Vida, 'Sulle iscrizioni "latino-libiche" della Tripolitania', *OA* 2 (1963) 65–94; A. F. Elmayer, 'The reinterpretation of Latino-Punic inscriptions from Roman Tripolitania', *LibSt* 14 (1983) 86–95, 'The reinterpretation of Latino-Punic inscriptions from Roman Tripolitania', and 'The reinterpretation of the Latino-Punic inscriptions IRT 889 and

This section will focus upon Latin, bilingual Latin and neo-Punic, and Latino-Punic inscriptions, leaving aside the epigraphic cultures unrelated to Latin in any way. As with the Bay of Naples, with which this book began, it is equally essential, therefore, to bear in mind that inevitably this will result only in a partial picture of the region's overall epigraphic practices. This section will examine urban, pre-desert, and military epigraphy in turn, in order to illustrate the diversity of epigraphic practices within a single province. Different constituencies adopted epigraphic habits for different purposes. The case of Bu Njem shows the surprising speed at which a variety of monuments inscribed in Latin were set up in a brand-new camp, even though the soldiers posted there were not fully in command of the Latin language. This reflects the importance of inscriptions in negotiating good relationships with the gods, in expressing the self-identity of the military unit stationed in the camp and its loyalty towards the imperial family, and even in trying to boost the morale of the soldiers posted to such a hostile environment. Inscriptions in their monumental contexts – particularly mausolea – in the pre-desert interior present a complex picture of the reworking of influences from Phoenician, Hellenistic, Libyan, and Roman cultures. Recent discussions have tried to move beyond the simple framework of 'Romanization' on the one hand and cultural persistence as an indicator of 'silent resistance' on the other.[446] Rather than considering monumental remains as relating primarily to cultural identity, it may be more useful to analyse them in terms of the social hierarchy, with the local elites using non-indigenous forms of display in order to differentiate themselves from their inferiors and to compete amongst themselves for status. First of all, though, we shall examine the role of inscriptions in contributing to the complex mixture of cultures in the three major cities, focusing particularly on Lepcis Magna, where changes in epigraphic practices can be related only partly to socio-political changes brought about by changing

---

893 from Tripolitania', *LibSt* 15 (1984) 93–105, 149–51; Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (above, n.442) 230–5. *LPE* El-Hofra 1: Late Punic in Greek alphabet; *LPE* El-Hofra 2: Greek using Punic formulae.

[445] *IRT2009* 910.

[446] J. C. Quinn, 'Roman Africa?', in *Romanization?*, eds. A. D. Merryweather and J. R. W. Prag (2003: *Digressus* Supplement 1: www.digressus.org) 7–34, and 'The reinvention of Lepcis', *Bollettino di Archeologia On-line* (2010); Mattingly, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) ch. 8. Cf. P. van Dommelen, 'Beyond resistance: Roman power and local traditions in Punic Sardinia', in *Articulating Local Cultures: Power and Identity under the Expanding Roman Republic*, eds. P. van Dommelen and N. Terrenato (2007: *JRA* Supplement 63: Portsmouth, R.I.) 55–69.

the city's municipal status, which in turn resulted in the spread of Roman citizenship.[447]

2.4.1 Urban epigraphy

Lepcis Magna had associated itself with Rome since the beginning of the Jugurthan War at the end of the second century BC, when it requested ties of friendship and a treaty.[448] One of the most striking characteristics of epigraphic culture at Lepcis Magna is the juxtaposition of Latin with neo-Punic on public inscriptions from the end of the first century BC to the end of the first century AD. As far as can be judged, the emergence of monumental public epigraphy was in fact a new phenomenon of the Augustan era, with the adoption of Latin alongside neo-Punic being particularly noteworthy because Lepcis did not come directly under Roman administrative control until the Flavian period, and yet the local elite adopted Latin. The city became a *municipium* with Latin rights under Vespasian; as a consequence, ex-magistrates after that became automatic recipients of Roman citizenship (enrolled in the Quirina tribe). Nevertheless, Lepcis retained its traditional magistracy of *sufes* alongside *IIIIviri aedilicia potestate* ('four junior magistrates with aedilician power') calqued from the Punic *mahazim*, and local priesthoods too.[449] This blending of Roman and Punic institutions was reflected in the persistence of neo-Punic alongside Latin in some public inscriptions. The latest neo-Punic public inscription is a bilingual dedication of an altar in the theatre, dated to AD 92,[450] showing that even after Lepcis had become a *municipium*, its local elite persisted in using neo-Punic, just as it had retained the traditional Punic magistracy. This local colour in public inscriptions and institutions only came to an end when Lepcis was promoted to the status of *colonia* under Trajan in AD 109/10. At the same time, it adopted as its magistracies two *duoviri* and two *aediles*, and all of the city's inhabitants also gained Roman citizenship (in the Papiria tribe).[451] On both occasions, it seems that Lepcis celebrated its promotion by setting up triumphal arches at major junctions within the town.[452] At roughly the same time, Sabratha and Oea became *municipia*, later being promoted to the status of *colonia* during the mid second century.[453]

---

[447] Quinn, 'The reinvention of Lepcis' (above, n.446).

[448] Sall. *Iug.* 77. For an overview of political and institutional developments in Tripolitania, see A. Di Vita 'Gli *emporia* di Tripolitania dall'età di Massinissa a Diocleziano: un profilo storico-istituzionale', *ANRW* II 10.2 (1982) 515–95; Mattingly, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) ch. 3.

[449] Di Vita, 'Gli *emporia* di Tripolitania' (above, n.448) 541–2, 544–5, 568–75; Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (above, n.442) 221 on the use of Latin loanwords for *aedilis* and *quattuorvir* in Punic: *IRT2009* 305/*IPT* 30.

[450] *IPT* 27, *IRT2009* 318, 347; Jongeling, *Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions* (above, n.441) 26 Labdah N19.

[451] Mattingly, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 57.

Even though the relationship between Lepcis and Rome was not always smooth (with Julius Caesar levying an annual tribute in olive oil, weighing three million pounds, from the city after it had backed his opponents during the civil war),[454] the two allies had became close again by the Augustan era, when Lepcis supported Roman campaigns against local Libyans, and celebrated the Romans' defeat of the Gaetulians in AD 6.[455] Romans were, therefore, present in the region, and a whole sequence of Roman proconsuls, though based at Carthage and in charge of Africa Proconsularis from 27 BC, were active in visiting Lepcis and the other two cities and in encouraging their public building projects, commemorated either in Latin or bilingual inscriptions. Although the earliest proconsul clearly engaged in such activity is Cn. Calpurnius Piso,[456] the earliest known Latin inscription in the town (8 BC), on the *macellum* ('market-building'), also mentions an earlier proconsul. It is important to appreciate that these proconsuls were military generals, actively engaged in Roman expansion in North Africa: it was very much in their interests to retain the support of the three coastal cities.[457] During the rest of the first century AD, proconsuls were repeatedly named alongside members of the local elite in public building-inscriptions, the former as the dedicator of the building, the latter as the financial sponsor. In other cases, the proconsul appeared as the only sponsor of the building. Beyond their role in Roman government, they were often described as *patronus* of the city. In this way, it seems that the proconsuls played an important role in encouraging the development of Latin epigraphic commemoration in the public sphere.

Public buildings in Tripolitania dedicated by Roman proconsuls:[458]

- Cn. Calpurnius Piso, *procos.*, AD 4/5: Lepcis, Old Forum paving (Latin)[459]

---

[452] Mattingly, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 118.

[453] Kenrick, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 4.

[454] Caes. *B. Afr.* 97.3.

[455] *IRT2009* 301.

[456] G. Di Vita-Evrard, 'IRT 520, le proconsulat de Cn. Calpurnius Piso et l'insertion de Lepcis Magna dans la provincia Africa', in *L'Afrique dans l'occident romain* (1990: CÉFR 134: Rome) 315–31.

[457] Mattingly, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 51–3, ch. 4.

[458] This list stops with the granting of colonial status to Lepcis.

[459] *IRT2009* 520, perhaps indicating that he built the adjacent temple (of Hercules?): Di Vita-Evrard, 'IRT 520, le proconsulat de Cn. Calpurnius Piso' (above, n.456) 317–22. For the date, see M. Ricciardi, 'Il tempio di Milk'Ashtart Ercole', in *I tre templi del lato nord-ovest del*

- L. Caninius Gallus, *procos.*, 1 BC – AD 10, *patronus*: Lepcis, theatre podium of west tribunal (Latin)[460]
- C. Rubellius Blandus, *procos.*, AD 35/6: Lepcis, shrine to Ceres Augusta, funded by Supunibal (Latin) + road-building (Latin): *patronus*;[461] fragment of ?building-inscription
- ?, Tiberian *procos.*, *patronus*: Lepcis, unclear what is dedicated (Latin)[462]
- C. Vibius Marsus, *procos.*, AD 30: Lepcis, dedication to Augusta Salutaris (Latin)[463]
- Q. Marcius Barea, *procos.*, AD 42/3, *patronus*: Lepcis, dedication to *di Augusti* in portico *post scaenam*, funded by Iddibal Tapapius (Latin)[464]
- M. Pompeius Silvanus, *procos.*, AD 53, *patronus*: Lepcis, Old Forum; funded by C. son of Anno (Latin and neo-Punic);[465] amphitheatre, AD 56[466]
- Servius Cornelius Orfitus, *procos.*, AD 61–2, *patronus*: Lepcis, porticoes dedicated to Nero; public funds, overseen by Ithymbal Sabinus Tapapius (Latin)[467]
- Q. Manlius Ancharius Tarquitius Saturninus, *procos.*, AD 72, *patronus*: Lepcis, temple of Magna Mater in Old Forum; funded by Iddibal (Latin)[468]
- C. Paccius Africanus, *procos.*, AD 77/8, ?*patronus*: Sabratha, bases to Jupiter and Concordia, temple of Isis (all Latin);[469] Lepcis: dedication to Vespasian (Latin), *patronus*[470]
- L. Nonius Asprenas, *procos.*, AD 83, *patronus*: Lepcis, dedication of unspecified construction (Latin);[471] AD 92: Lepcis, altar in theatre, funded by local benefactor (name not preserved) (Latin and neo-Punic)[472]
- Q. Pomponius Rufus, *procos.*, AD 109/10: Lepcis, Arch of Trajan (Latin)[473]

This is not, however, to imply that the emergence of Latin public epigraphy at Lepcis can be attributed solely to the actions of Roman governors. What is interesting is the way in which the local elite created a distinctive character for public building-inscriptions, through bilingual dedications

---

foro vecchio a Leptis Magna, eds. A. Di Vita and M. Livadiotti (2005: Monografie di archeologia libica 12: Bretschneider: Rome) 309–82, at 319.

[460] *IRT2009* 521. [461] *IRT2009* 269, 330–1. [462] *IRT2009* 332.

[463] *IRT2009* 308. [464] *IRT2009* 273. [465] *IRT2009* 338.

[466] G. Di Vita-Evrard, 'Les dédicaces de l'amphithéâtre et du cirque de Lepcis', *LibAnt* 2 (1965) 29–37, at 29–32.

[467] *IRT2009* 341.

[468] *IRT2009* 300; V. Brouquier-Reddé, *Temples et cultes de Tripolitaine* (1992: CNRS: Paris) 73–79.

[469] *IRT2009* 4, 9, 15–16 + G. Di Vita-Evrard, 'La dédicace du temple d'Isis à Sabratha: une nouvelle inscription africaine à l'actif de C. Paccius Africanus', *LibAnt* 3/4 (1966/7) 13–20 = *AÉpigr* (1968) 551 + H. W. Benario, 'C. Paccius Africanus et Sabratha', *Epigraphica* 28 (1966) 135–9 = *AÉpigr* (1971) 485; Brouquier-Reddé, *Temples et cultes* (above, n.468) 32.

[470] *IRT2009* 342. [471] *IRT2009* 346. [472] *IRT2009* 318, 347. [473] *IRT2009* 537.

and through their creative use of Latin. As is often the case with bilingual inscriptions, the Latin and neo-Punic texts differed from each other, and provide insights into how the elite adapted its self-image for different audiences and also how it made sense of Roman political institutions. This may be illustrated by the dedicatory inscriptions of the *macellum*, built by Annobal Tapapius Rufus in 9/8 BC. Inside the building, he had inscribed a neo-Punic inscription on two blocks of the frieze of the east kiosk: this struck a balance between its opening line alluding to Augustus, and then the names of local magistrates and priests. Augustus' titles were translated so as to offer an explanation of them in neo-Punic: tribunician power was rendered as 'having the authority of the ten rulers', whilst the multifaceted position of 'consul' is simplified as 'head of the army'. According to Adams, this reflected 'linguistic nationalism' in keeping Punic uncontaminated by Latin loanwords.[474] Even so, in cases of bilingual Latin/neo-Punic inscriptions like this one, the structure of the neo-Punic text has been influenced by its Latin counterpart, suggesting that the Latin was initially the primary text.[475] A long Latin inscription was also inscribed on thirty-one blocks on the exterior south-west precinct wall. This is the earliest known public inscription in Latin at Lepcis: it also included reference to the Roman proconsul as patron – possibly intended as a dating formula – something which was either omitted altogether or else has not been preserved in the neo-Punic text.[476] Conversely, the names of the local *flamines* appeared only in the neo-Punic. The choice of locations appears significant: whereas the neo-Punic inscription was addressed to visitors going into the building to carry out business transactions, the Latin was only on the exterior, where passers-by could see it. At the same time, the fact that this local benefactor has chosen to adopt a Roman-style form of his nomenclature, whilst retaining its Punic character, shows that he was consciously associating himself with Rome in terms of how he presented his own identity too, in terms of a double identity, both Punic and Roman.[477]

---

[474] *IPT* 21; Jongeling, *Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions* (above, n.441) 21 Labdah N13; Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (above, n.442) 222.

[475] M. G. Amadasi Guzzo, 'Cultura punica e cultura latina in Tripolitania: osservazioni in base alle iscrizioni puniche e alle iscrizioni bilingui', in *Bilinguismo e biculturalismo nel mondo antico*, eds. E. Campanile, G. R. Cardona, and R. Lazzevoni (1988: Giardini: Pisa) 23–33, at 24; see too the comprehensive discussion of bilingual building-inscriptions in Lepcis Magna by A. Wilson, 'Neo-Punic and Latin inscriptions in Roman North Africa: function and display', in *Multilingualism in the Greco-Roman Worlds*, eds. A. Mullen and P. James (forthcoming: Cambridge University Press).

[476] *IRT2009* 319.

[477] A. R. Birley, 'Names at Lepcis Magna', *LibSt* 19 (1988) 1–19 on the voluntary adoption of Roman names by the Libyphoenician population; Amadasi Guzzo, 'Cultura punica e cultura

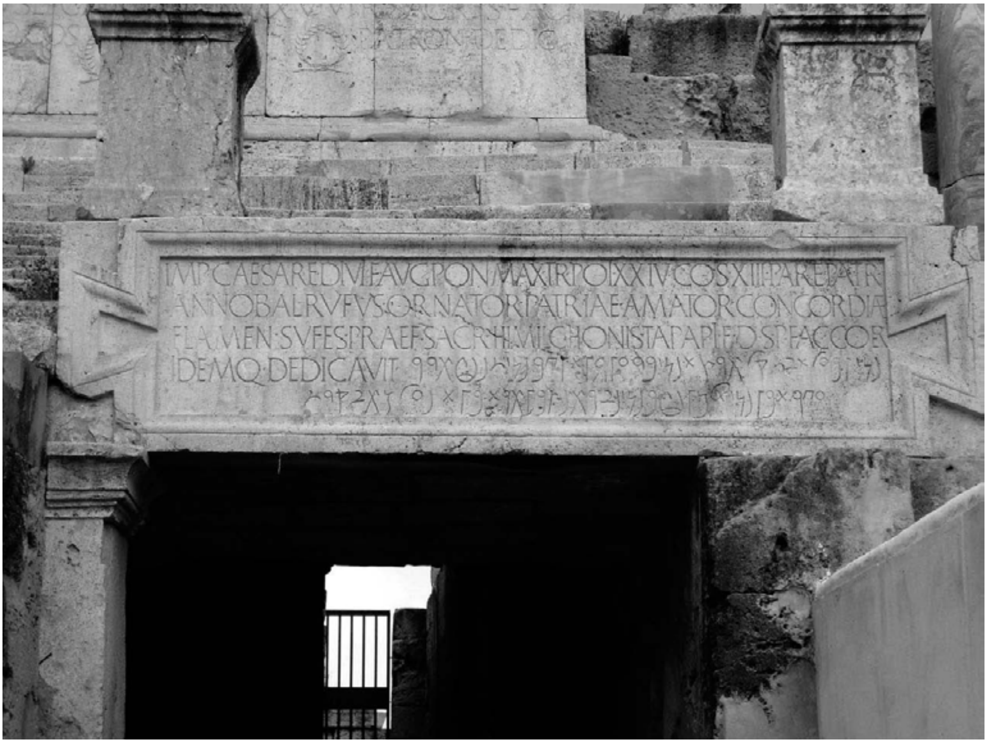

IMP·CAESARE·DIVI·F·AVG·PON·MAX·TR·POT·XXIV·COS·XIII·PATRE·PATR
ANNOBAL·RVFVS·ORNATOR·PATRIAE·AMATOR·CONCORDIAE
FLAMEN·SVFES·PRAEF·SACR·HIMILCHONIS·TAPAPI·F·D·S·P·FAC·COER
IDEMQ·DEDICAVIT

Fig. 2.30 Dedication of the theatre at Lepcis Magna – *IRT2009* 321 (photo: K. J. Clarke)

53 Dedication of the theatre at Lepcis Magna, AD 1/2: Fig. 2.30

IRT2009 321 (with photograph) + *IPT* 24a

G. Caputo and G. Levi della Vida, ‘Il teatro augusteo di Leptis Magna secondo le ultime scoperte e un’iscrizione bilingue in latino e neo-punico’, *Africa Italiana* 6.3–4 (1935) 92–109, at 96–102 = *AÉpigr* (1938) 3; K. Jongeling, *Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions* (2008: Mohr Siebeck: Tübingen) 24 Labdah N16; J. C. Quinn, ‘The reinvention of Lepcis’, *Bollettino di Archeologia On-line* (2010) 4; A. Wilson, ‘Neo-Punic and Latin inscriptions in Roman North Africa: function and display’, in *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, eds. A. Mullen and P. James (forthcoming: Cambridge University Press).

latina’ (above, n.475) 27–9; S. Fontana, ‘Leptis Magna: the Romanization of a major African city through burial evidence’, in *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization*, eds. S. Keay and N. Terrenato (2001: Oxbow Books: Oxford) 161–72, at 161–2; Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (above, n.442) 213.

Imp(eratore) Caesare dìuì f(ilio) Aug(usto) pon̂t(ifice) max(imo) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XXIV co(n)s(ule) XIII pâtre patr(iae) / Annobal Rufus ornator patriae amator concordiâe / flamen sufes praef(ectus) sacr(orum) Himilchonis Tapapì f(ilius) d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) fac(iendum) coêr(auit) / ìdemq(ue) dedicauit

HNB‘L MYŠQL ’RS MHB D‘T HTMT ZBH ŠPT ’DR / ‘ZRM BN HMLKT TBHPY R’PS BT’RM BTM P’L W‘YQDŠ

LATIN:
‘Imperator Caesar Augustus, son of the deified, being chief priest, in his 24th year of tribunician power, consul thirteen times, father of his country, Annobal Rufus, adorner of his country, lover of harmony, priest, *sufes*, prefect of sacred rites, son of Himilcho Tapapius, saw to this being constructed out of his own money, and also dedicated it.’

Neo-Punic, from Jongeling:
‘Annobal, who adorns his country, who loves the complete knowledge, sacrificer, *sufes*, lord of the ‘ZRM-offering, the son of Imilco Tapafi Rufus, made it according to plan at his own expense and consecrated it.’

This bilingual inscription, AD 1/2, is engraved within a *tabula ansata* (rectangular tablet with handles) on a lintel of grey limestone (height 82 cm, width 316 cm) over the door leading from the theatre’s *orchestra* into the west lateral corridor. Two other copies of the inscription (also on lintels within a *tabula ansata*) were set up elsewhere in the theatre (*IRT2009* 322–3 + *IPT* 24b): one probably belongs to the lintel on the opposite side of the *orchestra*, but the other (in Latin only) was found in a reused context. The Latin and neo-Punic texts are carefully balanced in terms of their layout and content. The Latin text is prominent: it comes first, and occupies the majority of the space available, in letters 8 cm high. The neo-Punic text which follows straight on from the Latin is not a literal translation (contra *IRT2009*, ad loc.). Whereas Augustus appears prominently at the start of the Latin text, he is entirely omitted from the neo-Punic inscription below. In addition, the description of Annobal Rufus in the neo-Punic text focuses upon the local significance of his public offices. The Latin version uses formulae unique to Tripolitania, *ornator patriae* and *amator concordiae*, in order to capture the sense of traditional Punic phrases (although *amator concordiae* is an ill-fit for its neo-Punic original). Annobal Rufus had also funded and dedicated the construction of the town’s *macellum* in 9/8 BC, and commemorated this fact in two inscriptions, one in Latin, the other in neo-Punic (see above).

Certain patterns emerge from the choice of language in different monumental contexts; the decision to adopt a bilingual form for an inscription should not be interpreted simply as a measure designed to reach the widest audience.[478] At first, during the Augustan era, buildings were not dedicated to the emperor, but his name and titles occurred at the opening of dedications inscribed in Latin. In the case of the *macellum*, for example, Augustus appeared at the top of the text in the nominative case, but was not integrated syntactically into the inscription as a whole.[479] Similarly, his name was included in the ablative case at the opening of the inscriptions commemorating the dedication of the theatre, presumably as a dating formula (see above, no. 53). In these cases, imperial rule remained firmly in the background: the emperor and his representatives were not actively involved in these public building projects, but appeared as a vague, rather remote beneficial presence. A shift then occurred in AD 11/12, when the *chalcidicum* was dedicated directly to the *numen* ('divine spirit') of Augustus by Iddibal Caphada Aemilius (who chose to be represented by a togate statue).[480] Then, by the Claudian era, we find improvements to the Old Forum being dedicated to the emperor by the proconsul.[481] Although the emperor appeared in the Latin inscriptions in this way, references to the emperor and his provincial officials tended to be omitted from their neo-Punic parallels.[482] Quite different emphases can be discerned in the building-inscriptions commemorating the provision of columns and a new paving in the Old Forum, which was dedicated to Claudius by the Roman proconsul, but funded by members of the local elite: the neo-Punic text entirely omitted any mention of Roman involvement, whether imperial or proconsular, and mentioned only the local benefactors. In this way, the local elite increased its prestige by associating itself with Rome by its use of Latin in public contexts, expressing its superiority over the rest of the city's inhabitants by its use of a language not understood by them. At the same time, the elite also retained distinctive local characteristics in its choice of formulae and language as well as an impression of independence from Rome in the phrasing of its neo-Punic inscriptions.[483] Even so, the neo-Punic texts became increasingly influenced by Latin syntax, culminating in the final bilingual inscription of AD 92 on the altar dedicated in the theatre.[484]

---

[478] Cf. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (above, n.442) 33.

[479] *IRT2009* 319; Jongeling, *Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions* (above, n.441) 21 Labdah N13.

[480] *IRT2009* 324; Quinn, 'The reinvention of Lepcis' (above, n.446) 5.

[481] *IRT2009* 338 + *IPT* 26; Jongeling, *Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions* (above, n.441) 26 Labdah N18.

[482] Amadasi Guzzo, 'Cultura punica e cultura latina' (above, n.475) 25–6.

[483] Cf. Quinn, 'The reinvention of Lepcis' (above, n.446).

[484] Amadasi Guzzo, 'Cultura punica e cultura latina' (above, n.475) 26: 'con una sintassi impropria a una lingua semitica'.

Furthermore, the pre-existing repertoire of descriptive terms for local benefactors in Punic in turn influenced the choice of phrasing in Latin, with the appearance of expressions such as *ornator/amator patriae*, and *amator concordiae*.[485] The female equivalent, *ornatrix patriae*, also occurs once to praise the benefactress Suphunibal, who built a shrine to Ceres Augusta in the theatre.[486] Such expressions continued even into the fourth century, with the restoration of the temple of Liber Pater at Sabratha in AD 340/50 being attributed to the 'love of his country' (*amor patriae*) felt by the benefactor, and the equestrian Titus Flavius Vibianus being honoured as *amator patriae* at Lepcis some time during the third or fourth century.[487]

The religious contexts of inscriptions might also influence their choice of language. Inscriptions related to indigenous deities appear to have favoured the use of neo-Punic rather than Latin, even after Latin had become firmly established as the standard language for public inscriptions.[488] In the early third century AD, for example, neo-Punic remained the language of choice for an inscription from Lepcis dedicating an *exedra* and portico to Lord El, creator of the earth, set up by Candidus, son of Candidus, son of Anno, son of Abdmelqart. The dedicator's name shows Roman influence against a Punic background, as does the use of a Latin loanword in neo-Punic for the term *exedra*.[489] Similarly, neo-Punic persisted alongside Latin in the case of Graeco-Roman gods identified with local deities, such as Liber Pater, who was assimilated with the Phoenician god Shadrapa. During the first century AD, for example, the local official Boncarth set up a bilingual dedication to Liber Pater/Shadrapa in the *macellum* at Lepcis from the proceeds of fines derived from his duties of overseeing the operation of the market, adding an extra sum himself.[490] Sabratha also offers a similar picture, where Saturn was assimilated as Ba'al Hammon. An individual with a Libyan name – YWNTHN son of 'G 'DR – dedicated a basin to the god as a result of hearing the god's voice, at the end of the first/early second century AD. A Latin inscription around the rim of the marble basin was dedicated to *dom(i)no Sapurno* (i.e., Saturn), whilst the neo-Punic on the interior of the basin, just below the rim, was dedicated to Ba'al Hammon.[491] By contrast, the cults of Serapis and Asclepius at Lepcis and Oea attracted inscribed dedications in Greek (mostly still unpublished), reflecting the Hellenistic provenance of those gods.[492] These may date from after the Antonine Constitution, given the prevalence of the name Aurelius, and illustrate how Latin was still not the default setting for all inscriptions in the city.[493] Even where Latin was used, however, we should remember that language was not the only element contributing to the local distinctiveness of cult: at Oea, during the second/third centuries AD, two elephant tusks were dedicated to Liber Pater via a Latin inscription.[494] Bilingual inscriptions within the religious sphere were also another medium through which individuals might express their sense of double identity, as both Punic and Roman: the dedicator of a neo-Punic/Latin inscription to Apollo at Oea, for example, appears both as (?Aurellius) Epagri f. and as 'BDMLQRT BN (= 'son of') MTNB'L.[495] Different identities were considered appropriate to different contexts: in the funerary sphere (discussed below) individuals were more likely to use traditional forms of their nomenclature, whereas in public inscriptions, they were more likely to modify their Punic names so as to sound more Roman.

---

[485] Di Vita, 'Gli *emporia* di Tripolitania' (above, n.448) 545–6; *IRT2009* 347 (*amator patriae amator ciuium ornator patriae amator concordiae*); *IRT2009* 318 (*ornator patriae amator concordiae*), both AD 92; cf. *IRT2009* 275.

[486] *IRT2009* 269, AD 35/6.

[487] *IRT2009* 55; Brouquier-Reddé, *Temples et cultes* (above, n.468) 42–3; *IRT2009* 567. Cf. *IRT2009* 603.

[488] On religion prompting conservative language choice, see Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (above, n.442) 188–90, 249–51, 291–2.

[489] *IPT* 18; Jongeling, *Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions* (above, n.441) 19 Labdah N10; Brouquier-Reddé, *Temples et cultes* (above, n.468) 196, for third-century date. Cf. *IPT* 11, possibly a sundial vowed to Bal: Jongeling, *Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions* (above, n.441) 15 Labdah N3.

[490] *IRT2009* 294 + *IPT* 25; Jongeling, *Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions* (above, n.441) 25 Labdah N17; Brouquier-Reddé, *Temples et cultes* (above, n.468) 84; Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (above, n.442) 227–8.

Rural sanctuaries in the territory surrounding Lepcis offer further evidence of the conflation of Punic and Roman elements, even though Punic deities (notably Ba'al Hammon) tended to be more dominant beyond the cities.[496] At Ras el-Mergheb, a hill to the west of Lepcis Magna, for example, there is a sanctuary cut out of the rock, with niches in its façade for ex-votos. A dedicatory inscription cut into the rock-face of the façade suggests that the sanctuary was dedicated to C(a)elestis, a goddess related to Punic Tanit.[497] Roman influences even penetrated rural sanctuaries almost as early as cities: at Ras el-Haddagia (Al-Khadra/Breviglieri), a sanctuary of Ammon displayed the following dedicatory inscription in neo-Punic: 'To

---

[491] *AÉpigr* (1980) 900: M. Rossi and G. Garbini, 'Nuovi documenti epigrafici dalla Tripolitania romana', *LibAnt* 13/14 (1976/7) 7–20; Brouquier-Reddé, *Temples et cultes* (above, n.468) 187–8; Jongeling, *Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions* (above, n.441) 48 Sabratha N16; Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (above, n.442) 228–9.

[492] Serapis: *IRT2009* 310, 311, 312 (Aurelius Attalus), 313 (Aurelius Origenes). Asclepius: *IRT2009* 264, 265.

[493] Brouquier-Reddé, *Temples et cultes* (above, n.468) 101–5.

[494] *IRT2009* 231.

[495] *IRT2009* 246 + *IPT* 5; Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (above, n.442) 215.

[496] Mattingly, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 168.

[497] *IRT2009* 268; Brouquier-Reddé, *Temples et cultes* (above, n.468) 125–6.

Lord Ammon, the divine statue of this bull and the sanctuary of his rooms (?) and the porticoes which NKSP, the son of Shasidwasan, the son of NMRR, who is among the sons of Masankaw, built and consecrated completely at his own expense in the year of the proconsul in the territory of the Libyans Lucius Aelius Lamia.' The builder of the temple, an individual of Libyan name, shows a surprising willingness to refer to the Roman proconsul, L. Aelius Lamia (AD 15–17).[498]

Nevertheless, epigraphic practice did not always adhere to what we might expect. Most puzzling perhaps is the Temple of Rome and Augustus, in the Old Forum, dating from AD 14–19, for which only a neo-Punic dedicatory inscription has been found.[499] Given the focus upon the emperor and his family, we might have expected a Latin dedicatory inscription as well. It is not impossible, of course, that there was originally also a second inscription in Latin, to parallel the neo-Punic dedication, given that some bilingual texts appeared as separate inscriptions rather than side-by-side on a single stone. The possibilities for this type of context are revealed by a trilingual inscription, in Latin, neo-Punic, and Greek found reused in a fort, but probably originally from a shrine devoted to emperor-worship in Lepcis.[500] In fact, a fragment of the building's entablature shows that it included a *tabula ansata*, implying that it was originally inscribed, but we cannot really be sure whether this was an inscription in Latin or neo-Punic.[501] Whatever the case, Latin inscriptions did play a prominent role in honouring the imperial family, even if not in commemorating the construction of the temple by the local magistrates. Associated with the temple was a series of statue bases, with inscriptions, all in Latin, honouring individual members of the imperial family. These may, however, have been added only in the Claudian period.[502]

Alongside the epigraphy set up within the cities themselves, it is also important to consider the character of inscribed monuments in their territories, both along the coast and further inland. Inscriptions offered a means of stamping Roman authority upon the non-urban landscape. The earliest milestone so far discovered in Tripolitania dates from AD 8–13, in other words, at a time when the three cities were still autonomous states bound by treaty to Rome.[503] It was found on the coastal route 6 km from Sabratha in the direction of Oea. It bears the inscription: *A. Caecina / Severo / pro cos / leg III Aug / IIII* (‘While A. Caecina Severus was proconsul, the 3rd Augustan legion. 4’). Set up after the conclusion of the campaign against the Gaetulians in AD 6, the road-building was intended for the benefit of the Roman army, linking this region with the legionary base at Ammaedara (Haidra). In this way, it appears to complement the picture of proconsuls’ intervention in urban epigraphy, showing the intervention of a Roman official in setting up inscribed monuments in Latin beyond the cities.

---

[498] *IPT* 76; Jongeling, *Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions* (above, n.441) 11; Brouquier-Reddé, *Temples et cultes* (above, n.468) 130–2; Wilson, 'Neo-Punic and Latin inscriptions' (above, n.475).

[499] *IPT* 22; Jongeling, *Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions* (above, n.441) 23 Labdah N14.

[500] *IRT2009* 481, *IPT* 16, *SEG* IX 802.

[501] M. Livadiotti and G. Rocco, 'Il tempio di Roma e Augusto', in *I tre templi del lato nord-ovest del foro vecchio a Leptis Magna*, eds. A. Di Vita and M. Livadiotti (2005: Monografie di archeologia libica 12: Bretschneider: Rome) 165–308, at 213–14, with figs. 2.47–8.

[502] *IRT2009* 327 (deified Julia Augusta), 326 (deified Augustus), 333 (Tiberius), 334 (Germanicus), 335 (Drusus), 337 (Claudius), 340 (Messalina).

Roman intervention in the territory of Tripolitania was also commemorated by various boundary-stones. Two identical stones were set up to the south-west of Lepcis in the region of the Tarhuna Plateau in the wake of the war between Oea and Lepcis AD 69–70 by Q. Iulius Cordinus Rutilius Gallicus, special legate of Vespasian in AD 74: *ex [auctoritate / I]mp(eratoris) Ves[pasiani Cae]/saris Aug(usti) p(atris) p(atriae) po[nt(ificis) max(imi) trib(unicia)] / potest(ate) V imp(eratoris) XIII c[o(n)s(ulis) V desig(nati) VI] / Q(uintus) Iulius Cordinus [C? Rutilius Galli]/cus leg(atus) Aug(usti) pro [pr(aetore) co(n)s(ul) pont(ifex)] / limitem inter Le[pcitanos et Oeen]/ses derexit / Lepcitan[i pub(lice)? pos(uerunt)?]* (‘By authority of Imperator Vespasian Caesar Augustus, father of his country, chief priest, in his fifth year of tribunician power, hailed victorious general thirteen times, consul five times, designated for the sixth time, Quintus Iulius Cordinus ?Gaius Rutilius Gallicus, imperial legate with propraetorian power, consul, priest, marked out the boundary between the peoples of Lepcis and Oea. The people of Lepcis (?set this up with public funds)’). In this instance, therefore, the citizens of Lepcis chose to set up a boundary-marker in Latin in order to consolidate the settlement imposed on Oea in their favour by Rome, which confirmed the possession of the agriculturally productive plateau with its water-sources for Lepcis, in resolving the dispute between the two cities.[504] It is possible that Lepcis was granted municipal status at this same time.[505] The choice of language for this boundary-stone, therefore, reflected the way in which Lepcis made the most of Rome’s support, as well as perhaps its newly granted city-status.

---

[503] G. Di Vita-Evrard, ‘Le plus ancien milliaire de Tripolitaine: A. Caecina Severus, proconsul d’Afrique’, *LibAnt* 15/16 (1978/9) 9–44 = *AÉpigr* (1987) 992.

[504] G. Di Vita-Evrard, ‘Quatre inscriptions du Djebel Tarhuna: le territoire de *Lepcis Magna*’, *QAL* 10 (1979) 67–98, at 77–94.

[505] Di Vita-Evrard, ‘Quatre inscriptions du Djebel Tarhuna’ (above, n.504) 95–8.

As well as intervening in this dispute between two major cities, Rome secured a negotiated settlement between two tribes in AD 87. The legate of the Third Legion Augusta, Suellius Flaccus, set up a boundary-marker to define the territories of the Muduciuvii and Zamucii, 3 km to the east of Sirte. Again, the boundary-marker began by citing the authority of the emperor – this time, Domitian – and then described how the legate had fixed the boundary between the two tribes with their agreement. The erection of a boundary-stone in Latin once again emphasized that this boundary existed with Roman support.[506] Similarly, a boundary-stone from the Dahar region at Bir Soltane on the western fringes of Tripolitania, was set up on the authority of Trajan for the purpose of delimiting Nybgenii tribal territory, where access to water was a cause for dispute.[507]

The final example of the Romans' epigraphic impact upon the landscape of Tripolitania is the setting up of epigraphic monuments as a means of celebrating and confirming the new provincial boundary between Tripolitania and Cyrenaica (itself now split into two new provinces) as set by Diocletian.[508] Some 6 km from a small Roman fort at Bir Umm el-Garanigh were four 8-metres-high Corinthian columns. Fragments of inscriptions cut upon the stucco coating of the column drums reveal a dedication to Diocletian and mention of a *praeses.* It seems likely that each column originally supported a metal statue of one of the four tetrarchs (the impressions of feet are still visible in the top surface of each capital), set up by the *praeses provinciae* (name not preserved) some time during the period AD 293–305.[509] This particular location (known as Graret Gser et-Trab) was just to the south of the promontory of Arae Philaenorum (identified as at Ras el-Aali), which had long been associated with the idea of boundaries. According to legend, this was where a boundary dispute had been settled between Carthage and the Greeks of Cyrene during the fifth century BC. Both sides had agreed to send out a pair of representatives from their home town, with the boundary between the cities then being fixed at the location where they should meet. The Carthaginians, represented by the Philaeni brothers, had successfully completed more than three times the distance run by the Greeks, and had consequently been accused of cheating. In reply, they had supposedly agreed to be buried alive as a pledge of their good faith, thereby securing a favourable boundary for their home city of Carthage. The Carthagianians commemorated their self-sacrifice by setting up altars at that spot.[510] Although the monuments honouring the Philaeni had long disappeared (already by the time of Strabo),[511] we might suppose that the idea of commemorating the new provincial boundary in this way drew upon the ancient local tradition.

---

[506] *IRT2009* 854; Di Vita, 'Gli *emporia* di Tripolitania' (above, n.448) 532.

[507] *ILAfr* 30; Mattingly, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 31.

[508] G. Di Vita-Evrard, 'L. Volusius Bassus Cerealis, légat du proconsul d'Afrique T. Claudius Aurelius Aristobulus, et la création de la province de Tripolitaine', *AfrRom* 2 (1984) 149–75 argues that the provincial reform took place in 303.

[509] R. G. Goodchild, 'Mapping Roman Libya', *The Geographical Journal* 118.2 (1952) 142–52, at 146 and 'Arae Philaenorum and Automalax', *PBSR* 20 (1952) = *AÉpigr* (1954) 184, repr. in *Libyan Studies. Select Papers of the late R. G. Goodchild*, ed. J. Reynolds, (1976: Paul Elek: London) chs. 11, 12.

Funerary inscriptions offer a different profile of the spread of Latin among the inhabitants of the coastal cities. Individuals whose names suggest that they had already been granted Roman citizenship did not inevitably adopt Latin for their personal inscriptions.[512] At Zliten, to the east of Lepcis, an individual named Licinius Piso commemorated in a Latino-Punic graffito scratched upon the plaster inside the chamber, his construction of the tomb for his parents and wife, perhaps during the first century AD. His son, Licinius Rufus, in turn then inscribed an epitaph for his father on a monumental base in Latin.[513] This is perhaps indicative of the slow adoption of Latin from one generation to the next.

In general, Latin emerged only slowly in the funerary sphere from the second century AD. The hypogeum of the Flavii, 2.5 km to the south-west of Lepcis, provides a good example of changing funerary practices.[514] The tomb consisted of two chambers, containing eleven cremations and three inhumations. The earliest urns were plain rectangular limestone containers, and bore neo-Punic inscriptions. The cremated remains of P. Flavius Proculus Iaton, for example, were held in a plain limestone rectangular urn, with a neo-Punic inscription.[515] Such plain containers were typical of Lepcis until the end of the first century AD, with a few made of terracotta or lead. The inscriptions on these chests were simple statements of the deceased's identity in neo-Punic. Several of the deceased buried in this family tomb bore the name Flavius/Flavia alongside Punic elements, suggesting that this family belonged to the local Punic elite, and had perhaps gained Roman citizenship through holding local magistracies, after the city had been granted the status of *municipium* from AD 74/6. From perhaps the Hadrianic period, the family then adopted a more elaborate type of vase as a container.

---

[510] Sall. *Iug.* 79; Kenrick, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 155; J. C. Quinn, 'A Punic perspective on the Altars of the Philaeni', in *Identifying the Punic Mediterranean*, eds. J. C. Quinn and N. Vella (forthcoming).

[511] Strabo *Geog.* 3.5.6.

[512] Birley, 'Names at Lepcis Magna' (above, n.477) 1–19 argues that the emergence of Roman names at Lepcis does not generally reflect the arrival of Italian settlers, but the adoption of Roman names by the Libyphoenician population.

[513] Jongeling and Kerr, *Late Punic Epigraphy* (above, n.441) 78, Zliten LP1; *IRT2009* 852.

[514] G. Di Vita-Evrard *et al.*, 'L'ipogeo dei Flavi a Leptis Magna presso Gasr Gelda', *LibAnt* n.s. 2 (1996) 85–133; Fontana, 'Leptis Magna' (above, n.477) 164.

[515] Di Vita-Evrard *et al.*, 'L'ipogeo dei Flavi' (above, n.514) 89: inv. 3865.

In other cases, it has been possible to trace a transitional period from the use of neo-Punic to the use of Latin, when neo-Punic and Latin were used for different audiences: from the late first century AD, Latin appeared in some funerary contexts only on the exterior of the tomb, with neo-Punic inside, and Latin only being included on ash-urns inside tombs from the second century.[516] Shortly after the linguistic shift towards adopting Latin, the ash-chests themselves became more ornate, shifting to a vase form with lid and handles, and started to be made out of more luxurious materials, such as marble and alabaster.[517]

54 Funerary urn, Lepcis Magna: Fig. 2.31

G. Di Vita-Evrard *et al.*, ‘L’ipogeo dei Flavi a Leptis Magna presso Gasr Gelda’, *LibAnt* n.s. 2 (1996) 85–133, at 103 no. 5, tav. XXXIX, XLIb.

C(ai) Flavi Proculi

‘Of Gaius Flavius Proculus.’

This urn is an example of how the wealthier inhabitants of Lepcis adopted a more elaborate form of funerary container at roughly the same time as they adopted Latin. This example, of local grey limestone, has a lid and handles, is decorated with vegetation, and has an inscription in Latin below its upper rim (letters height 2.5–3 cm). It was found in the hypogeum of the Flavii (see above).

Rather than interpreting this change in funerary commemoration as reflecting ‘Romanization’, it seems more likely that the new types of ash-urn, along with the adoption of Latin, were intended to assert claims to elite social status. Such status, in turn, however, might be contested: a vase-urn of the mid second century AD found to the north-west of Lepcis in a hypogeum displayed an unusually detailed inscription in Latin, stating not just the deceased’s name, Secundius, but also his social status, as slave

---

[516] Fontana, ‘Leptis Magna’ (above, n.477) 166. This pattern is replicated in other hypogea around Lepcis: G. Di Vita-Evrard, S. Fontana, and M. Munzi, ‘Une tombe hypogée de la nécropole occidentale: Laurentii ou Claudii?’, *LibAnt* n.s. 3 (1997) 119–38; G. Di Vita-Evrard, ‘Les inscriptions des urnes découvertes dans la tombe hypogée à l’ouest de la villa’, *LibAnt* n.s. 4 (1998) 200–1.

[517] S. Fontana, ‘Le necropoli di Leptis Magna’, *LibAnt* n.s. 2 (1996) 79–83.

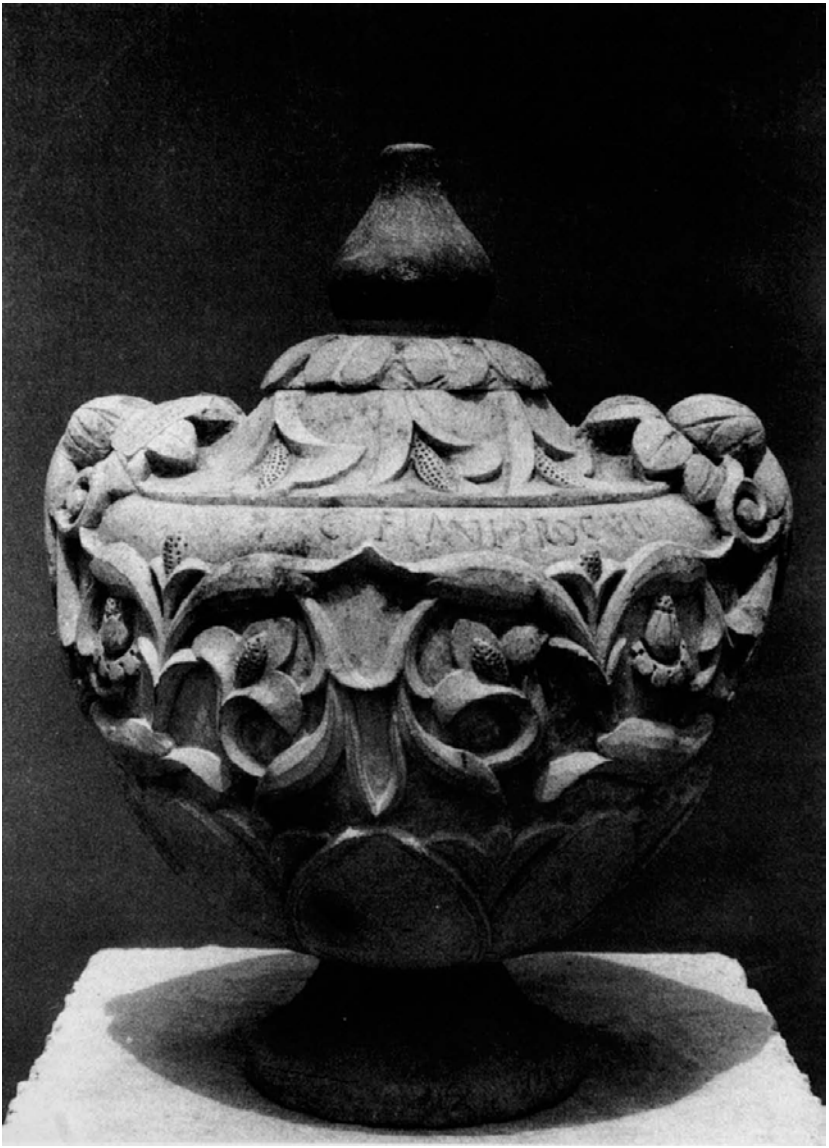


Fig. 2.31 Funerary urn, Lepcis Magna – Di Vita-Evrard (1996) no. 5 (from G. Di Vita-Evrard *et al.*, 'L'ipogeo dei Flavi a Leptis Magna presso Gasr Gelda', *LibAnt* n.s. 2 (1996) 85–133, tav. XXXIXa)

estate-manager of Q. Servilius Candidus (*act(or) Q(unti) Servili Candidi*), and a precise statement of the length of his life. It is possible that what appears to be an appropriation of a type of burial more usually seen among the elite was in fact a reflection of the outstanding social position and wealth of his master, Q. Servilius Candidus, who was a prominent benefactor at Lepcis during the Hadrianic period.[518]

Finally, it is interesting to note how Christian funerary epigraphy in the region shared similarities with Christian epitaphs elsewhere in the Latin West. The *basilica* of Sabratha was converted into a church perhaps during the late fourth century, but subsequently fell into disrepair during the Vandalic period, to be rebuilt during the Byzantine period (after AD 533). At this point, its east end was abandoned so as to be used as a Christian burial-ground, reusing marble slabs and limestone paving from the surrounding areas, and these burials also spread into the piazza in front of the Antonine temple and into the Forum. They probably continued until the time of the Arab conquest in the mid seventh century.[519] In some respects, they share features with Christian funerary inscriptions elsewhere (compare section 2.3.2 above): for example, we find Christian symbols commonly used, such as the chi–rho and alpha–omega, and some familiar linguistic formulae, such as *plus minus* ('more or less') in describing the deceased's age at death, and allusions to resting in peace. Some include dates of burial, indicating a specific day and indiction period. The main regional feature of this group of Christian epitaphs is represented by their onomastics, since Roman names (such as Marcella) appear not only alongside Christian names (Angelas, Teodora, Irene), but also Libyan (Fuzanus). Given the abundant evidence for multiple scripts and languages used in the epigraphy of Tripolitania, it is interesting to note that Christianity offered a milieu in which Latin epigraphy was remarkably long-lived.[520] Eleven inscriptions from the cemetery of En Ngila to the south-west of Oea show that Latin was still the language of choice during the tenth/eleventh centuries for the Christian community, at a time when the area was under Arab domination.[521] Furthermore, these were not simple texts preserving only the deceased's name, but contained dating formulae, biblical quotations, and liturgical formulae.

2.4.2 Epigraphy in the pre-desert interior

Inscribed monuments were not confined to the coastal zones dominated by the three major cities, but have also been found in the pre-desert interior. Different types of monument there present a picture of the interaction between Roman and indigenous culture that contrasts with what appears in the cities. In particular, individuals of Libyan rather than Punic background were dominant beyond the coastal urban centres.[522] Shifting epigraphic practices also reflected the changing dynamics within society: after detachments of the Third Legion were withdrawn from the area and with Roman military presence becoming much less prominent, clan-based society centred on fortified farms (*gasr*, pl. *gsur*) became dominant, and epigraphic monuments reinforced the impression of this dominance. From the fourth century, therefore, the pre-desert interior beyond the reach of the territories governed by the urban elite was essentially controlled by leading families within the sub-tribal groups.[523] These families derived their wealth and influence from control of agriculture and caravan routes in the region.

---

[518] M. Omar Faraj *et al.*, 'La tomba presso la scuola elementare "al-Hadi al-Fergioni" a Khoms', *LibAnt* n.s. 2 (1996) 135–50; Fontana, 'Leptis Magna' (above, n.477) 164.

[519] R. Bartoccini, 'Le iscrizioni sepolcrali nella basilica cimiteriale del foro di Sabratha (Tripolitania)', *RACrist* 51 (1975) 144–67; P. M. Kenrick, *Excavations at Sabratha 1948–1951* (1986: JRS Monograph 2: London) 83–7.

[520] Only the catacombs at Sirte have so far offered Christian epitaphs in Punic in the region: Jongeling and Kerr, *Late Punic Epigraphy* (above, n.441) 71–3 Sirte LP1–9.

[521] R. Bartoccini and D. Mazzoleni, 'Le iscrizioni de cimitero di En Ngila', *RACrist* 53 (1977) 157–98.

Inscriptions – notably in the form of funerary monuments – offered a way of expressing a distinctive local identity. Obelisk tombs constituted a particularly distinctive subcategory of the monumental mausolea that are also found near the coastal cities.[524] Obelisk tombs are typical of the pre-desert, with eye-catching examples at Ghirza, Msallatin, Umm al-Amad, and Wadi Umm as-Sbit.[525] They consisted of several storeys of architectural features piled up on each other, incorporating classical-style features as well as regional ones: for example, a tomb from Wadi Umm al-Ajrim (Agerem) just to the north of Ghirza included columns with simple capitals, a frieze of rosettes, basket-like capitals, and at its top a pine-cone perched upon a Corinthian capital.[526] In contrast to the tower mausolea, the obelisk tombs were characteristic of Libyan individuals: they appear to be influenced by pre-Roman Punic–Hellenistic mausolea, and reflect the strong persistence of Punic culture during the first and second centuries AD.[527] In addition, images depicted in art could make a contribution to the regional distinctiveness of mausolea: also at Wadi Umm al-Ajrim during the mid third century,

---

[522] D. J. Mattingly, 'Libyans and the "limes": culture and society in Roman Tripolitania', *AntAfr* 23 (1987) 71–94, at 77.

[523] Mattingly, 'Libyans and the "limes"' (above, n.522) 85; S. Fontana, 'Il predeserto tripolitano: mausolei e rappresentazione del potere', *LibAnt* n.s. 3 (1997) 149–61.

[524] E.g., Mausolea of Qasr Shaddad and of Qasr ad-Duirat, both of Roman date near Lepcis: Kenrick, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 133–4, 135–6; Fontana, 'Leptis Magna' (above, n.477) 163.

[525] Kenrick, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) Tomb South A at Ghirza, Msallatin: 194–6; Umm al-Amad, Wadi Umm as-Sbit: 203–5.

[526] Kenrick, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 177–8.

[527] Mattingly, 'Libyans and the "limes"' (above, n.522) 76, and *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 162–3.

Mausoleum A combined a Latino-Punic inscription with images suitable to the pre-desert.[528]

The settlement in the pre-desert at Ghirza (Qirzah) reflects the strong continuation of local culture in religious and funerary contexts. The settlement itself contains the largest concentration of buildings in the pre-desert, with fortified farms, storage facilities, five major cemeteries, and a late temple. Despite its location in the pre-desert, effective water-control measures enabled a variety of agricultural activity, including pastoralism and intensive cultivation along the wadi bed, which produced barley, wheat, olives, vines, figs, almonds, dates, pulses, and possibly watermelon.[529] Epigraphy played an integral role here, along with art and architecture, in justifying and consolidating the social hierarchy of the leading families within the sub-tribal group living at Ghirza during the later Roman period.

Firstly, inscriptions in Libyan have been found on four main buildings, on cult objects and the walls of the temple, and on some of the mausolea. The use of Libyan in religious contexts reflects the way in which social context affected language choice: various cult objects dating from the fourth–sixth centuries in the Semitic-style temple at Ghirza were inscribed in the Libyan alphabet.[530] This would all be appropriate if the god worshipped here was indeed the local god, Gurzil, mentioned by the sixth-century writer Corippus.[531] In addition, Libyan inscriptions occur on two columns on tombs of the Roman period.[532] These mausolea reflect in other ways how sub-tribal groups expressed their dominance, with Roman military support, filling the void once the Roman military had been recalled from this desert frontier. A cluster of impressive monumental fourth-century tombs for various tribal leaders presents a unique blend of classical architectural design with indigenous visual themes.[533] These are exceptional monuments for the elite: there are also many more modest individual tombs in the area.[534] On Tomb North A, for example, the frieze of the pseudo-*cella* wall depicts a sacrificial scene, complete with bull and libation-dish (*patera*), which evokes the Graeco-Roman world, but is juxtaposed with two female busts depicted with long hair, a veil, and earrings, which would appear alien to a Roman context.[535] The inscriptions in Latin appear prominently above the doorways to the tombs, and are presented within a *tabula ansata*.[536] The overall impact of these tombs is to evoke comparisons with small classical temples, set upon a podium within a colonnade, but lacking a pediment. Instead, the roof is edged by palmettes and spirals. The inscriptions emphasize the continuity between generations, legitimizing the leading role of these families within the sub-tribal group, and trying to ensure the transmission of power to future generations. The tombs acted as focal points for rituals in honour of the ancestors, sometimes on a grand scale, such as the sacrifice of fifty-one bulls and thirty-eight goats mentioned in one inscription, where it is translated into Roman terms, as a sacrifice for the *parentalia*.[537] This would have represented enough meat for the whole community at Ghirza for several weeks.[538] The majority of the names are Libyan, and this reflects the general pattern of Libyan names being more common than Punic in the interior.[539] It seems reasonable to suggest that their choice to inscribe prominently in Latin reflects the way in which these elite groups derived at least some of their kudos from associating themselves with Rome; the depiction of a local chieftain on Tomb North B as wearing a toga was designed for similar effect. Clearly, the local elite was willing to associate itself with Rome, and Rome was happy to encourage such an association (see further below). All in all, Ghirza offers a picture of a ‘thriving, and surely native, community, living on the edge of the Roman world and taking from it only that which it wanted’,[540] with the elite asserting its power by incorporating both indigenous and foreign elements in the design of the mausolea.[541]

---

[528] Fontana, 'Il predeserto tripolitano' (above, n.523) 151–3; cf. *IRT2009* 906, Jongeling and Kerr, *Late Punic Epigraphy* (above, n.441) 76 Wadi Umm el-Agerem LP2.

[529] Kenrick, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 182–95; Mattingly, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 197–200.

[530] O. Brogan and D. J. Smith, *Ghirza: A Libyan Settlement in the Roman Period* (1984: Department of Antiquities: Tripoli) App. 5, Group A.

[531] Mattingly, 'Libyans and the "limes"' (above, n.522) 88 and *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 212–13.

[532] Brogan and Smith, *Ghirza* (above, n.530) App. 5, Group E; 123, Tomb North A.

[533] Brogan and Smith, *Ghirza* (above, n.530); Mattingly, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 206–7.

[534] Kenrick, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 189.

55 Tomb North B, Ghirza (Wadi Zemzem): Fig. 2.32

IRT2009 900

CIL VIII 22661 (= 10970); *CIL* III 743; O. Brogan and J. M. Reynolds, ‘App. 8, Latin inscriptions’, in *Ghirza: A Libyan Settlement in the Roman Period*, eds. O. Brogan and D. J. Smith (1984: Department of Antiquities: Tripoli) 134–41, 261; S. Fontana, ‘Il predeserto tripolitano: mausolei e

---

[535] Brogan and Smith, *Ghirza* (above, n.530) 121–5, 260.

[536] *IRT2009* 898–902.

[537] Brogan and Smith, *Ghirza* (above, n.530) 262.

[538] Fontana, ‘Il predeserto tripolitano’ (above, n.523) 158.

[539] Mattingly, ‘Libyans and the “limes”’ (above, n.522) 77. Ghirza: Mattingly, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 85–8.

[540] Kenrick, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 183.

[541] Cf. reflections on Tunisia during the Republic in D. L. Stone, ‘Burial, identity and local culture in North Africa’, in *Articulating Local Cultures: Power and Identity under the Expanding Roman Republic*, eds. P. van Dommelen and N. Terrenato (2007: *JRA* Supplement 63: Portsmouth, R.I.) 126–44.

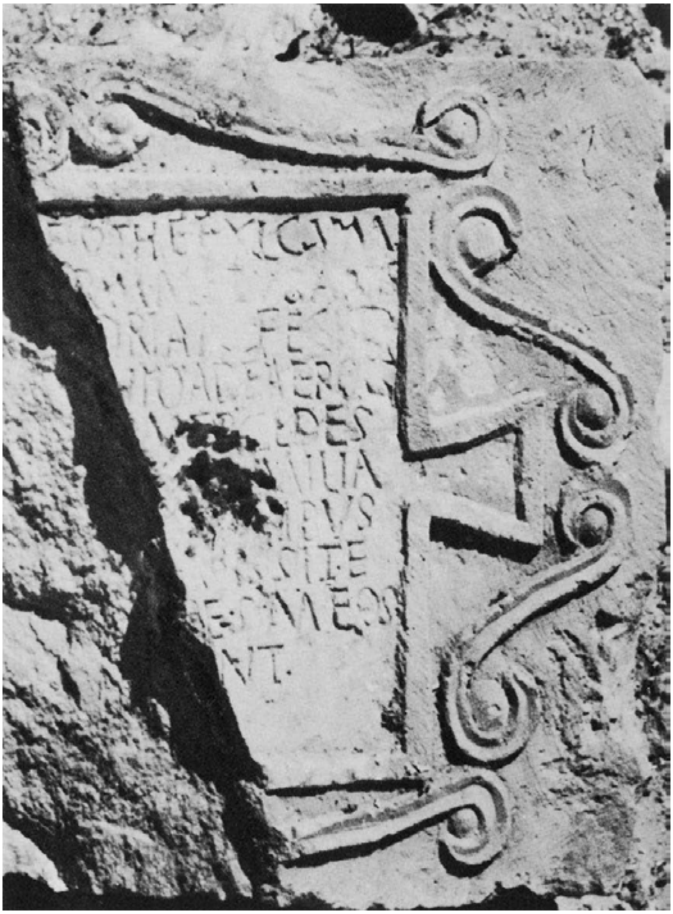


Fig. 2.32 Tomb North B, Ghirza (Wadi Zemzem) – *IRT2009* 900 (from O. Brogan and J. M. Reynolds, 'App. 8, Latin inscriptions', in O. Brogan and D. J. Smith, *Ghirza: A Libyan Settlement in the Roman Period* (1984: Department of Antiquities: Tripoli) pl. 60b)

rappresentazione del potere', *LibAnt* n.s. 3 (1997) 149–61, at 155; P. Kenrick, *Libya Archaeological Guides: Tripolitania* (2009: Silphium Press: London) 191–2.

M(archius) Fydel et F(lavia) Thesylgum / pater et mater M(archi) Metusanis / qui eis hec memoriam fecit / discussi ratiocinio ad ea erog/[5] *atum est sumptos mercedes / in numo follis n[onaginta?] milia / preter cibarias ope[rant]ibus / feliciter legant [et] vissite/nt filios et nepotes meos /*[10] *et tales faciant*

'Marchius Fydel and Flavia Thesylgum, father and mother of Marchius Metusan who had this memorial made for them, and have reckoned that there was spent on this, in coin ninety(?) thousand *folles*, and in addition the food for the workmen. May my sons and grandsons read (this) in good fortune and build others like it.'

Tomb North B resembles a small classical temple, set upon a high square podium. The tomb is decorated with images evocative of its locality: on its arch-heads appear an ostrich and huntsman, an antelope, hound, and date-palm. Similarly, on the frieze are scenes of a seated chieftain wearing a toga accompanied by other figures, and scenes of activities typical of the region, such as a camel suckling its young, a camel caravan, and the hunting of lion, cheetah or leopard, and ostrich. Other scenes, of ploughing and sowing, threshing and winnowing are less distinctive, but are probably also intended to represent the world of the sub-tribe under the control of the family who owned the tomb, who bear Libyan names. A scene of corporal punishment may allude to the administration of justice by the deceased. The images make implicit claims about the importance of this family within the sub-tribal group, perhaps in competition with the other families whose tombs stand nearby (compare especially Tomb North C). This inscription is carved on a limestone block, within a *tabula ansata* (height 38 cm, width 83.5 cm), and was originally displayed above the false door of the pseudo-*cella*. The border of the *tabula* is decorated with volute scrolls. It has been dated to the fourth century AD, on the basis that the denomination of *folles* was introduced by Diocletian.

In addition to epitaphs on their mausolea, the leading landowners in the pre-desert asserted their authority by building fortified farms. They further reinforced that authority via Latino-Punic inscriptions incorporated into these fortified structures, which they called *centenaria*, using a Latin loanword specific to North Africa.[542] These buildings were situated beyond the zone where Roman forts had been constructed, around the areas of the Sofeggin, Zemzem, and Merdum wadis, and Ghirza. Although some of these fortified farms (*centenaria*) do appear to have been built through Roman army intervention during the third century,[543] some were also built by local landowners with the support of Roman military officers, and were intended to provide protection against Libyan tribesmen.[544] Funerary inscriptions in

---

[542] Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (above, n.442) 232; A. F. Elmayer, 'The *centenaria* of Roman Tripolitania', *LibSt* 16 (1985) 77–84; Jongeling and Kerr, *Late Punic Epigraphy* (above, n.441) 62–4: Bir Shmech LP1/ *IRT2009* 889, Breviglieri LP 1/ *IRT2009* 877, Gasr el-Azaiz LP1/ *IRT2009* 893.

[543] *IRT2009* 880.

[544] *IRT2009* 889; Elmayer, 'The reinterpretation of the Latino-Punic inscriptions IRT 889 and 893' (above, n.444) 149–50; Jongeling and Kerr, *Late Punic Epigraphy* (above, n.441) 62 Bir Shmech LP1. See Mattingly, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 102–6, 194–200 on the difficulties of distinguishing military from civilian structures.

Latino-Punic inscribed upon *stelae*, possibly during the mid fourth century, from a Libyan necropolis at Bir ed-Dreder in the Middle Lower Soffegin Basin reveal that local chieftains with Libyan names were commemorated as *tribuni*.[545] It seems that they were regarded as responsible for administration and justice in their areas, and were perhaps ultimately answerable via a treaty to Roman officials known as the *praepositi limitis Tripolitanae* ('officials in charge of the Tripolitanian frontier').[546] Their use of a Latin loanword in their epitaphs to describe their position in society suggests that they wished to associate themselves with Rome, and that this association helped to confirm their authority in their local society.

2.4.3 The army camp at Bu Njem

Although, therefore, inscribed monuments in parts of the pre-desert may be characterized above all as reflecting local Libyan culture and society, the final element in our Tripolitanian picture comprises Roman military camps, which were, so to speak, independent oases of epigraphic activity. The camp of a unit on detachment from the Third Legion at Bu Njem (Bu Ngem/Abu Njaym, its ancient name variously rendered as Gholaia or Golas) offers us an interesting snapshot of epigraphic culture within the Roman army posted to the outskirts of the empire, in the Tripolitanian pre-desert, inland to the south-east of Lepcis Magna. The area had previously been a focal point of activities, even from as long ago as palaeolithic times, partly because of its water-source, and partly because of its strategic location on routes from the coast towards Fezzan (and the Sahara beyond) and the Nile, but this was the first time that the Romans visibly took up residence there.[547] The camp was established in AD 201, and was abandoned at some point during AD 259/63. Up until AD 238, it was occupied by a detachment from the legion (*vexillatio*), reinforced by a *numerus collatus* (a small unit assigned to a special mission), about 500 men in all, but following the legion's disgrace and disbandment as a punishment for failing to support the revolt of the provincial governor Gordianus against the emperor Maximinus, it was replaced by a detachment of auxiliaries. The legion was rehabilitated in AD 253, but it is unclear whether or not a legionary unit also reoccupied the camp.[548]

---

[545] *IRT2009* 886a–k, Bir ed-Dreder, with Elmayer, 'The reinterpretation of Latino-Punic inscriptions' (above, n.444) 93–100; Jongeling and Kerr, *Late Punic Epigraphy* (above, n.441) 59–62; Mattingly, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 195–7. R. G. Goodchild, 'The Romano-Libyan cemetery at Bir Ed-Dreder', *QAL* 3 (1954), repr. in *Libyan Studies: Select Papers of the Late R. G. Goodchild*, ed. J. Reynolds (1976: Paul Elek: London) ch. 5 provides a clear account of the inscriptions and site, although his interpretation of them has been superseded: G. D. B. Jones and G. W.W. Barker, 'The UNESCO Libyan Valleys Survey IV: the 1981 season', *LibSt* 14 (1983) 39–68, at 53 (D. J. Buck, J. R. Burns, D. J. Mattingly).

[546] Elmayer, 'The *centenaria* of Roman Tripolitania' (above, n.542) 79.

[547] R. Rebuffat, 'Nouvelles recherches dans le Sud de la Tripolitaine', *CRAI* 116.2 (1972) 319–39, at 326–7.

A range of epigraphic writing survives from the camp and its environs: not just monumental inscriptions (set up both individually by commanders and collectively by the *vexillatio*), but also graffiti, dipinti, and ostraka. The ostraka relate to routine administrative affairs within the army, including duty rosters, accounts, and correspondence, and mostly date from AD 253–9.[549] Some of them probably represent communication between their base at Bu Njem and troops sent on detachment further south to control routes through the desert.[550] Use of Latin writing extended beyond the camp's walls into the town that developed next to it. Graffiti in commercial premises (the so-called 'bâtiment aux niches') probably used for storing and trading in foodstuffs appear to record transactions with soldiers, and resemble in content the graffiti found in the cellars at Magdalensberg.[551] The importance of writing to the military community is reflected by the presence at the heart of the camp of a *scriptorium*, an office for scribes (the only one so far identified in a Roman army camp), located in the south wing of the *principia*, the camp's headquarters.[552] A specialist room devoted to writing, it catered for scribes' needs with a central stone desk and benches; ink-pots were found there too (presumably for creating records on ostraka). Furthermore, the exterior wall of the *scriptorium* appears to have acted as a sort of public noticeboard: fragmentary traces of painted inscriptions in letters 5–10 mm high suggest that this served as a place where information was disseminated to all of the camp's soldiers, and that the inscriptions were regularly plastered over and new inscriptions painted on top of them, as the need arose.[553] The texts are very fragmentary, but what is preserved suggests that the documents dealt with matters of local interest (for example, a report on recent military action against the Garamantes) rather than being official documents issued from Rome.[554]

---

[548] Rebuffat, 'Nouvelles recherches' (above, n.547) 338.

[549] Marichal, *Les ostraca de Bu Njem* (above, n.5); J. N. Adams, 'Latin and Punic in contact? The case of the Bu Njem ostraca', *JRS* 84 (1994) 87–112.

[550] R. Rebuffat, 'Trois nouvelles campagnes dans le sud de la Tripolitaine', *CRAI* 119.4 (1975) 495–505, at 500.

[551] R. Rebuffat *et al.*, 'Bu Njem 1968', *LibAnt* 6/7 (1969/70) 9–105, at 18–30.

[552] R. Rebuffat, 'Bu Njem 1971', *LibAnt* 11/12 (1974/5) 189–241, at 204–7.

[553] Marichal, *Les ostraca de Bu Njem* (above, n.5) 241–5 nos. 147–51.

[554] Marichal, *Les ostraca de Bu Njem* (above, n.5) 242–5 no. 147, inv. 71–203a.

Epigraphic commemoration was important to the way in which the army defined its relationship with its new camp-site right from the start: an altar set up in the shrine of the *praetorium* (commanding officer's headquarters) declared that it was set up on the very first day that the army moved into the site.[555] The year and precise date can be calculated as 24th January AD 201 on the basis of other inscriptions from the site. The altar was dedicated to the *genius Gholaiae* by the commanding-officer, C. Iuulius Dignus.[556] Given that the shrine itself seems to have been a later addition to the camp, and not one of its first buildings, this would suggest that the setting up of the inscribed altar by itself was regarded as sufficient in the first instance, and that it was later moved into pride of place on the axial point at the back of the shrine. In this way, we see how it was the commander's first priority to lay claim to the support of the presiding deity of the site. A similar aim is also to be found in a later altar dedicated by another commanding-officer, Iulius Vitalis, this time to the *numen praesens* ('present spirit'), and other officers of the Roman army based elsewhere in North Africa also made dedications to the *genius* of their locality.[557] The shrine to house the unit's military standards was equally integral to the soldiers' sense of identity, but as yet no inscription has been found there, whilst the original context of a dedication to the *genius* of the *vexillatio* is unknown. In these ways, inscriptions played an important role in expressing the unit's sense of identity and generating a positive relationship with its new camp-site.

Monumental inscriptions from a number of temples offer an interesting picture of the army's interaction with local cults.[558] On existing evidence, there appears to be a clear distinction between the deities found within the camp, who were alien to the region and closely associated with Roman military success (*Fortuna*, *genius vexillationis, sol invictus*, *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*) and those outside the camp, where local deities were enlisted on behalf of the army (Jupiter Hammon, Mars Canapphar, Vanammon).[559] Each of these last three was essentially an indigenous deity, but each was also assimilated into Roman culture, all of them becoming 'Augustan' gods, but with Hammon and Canapphar also being identified with Jupiter and Mars. In some cases, the choice of deity was perhaps because of the African origin of the soldier making the dedication (Aurelius Varixen and Vanammon), and names found on the ostraka also suggest local recruitment at Bu Njem, but this was not always the case (T. Flavius Apronianus and Mars Canapphar).[560]

---

[555] *Praetorium* shrine: Brouquier-Reddé, *Temples et cultes* (above, n.468) 178–9.

[556] R. Rebuffat, 'L'arrivée des Romains à Bu Njem (Notes et documents V)', *LibAnt* 9/10 (1972/3) 121–4, at 123, 132–4: inv. 72–26 and 'Bu Njem 1972', *LibAnt* 13/14 (1976/7) 37–77, at 56–7; *AÉpigr* (1976) 700.

[557] Rebuffat, 'L'arrivée des Romains' (above, n.556) 123, 134: inv. 72–28, and 'Bu Njem 1972' (above, n.556) 57–8: *AÉpigr* (1976) 699; cf. *CIL* VIII 21820 = *ILS* 9175 (a prefect of *cohors I Asturum et Callaecorum*); *CIL* VIII 22759 (a centurion of *legio III*).

[558] R. Rebuffat, 'Divinités de l'oued Kebir (Tripolitaine)', *AfrRom 7.1* (1990) 119–59.

[559] Fortuna, shrine in the baths: R. Rebuffat, 'Bu Njem 1970', *LibAnt* 6/7 (1969/70) 107–65, at 140–3, Brouquier-Reddé, *Temples et cultes* (above, n.468) 179–82; *genius vexillationis*: Brouquier-Reddé, *Temples et cultes*, 207; *sol invictus*: *IRT2009* 917; *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*: Brouquier-Reddé, *Temples et cultes*, 209–10; Temples of Jupiter Hammon/ Vanammon Augustus/ Mars Canapphar: Brouquier-Reddé, *Temples et cultes*, 151–4, 155–6, 156–9.

In the case of Hammon we can trace how military personnel even adopted a local interpretation of the deity's role, and adapted it for their own purposes. Worshipped by the local Garamantes as the protector of caravan routes through the desert, Hammon's new role was to protect the *vexillatio* when on its journeys as well. Thus, a temple for Hammon was built by the *vexillatio* on a hill 1 km to the north of the camp, to commemorate the safe return of the *vexillatio* after it had been away from camp for a few years, presumably having been on campaign to the south of the camp.[561] In addition, an individual centurion, Tullius Romulus, set up a dedication (probably an altar) to Augustan Jupiter Hammon the home-bringer (*Iovi Hammon(i) red(uci) Aug(usto)*) in fulfilment of a vow.[562] On the other hand, the temple of Mars Canapphar was not typically Roman in architectural form (and, consequently in the type of ritual activity taking place), consisting of a large vestibule flanked by benches, ending in an apse that served as a *cella*. It appears too to have lacked a podium. The benches show that worshippers met inside the shrine (rather like in a Mithraic shrine), but the cult image in the apse remained obscured from their view. It seems likely that soldiers attended the temple as worshippers, but the continuation of activity at the temple of Hammon after the army had left the camp suggests that locals did not consider the cult there entirely alien to them (in contrast to the temple of Vanammon, which was abandoned after AD 259/63).

Epigraphy at the camp took on a distinctly military flavour through the prominence of deities associated with victory, such as the keystone over one of the camp's gateways with its inscription to *sol invictus* ('unconquered sun'),[563] or the fragments of an inscription written in monumental lettering in ochre on the plaster of a wall in the south wing of the *principia*, which may refer to *vic[toria]* and *[numi]ni invic[to]* ('unconquered divine power').[564]

---

[560] Mars Canapphar: *AÉpigr* (1979) 645.

[561] Rebuffat, 'L'arrivée des Romains' (above, n.556) 122, 132: inv. 74–94; *AÉpigr* (1976) 698; G. Di Vita-Evrard and R. Rebuffat, 'La dédicace des thermes', *Karthago* 21 (1987) 107–11, at 111 n.16.

[562] *IRT2009* 920, where the deity is translated as 'Jupiter Hammon who brings the emperor home'. For a different interpretation of the troops' movements, see M. P. Speidel, 'Outpost duty in the desert: building the fort at Gholaia (Bu Njem, Libya)', *AntAfr* 24 (1988) 99–102.

[563] *IRT2009* 917.

[564] Rebuffat, 'Bu Njem 1971' (above, n.552) 220: inv. 71–108.

References to military victory might even appear in unexpected contexts, such as in the baths, where an inscription painted inside a *tabula ansata* of plaster commemorated the restoration of the baths by Iunius Amicus and all the other soldiers, but also displayed the words *numina invicta* as a separate text, with one word on each of the plaque's 'handles'.[565] Cult beyond the camp was also sometimes military in flavour: in room 9 of the commercial premises known as the 'bâtiment aux niches', the word *VICTORIA* was scratched in the centre of a palm-garland etched above a niche, flanked by palms, where probably there was originally a statuette or painting of the goddess. There is no way of telling whether this improvised shrine was created by a veteran or local, although it would seem an odd choice for the latter, unless he was trying to curry favour with military customers.

Another prominent feature of the camp's epigraphy is the ubiquitous presence of members of the imperial family. As has already been observed earlier, the infiltration of the imperial family into building inscriptions is a phenomenon elsewhere too, but the soldiers at Bu Njem were particularly eager to dedicate their constructions either in honour of the emperor and his family or on behalf of their welfare. The practice was established right at the entrances to the camp, since each of the camp's gates prominently displayed an impressive inscription commemorating its dedication to Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta in AD 201.[566]

56 Dedication of the camp's western gate, Bu Njem: Fig. 2.33

IRT2009 914, *CIL* VIII 10992

R. Rebuffat, 'Les inscriptions des portes du camp de Bu Njem (Notes et documents IV)', *LibAnt* 9/10 (1972/3) 99–120.

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) L(ucio) Septimio Seuero / Pio Per̂t(inaci) Âug(usto) t̂r(ibunicia) p(otestate) IX im̂p(eratori) vac. *co(n)s(uli) II p(atri) p(atriae) êt / Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Âurel(io) An̂ton̂ino / Âug(usto) t̂r(ibunicia)*

---

[565] Rebuffat, 'Bu Njem 1970' (above, n.559) 107–65, at 132, 141–3: inv. 70–46, *Iunius Amicus (sesquiplicarius) qui e librarius pregolem (ie priorem) labarclum (ie lavacrum) ex parte restituit cum omne numerum militum – numina invicta* ('Iunius Amicus (soldier on 1½ pay scale), scribe, with the whole company of soldiers partly restored the earlier bath – unconquered deities'); Brouquier-Reddé, *Temples et cultes* (above, n.468) 208–9.

[566] R. Rebuffat, 'Les inscriptions des portes du camp de Bu Njem (Notes et documents IV)', *LibAnt* 9/10 (1972/3) 99–120: inv. 71–199 (south gate); *IRT2009* 914 (west gate) = *CIL* VIII 10992; *IRT2009* 915 (east gate); *IRT2009* 916 (north gate) = *CIL* VIII 6. Cf. *IRT2009* 913, a dedication to the Severan family from the baths: Di Vita-Evrard and Rebuffat, 'La dédicace des thermes' (above, n.561) 107–11.

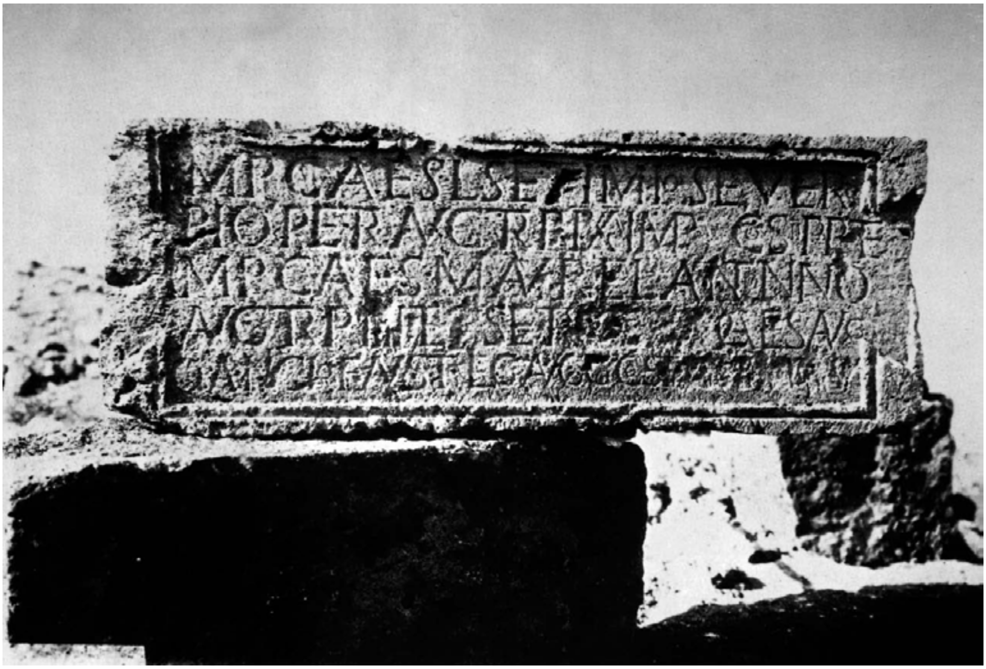


Fig. 2.33 Dedication of the camp's western gate, Bu Njem – *IRT2009* 914 (from R. Rebuffat, 'Les inscriptions des portes du camp de Bu Njem (Notes et documents IV)', *LibAnt* 9/10 (1972/3) pl. XXXIX)

p(otestate) IIII êt [[L(ucio)]] Sept(imio)[[Getae]]] Caes(ari) Âug(usto) /^{5} *Q(uinto) An̂icio Fâusto l̂eg(ato) Âug(ustorum) co(n)s(ulari) [[leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) p(iae) v(indicis)]]*

'To Imperator Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus, holding tribunician power for the ninth time, acclaimed victor, consul twice, father of the country, and to Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, holding tribunician power for the fourth time, consul, and to Lucius Septimius Geta Caesar Augustus, set up under Quintus Anicius Faustus, legate of the emperors, consular commander of legion III Augusta, Pia, Vindex.'

The exact layout of the inscriptions above each of the four gates varies slightly in terms of its line division and use of abbreviations. In this case, the *O* at the end of *Septimio* and *Severo* in l.1, in *cos* ll.2 + 5, *Antonino* l.3, *Anicio* and *Fausto* l.5 are small letters, as is the final *G* in l.4; *C* is wrapped around *A* in *Caes*, l.4; ligatures occur in ll.2–5; space has been left after *imp.*, l.2, to be completed with the appropriate numeral. The numeral after *cos* in l.2 has been squeezed in, and the ends of ll.2–4 all encroach upon the frame surrounding the text. The text is inscribed upon a large panel (height 57 cm, width 157 cm, depth 15 cm) of grey limestone, imitating a *tabula ansata* in form, with letters varying from 6.5 to 7.5 cm in height. It can be dated to AD 201 from the imperial titles. The name of Geta was erased following his assassination, and the name of the legion was erased following its disgrace in AD 238. The erasures were executed in different ways on the four inscriptions, and there is some inconsistency: for example, the name of the legion was reinscribed upon the north gate inscription only. There is also inconsistency in the titles of Septimius Severus: whereas a space was left blank for inserting the number of his imperatorial salutations in this inscription (and on the west gate), no blank was left on the southern gate's inscription, and the numeral XI was included only on the eastern example.

Only twenty years later, repairs to a gate were commemorated by an impressive inscription, which began with a dedication to Elagabalus and Alexander Severus.[567] Of course, such expressions of loyalty to the imperial household are only to be expected in a military context. Similarly, the temple of Mars Canapphar was dedicated for the welfare of Severus Alexander and Julia Mammea, whilst the altar to the *genius Gholaiae* was more vaguely dedicated for the welfare 'of the (three) Augusti', with one being later erased.[568] Fragments of a bronze plaque give an impression of how the imperial family was integrated into ceremonial occasions in the camp too, since it appears to contain a record of acclamations made in honour of members of the imperial family, probably Elagabalus and Julia Soaemias (appropriately enough, as 'mother of the camp', *matri exercitus*).[569] A centurion also took the lead in coordinating the whole *vexillatio* and *numerus conlatus* in dedicating to Jupiter Optimus Maximus an *ara cerei* ('candle-altar') on 3rd May, some year during AD 236–8, on behalf of the welfare and safety of Maximinus and his son Maximus, perhaps originally somewhere in the *principia*.[570] The inscription itself is upon a *stele*, not an altar, suggesting that the inscription was one step away from being the actual dedication, and commemorated the setting up of the altar rather than itself being the dedicated object. This date represents the last day of the festival of Flora, a goddess who appears to have been associated with bees, and so, by extension, a wax candle would have been an appropriate offering. Detachments of the same legion also made similar dedications at their camp at Castellum Dimmidi, at roughly the same period.[571] In each case, the *vexillatio* was the active agent, with its officer simply acting on its behalf. This epigraphic practice, therefore, appears to have been an important part of the way in which the unit participated collectively in religious activities as a means of expressing loyalty towards the imperial family via participating in a traditional festival.[572]

---

[567] R. Rebuffat, 'Le centurion M. Porcius Iasucthan à Bu Njem (Notes et documents XI)', *LibAnt* n.s. 1 (1995) 79–123.

[568] *AÉpigr* (1979) 645; Rebuffat, 'Bu Njem 1971' (above, n.552) 219–20: inv. 71–206; Rebuffat, 'L'arrivée des Romains' (above, n.556) 132–4.

[569] R. Boyer, and Y. Fattori, and R. Rebuffat, 'Une plaquette de bronze inscrite du camp', *LibAnt* 6/7 (1969/70) 175–80; *AÉpigr* (1976) 701.

[570] R. Rebuffat, 'L'inscription de l'ara cerei', *LibAnt* 15/16 (1978/9) 113–24; Brouquier-Reddé, *Temples et cultes* (above, n.468) 209–10.

It so happened that occupation of the camp coincided with a particularly turbulent period in Roman politics, with the removal of Geta and then of Severus Alexander and Julia Mammea. The legion itself was also both disgraced and rehabilitated during this period. A number of inscriptions in the camp show how inscriptions remained in the soldiers' consciousness once they had been set up: we find erasures relating to Geta, Elagabalus, Severus Alexander, Julia Mammea, Maximinus and Maximus, Philip and his son Philip, and the disgraced Third Legion itself. Furthermore, the name and titles of the legion were actually reinscribed in some cases, as on the verse inscription of Porcius Iasucthan (see below), on the inscription from the north gate (see above), and on the dedicatory inscription from the baths.[573] It is even possible to suggest how the process of erasure may have unfolded. Detailed analysis of the four gate-inscriptions shows that a variety of techniques for erasing were used, suggesting that more than one individual was involved in carrying out the erasures. A lack of systematic checking is also apparent, since the same name was not always erased from the same inscription: the name of the legion, for example, remained intact in l.5 of the dedicatory inscription set up by Porcius Iasucthan, but was erased further down. This all suggests that the act of erasure may have taken place simultaneously throughout the camp, with the involvement of several different individuals, but that once the erasure was deemed completed on that occasion, the inscriptions were not revisited and checked.[574]

Inscriptions set up by two centurions offer an intriguing picture of the emulation between individuals, of their willingness to participate in Latin literary culture, even if not always very successfully, and of their distinctive use of language.[575] The first of these is a verse inscription in iambic *senarii* with acrostic, found in the *frigidarium* ('cold-room') of the camp's baths, set up by Q. Avidius Quintianus to *Salus*, a deity commonly associated with baths, but particularly germane for facilities in the desert region.

---

[571] *AÉpigr* (1906) 124, (1940) 153, (1948) 209.

[572] R. Rebuffat, 'Ara cerei', *MÉFRA* 94.2 (1982) 911–19.

[573] *IRT2009* 913 l.7.

[574] Cf. Rebuffat, 'L'inscription de l'ara cerei' (above, n.570) 123–4 for similar conclusions.

[575] J. N. Adams, 'The poets of Bu Njem: language, culture, and the centurionate', *JRS* 89 (1999) 109–34.

57 A centurion's verse composition in praise of Health, Bu Njem: Fig. 2.34

IRT2009 918

R. Rebuffat, 'Le poème de Q. Avidius Quintianus à la déesse Salus', *Karthago* 21 (1987) 93–105; *AÉpigr* (1929) 7b = R. Bartoccini, 'La fortezza romana di Bu Njem', *Africa Italiana* 2 (1928) 50–8, at 55–7; J. N. Adams, 'The poets of Bu Njem: language, culture, and the centurionate', *JRS* 89 (1999) 109–34, esp. 124–5.

***Q**uaesii multum quot / memoriae tradere / **A**gens prae cunctos in / hac castra milites /[5] **V**otum commun̂em pro/que reditu exercitus / **I**nter priores et fu/turos reddere / **D**um quaero mecum dig/[10] na diuom nomina / **I**nueni tandem nomen / et numen deae / **V**otis perennem quem / dicare in hoc loco /[15] **S**alutis igitur quan/dium cultores sient / **Q**ua potui sanxi nom̂en / et cunctis dedi / **V**eras salutis lymphas /[20] tantis ignibus / **I**n istis semper ha/renacis collibus / **N**utantis Aust̂r̂i solis / flammas feruidas /[25] **T**ranquille ut nando / delenirent corpora / **I**ta tu qui sentis mag/nam fact̂i grat̂iam / **A**estuan̂t̂îs animae /[30] fucilari spir̂itum / **N**oli pigere laudem / uoce reddere / **V**eram qui uoluit / esse te sanum t̂îb̂i /[35] **S**et protestare uel / salutis gratia*

'I have much sought what to hand down to memory, while acting in command of all the soldiers in this camp, what vow shared by all and on behalf of the safe return of the army to discharge among earlier and future vows. While seeking in my mind for worthy names of deities I at last discovered the name and power of a never-failing goddess whom to consecrate everlastingly with vows in this place; and so for as long as there are worshippers of Health here, insofar as I could, I have sanctified her name and I have given to all the genuine waters of Health amid such great fiery temperatures, in the midst of those unending sand-dunes of the south wind that stirs up the burning flames of the sun, so that they might soothe their bodies by bathing in tranquillity. So you who feel the great gratitude for what I have done, that the spirit of your seething soul is being revived, do not be slow to speak genuine praise with your voice of one who wanted you to be healthy for your own good, but to testify even for the sake of Health.'

The layout of the text on this tall, narrow *stele* of grey limestone (height 188 cm, width 45 cm, depth 14 cm) immediately draws attention to the acrostic with the centurion's name (indicated above in bold). The poem dates from AD 202/3,

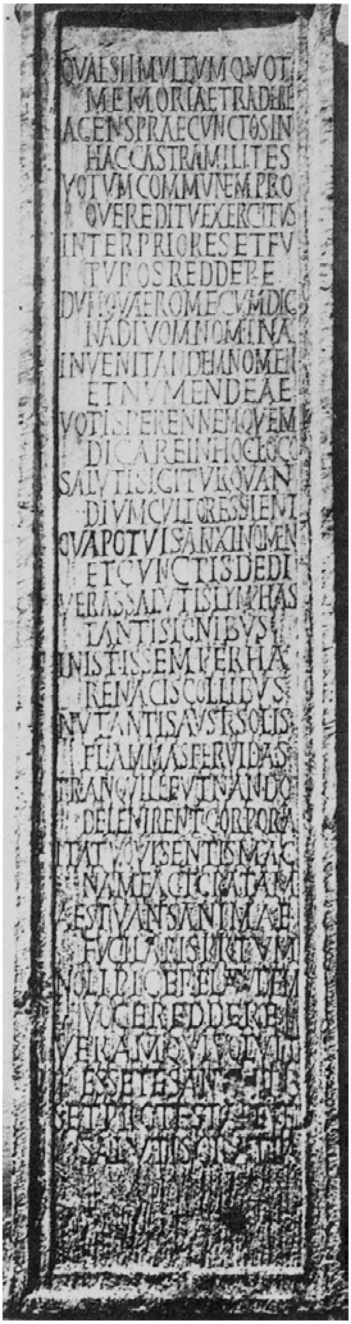

QVAESIIMVLTVMQVOT
MEMORIAETRADERE
AGENSPRAECVNCTOSIN
HACCASTRAMILITES
VOTVMCOMMVNEMPRO
QVEREDITVEXERCITVS
INTERPRIORESETFV
TVROSREDDERE
DVMQVAEROMECVMDIG
NADIVOMNOMINA
INVENITANDEMNOMEN
ETNVMENDEAE
VOTISPERENNEMQVEM
DICAREINHOCLOCO
SALVTISIGITVRQVAN
DIVMCVLTORESSIENT
QVAPOTVISANXINOMEN
ETCVNCTISDEDI
VERASSALVTISLYMPHAS
TANTISIGNIBVS
INISTISSEMPERHA
RENACISCOLLIBVS
NVTANTISAVSTRISOLIS
FLAMMASFERVIDAS
TRANQVILLEVTNANDO
DELENIRENTCORPORA
ITATVQVISENTISMAG
NAMFACTIGRATIAM
AESTVANSANIMAE
FVCILARESPIRITVM
NOLIPIGERELAVDEM
VOCEREDDERE

Fig. 2.34 A centurion's verse composition in praise of Health, Bu Njem – *IRT2009* 918 (from R. Rebuffat, 'Le poème de Q. Avidius Quintianus à la déesse Salus', *Karthago* 21 (1987) 98)

whilst the *vexillatio* was absent from camp, and alludes to the vow made for its safe return, discharged on its return by the construction of the temple of Hammon (see above). This verse composition is relatively competent, with accurate use of meter (iambic *senarii*), archaizing poetic vocabulary (*cuncti*, *lymphas*), and alliteration (*nomen et numen* vv.11–12, *flammas feruidas* v.24). This contrasts with that composed by another centurion (see below), suggesting that Avidius Quintianus was both more comfortable with Latin (possibly being himself from Italy) and probably educated to a higher standard than Porcius Iasucthan (although still committing errors of syntax and morphology). The inscription forms a pair with another text (*IRT2009* 919) inscribed on an identical marble *stele* from the same location, which simply reads *centurio leg III Aug faciendum curavit* ('A centurion of the Third Augustan Legion saw to (this) being done'), challenging the viewer then to make the connection with the other *stele*, and decipher the centurion's name from its acrostic. Both were found in the *frigidarium*.

Another inscription aspiring to hexameter verse form was engraved upon a large alabaster tablet to commemorate repairs to one of the camp's gates – 'aspiring' because not one of its verses actually succeeds in obeying what we would think of as the normal rules of verse composition.[576] Fragments of it were found in the baths, probably after it had been deliberately broken up and dumped during the occupation of the camp-site after the Romans had left; consequently, its original context remains unclear. The poem is of some literary pretension, using epic meter to celebrate the soldiers' great exertions and valour in restoring the gate, complete with a simile at its end comparing the finished gateway with a gemstone set in gold. Furthermore, the name of the centurion in charge of the construction work appears as an acrostic, Porcius Iasucthan, and this name indicates his Libyan origins. Indeed, on returning to legionary headquarters at Lambaesis, the same individual set up a dedication to the *di mauri* ('moorish gods') for the welfare of Severus Alexander.[577] In his inscription at Bu Njem, M. Porcius Iasucthan painted a vivid picture of all the soldiers working together, and several times used technical architectural or engineering terms that reminded the viewer of the soldiers' abilities. The inscription itself may have had two main purposes: firstly, by acknowledging the crucial role played by the rank-and-file in the laborious work of repairing the gate, the centurion was using the inscription as a morale-booster, helping to cement the bond between officer and his men. Secondly, the inscription belongs within its local context, emulating the acrostic verse inscription of Avidius Quintianus, and also portraying the soldiers serving under Porcius Iasucthan as heirs, and perhaps rivals, of their predecessors by whose efforts the camp and its defences were first constructed.

---

[576] Rebuffat, 'Le centurion M. Porcius Iasucthan' (above, n.567): inv. 70–45.

[577] *CIL* VIII 2638.

Our overall impression from Bu Njem, therefore, is not one of the Third Legion imposing Roman cultural traditions on its pre-desert headquarters via epigraphic monuments, but of an army unit consisting largely of individuals of North African background, who maintained a balance between Punic, Libyan, and Roman loyalties.[578]

2.5 The life-cycle of inscriptions

In trying to assess the cultural and social context of inscriptions, it is important to arrive at some picture of how much control customers had over the text, appearance, and context of their inscriptions. The reception and viewing of inscriptions once they had been set up is also important: to what extent did people read inscriptions, or even notice them at all? How many people could have read them, had they wanted to? Levels of literacy in the ancient world have been much debated in recent years, but may not be as crucial for understanding the place of inscriptions in society as might be supposed: in the case of monumental inscriptions, a text was often presented alongside images and within a chosen spatial context. Admittedly, reading the inscription within its context would open up the greatest understanding of its social and cultural role, but it was also possible for viewers to respond to an inscription's overall appearance even if they could not perhaps read every word of its text. In this way, the setting up of monumental inscriptions in Latin in newly conquered areas (especially those which had previously lacked an epigraphic culture) must have forcefully impressed non-Roman viewers with a sense that they were entering an alien political and cultural environment, even if they could not read any Latin.[579] The idea of 'reading' inscriptions should be interpreted broadly, not just in the sense of deciphering a text, but in terms of the responses elicited from the inscription as a physical object as well. This involves going beyond a consideration of the original intentions behind the setting up of inscriptions, also analysing the extent to which inscriptions faded into decent obscurity after being set up, and judging whether they continued to provoke 'readings' of them: 'If reading is the process of interpretation, it follows that all uses of an inscription, from its carving, erection, the references and modifications made to it, and its removal and re-incorporation into some other place, can be regarded as readings in the broadest sense because all such actions must have involved an interpretation of the material.'[580]

---

[578] Mattingly, *Tripolitania* (above, n.439) 168–9.

[579] J. Edmondson, '*Instrumenta imperii*: law and imperialism in Republican Rome', in *Law, Politics and Society in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, eds. B. Halpern and D. W. Hobson (1993: Sheffield Academic Press) 156–92.

Answering all of these questions will allow us to appreciate the various biographies experienced by inscriptions. Inscriptions are particularly well suited to an analysis of their life-cycles, since all inscriptions that are known to us today have lived through different ages, of production, viewing, survival, and transmission (for this last stage, see further Subsection 3.2.5). Some of the principal questions raised by writing biographies of inanimate objects have been outlined as follows: 'In doing the biography of a thing, one would ask questions similar to those one asks about people: What, sociologically, are the biographical possibilities inherent in its "status" and in the period and culture, and how are these possibilities realized? Where does the thing come from and who made it? What has been its career so far, and what do people consider to be an ideal career for such things? What are the recognized "ages" or periods in the thing's "life", and what are the cultural markers for them? How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness?'[581] It will become clear that the biographical experiences of inscriptions were many and varied, and that whilst their biographies are often interesting cultural phenomena in themselves it is also crucial to examine their life-cycles before being able to use them accurately as historical sources.

2.5.1 The production and design of inscriptions

Literary sources give some impression of the potential involvement of customers in creating their inscriptions. Most well known is the humorous description of the rich freedman Trimalchio in Petronius' *Satyricon*, who is depicted dictating in detail not only his epitaph word for word, but also specifying exactly what sculptural reliefs should be carved to decorate his tomb in order to represent as many facets of his career as possible in the best possible light. It might be supposed that some humour was derived from describing the excessive amount of control which Trimalchio wanted to exercise over the design of his tomb, but it is likely that it was the incongruous juxtaposition of images prescribed by him (a public banqueting scene – ships in full sail – his wife holding a dove – a slave crying over a broken wine jar) as well as his desire for control that would have amused Roman audiences. Similarly, the text of his epitaph includes customary formulaic phrases (*hic requiescat* – 'may . . . lie here') alongside more idiosyncratic ones (*nec umquam philosophum audivit* – 'nor did he ever listen to a philosopher') for comic effect.[582] Another set of detailed instructions for the design of a tomb is given in the testament of Sex. Iulius Aquila from the territory of the Lingones (Gallia Belgica), preserved only via a tenth-century manuscript, which relates to the execution of his funerary monument and anniversary ritual, including specifying the different types of marble to be used for various parts of the memorial: his seated statue (at least five feet high) was to be made of high-quality marble from overseas or of high-quality bronze and to be placed within a niche (*perfici volo ad exemplar quod dedi ita, ut exe[d]ra sit . . . in qua statua sedens ponatur marmorea ex lapide quam optumo transmarino, vel aenea ex aere tabulari quam optumo alt[a] ne minus p(edes) V*); a couch and two benches were to be built beneath the niche, also of imported marble (*le[c]tica fiat sub exedra et II subsellia ad duo latera ex lapide transmarino*); the altar for his bones in front of the tomb was to be carved out of the best Luna marble (*araq(ue) ponatur ante id aedific(ium) ex lapide Lunensi quam optimo sculpta quam optume, in qua ossa mea reponantur*). He further stated that his epitaph on the exterior of the tomb was to list the various magistracies which he had held and his age at death (*i[n]scribanturq(ue) in aedificio extrinsecus nomina mag(istratuum) . . . et quot annis vixero*), and he ended by listing individually various items to be cremated with him (including all of his hunting equipment).[583] Nor was Trimalchio the only one to have dictated an epitaph: in the fifth century AD, Sidonius Apollinaris was outraged to find that his grandfather's tomb had almost been desecrated and decided to dictate an epitaph for his grandfather's tomb in order to ensure that it was henceforth clearly marked for all to see.[584]

---

[580] J. C. Barrett, 'Chronologies of remembrance: the interpretation of some Roman inscriptions', *WorldArch* 25.2 (1993) 236–47, at 238.

[581] I. Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. A. Appadurai (1986: Cambridge University Press) 64–91, at 66–7. These questions also underlay the studies presented in A. E. Cooley, ed. *The Afterlife of Inscriptions: Reusing, Rediscovering, Reinventing and Revitalizing Ancient Inscriptions* (2000: BICS supplement 75: London).

---

[582] Petron. *Sat.* 71; V. M. Hope, 'At home with the dead: Roman funeral traditions and Trimalchio's tomb', in *Petronius: A Handbook*, eds. J. Prag and I. Repath (2009: Wiley-Blackwell: Chichester) 140–60, esp. 147–59.

[583] *CIL* XIII 5708; Y. Le Bohec, ed., *Le testament du Lingon* (1991: Collection du Centre d'Études Romaines et Gallo-Romaines 9: De Boccard: Paris) and *Inscriptions de la cité des Lingons* (2003: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques: Paris) 353–6.

[584] Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 3.12.

In other cases, the actual design of a tomb suggests a high degree of control from the customer. Although the vast majority of epitaphs were fairly bland, some were personalized through their choice of images and text. Some included visual puns upon the name of the deceased (such as the elaborate case of the tombstone of T. Statilius Aper: at his feet lay a dead boar – *aper* – and his epitaph was prefaced by a verse lament alluding to the myth of Meleager; or, more simply, a bull was carved upon the ash-chest of P. Aelius Taurus).[585] Others represented the deceased's achievements (such as the eleven-year-old Q. Sulpicius Maximus, whose composition and performance of Greek poetry were celebrated by his proud parents on his imposing marble funerary altar via the inscribing of his verses at length alongside his epitaph: no. 29 above),[586] occupation, or position in society (such as the Ostian sarcophagus of Metilia Acte: its decoration included musical instruments juxtaposed with heads of Attis and burning torches, evoking the cult of Cybele whose priestess she was).[587] Visual puns continued into Christian epigraphy, such as the lion incised upon the grave-marker of Pontius Leo, which he set up in his own lifetime.[588] Nor was this personalization of inscriptions confined to the sphere of epitaphs, as can be seen in the following case of M. Nigidius Vaccula at Pompeii.

58–9 Personalizing inscriptions of M. Nigidius Vaccula, Pompeii: Figs. 2.35–6

CIL X 818 (bronze bench); *CIL* X 8071, 48 (bronze brazier)

A. E. Cooley and M. G. L. Cooley, *Pompeii: A Sourcebook* (2004: Routledge: London) 81–2, D107, D108 (with pl. 4.4).

58 *M(arcus) Nigidius Vaccula p(ecunia) s(ua)*

'Marcus Nigidius Vaccula at his own expense.'

---

[585] *CIL* VI 1975 = *ILS* 7737, www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=PH0005614; *CIL* VI 9011. E. S. McCartney, 'Canting puns on ancient monuments', *AJA* 23.1 (1919) 59–64. Cf. the funerary altar of C. Octavius Diadumenus, on the front of which was depicted Polyclitus' famous statue – *CIL* VI 10035.

[586] *CIL* VI 33976 + *IG* XIV 2012 = *ILS* 5177, AD 94/5; B. Rawson, *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy* (2003: Oxford University Press) 17–20, with fig. 1.1; www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=PH0003225;PH0003226&nr=1/2 .

[587] *CIL* XIV 371 = M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*, vol. III, *Italia – Latium* (1977: Brill: Leiden) no. 423 + pl. CCLXVII, AD 161/70; photographs online www.ostia-antica.org/regio4/1/1.htm.

[588] O. Marucchi, *Christian Epigraphy: An Elementary Treatise with a Collection of Ancient Christian Inscriptions Mainly of Roman Origin*, trans. J. A. Willis (1912: Cambridge University Press) pl. V fig. 2.

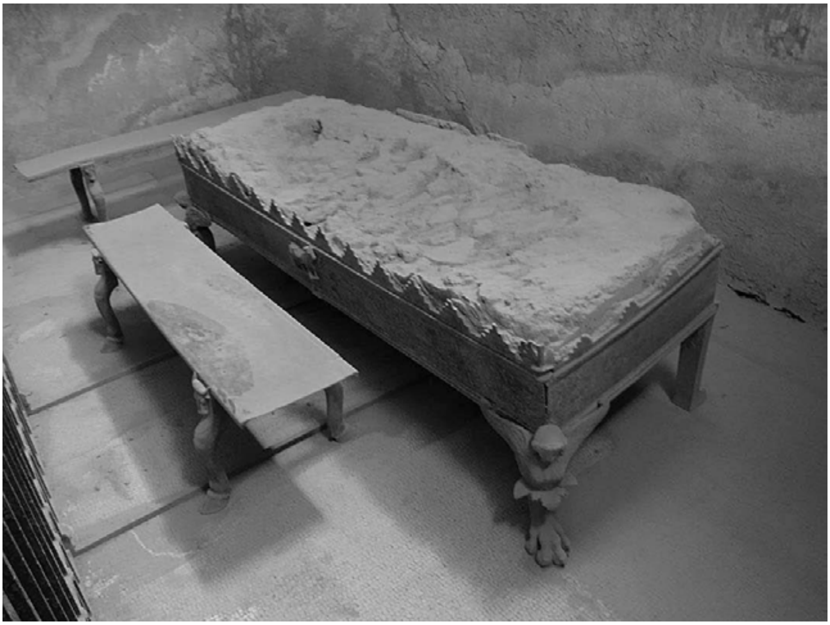


Fig. 2.35 Personalizing inscriptions of M. Nigidius Vaccula, Pompeii: bench and brazier in Forum Baths – *CIL* X 818 + 8071, 48 (photo: L. H. Davies)

59 *M(arcus) Nigidius* ⊂ vaccula ⊃ *p(ecunia) s(ua)*

'Marcus Nigidius at his own expense.'

During the mid first century AD, M. Nigidius Vaccula donated three bronze benches and a bronze brazier in the Forum baths, and a further brazier in the Stabian baths in Pompeii, all of which were designed to emphasize the identity of their donor. The legs of the bronze bench have miniature cows' heads at their top, where they meet the seat, and end in cows' hooves below, whilst the inscription on the bronze braziers even substituted a picture of a little cow (*vaccula*) for the donor's *cognomen.* Such playful use of text and image illustrates a desire to personalize and ornament the otherwise rather utilitarian gifts.

Another curious dedication to Cybele at Ostia presents a particularly elaborate visual play on words. Dedicated by M. Modius Maxximus, *archigallus* ('chief priest') of the Great Mother, it depicted a cockerel (*gallus*) on top of a corn-measure (*modius*).[589] These examples illustrate clearly that

---

[589] *CIL* XIV 385 = *ILS* 4162 = Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque* III (above, n.587) no. 395 + pl.CCXLV; detailed analysis of text in context by M. Beard, 'Vita inscripta', in *La biographie antique*, ed. W. W. Ehlers (1997: Fondation Hardt Entretiens 44: Geneva) 83–118, at 83–8.

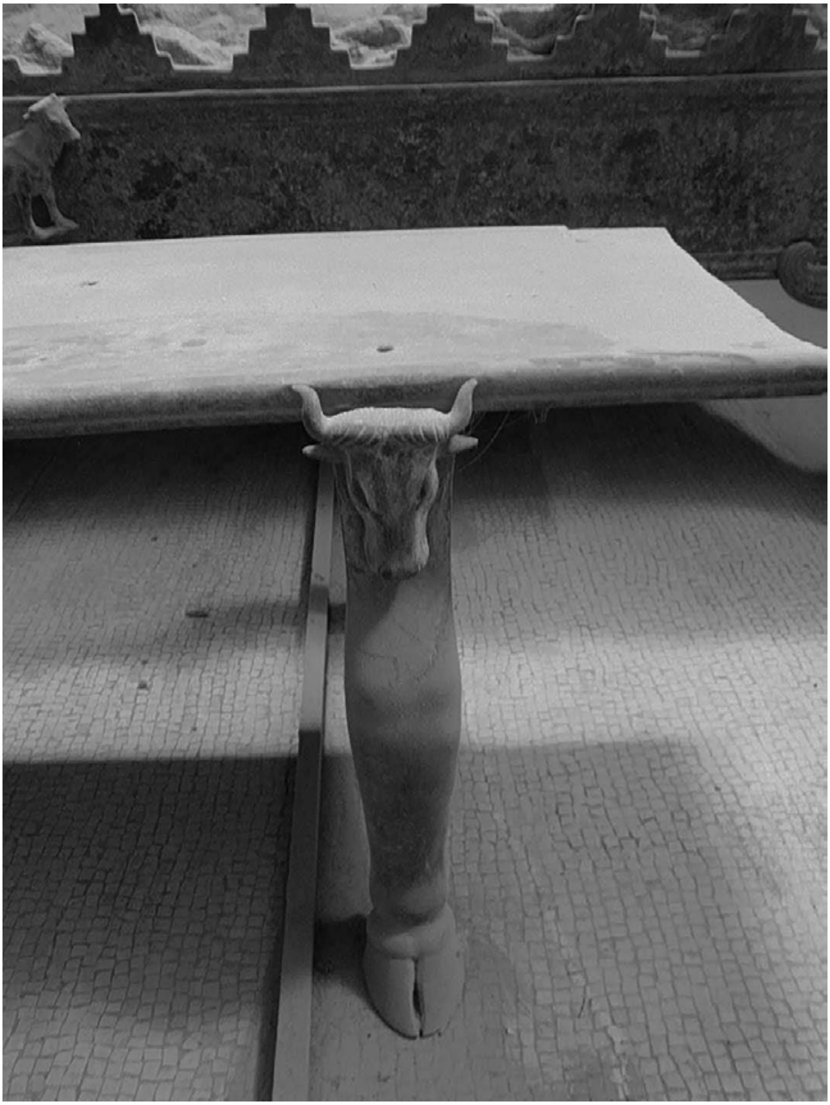


Fig. 2.36 Personalizing inscriptions of M. Nigidius Vaccula, Pompeii: close-up of cow on bench (photo: L. H. Davies)

customer involvement in the production process of an inscription was not limited to epitaphs. Furthermore, in the case of dedicatory inscriptions on statue bases, the honorand was probably consulted about the wording of his career in the text of the dedicatory inscription to be inscribed upon his (or her) statue base, just as he was also likely to have been involved in supplying a portrait head for the statue.[590] Only rarely is this process explicitly alluded to, but the experience of C. Hedius Verus, invited by Forum Sempronii to dictate an inscription to be inscribed upon this statue base, was probably not unique.[591]

On the other hand, it could be argued that such instances of detailed customer control over an inscription's monumental design and verbal content were exceptional, and that the vast majority of customers were only minimally involved in choosing the content and appearance of their inscriptions. The highly formulaic nature of many epitaphs has raised the possibility that many inscriptions were devised following patterns in model-books. In particular, the influence of model-books upon the garbled phrasing of epitaphs may perhaps be detected in seventh-century Briord (Burgundy) and vestiges of just such a model-book of epigraphic verse from Vienne appears to be preserved in a later manuscript.[592] Two surviving inscriptions may even betray thoughtless copying from a model-book, where the original template has not been completed with the individualized data: an epitaph from Hippo Regius (modern Annaba, Algeria) states *hic iacet corpus pueri nominandi* ('here lies the body of a boy, to be named')[593] and an epitaph of AD 691 from Crussol (northern Viennensis) contains as its dating clause *rigni dom(i)/ni nostri Chdoedo re/gis tanto* ('of the reign of Our Lord King Clovis so many').[594] Similarly, space for personalized data remains blank in the following epitaph from Arles, perhaps dating from the early sixth century: *hic in pace requi/escit bon(ae) m(emoriae) Leoni/dius qui vixit / annos pl(us) m(inus)* vac. / *et obiit sub die* vac. / vac. *indictio/ne* vac. ('Here in peace rests Leonidius of blessed memory, who lived more or less (blank) years, and died on the day (blank) of the (blank) indiction').[595] It is possible, however, that the use of model-books should be considered to be exclusively a feature of late antiquity and the early middle ages, even though Cagnat argued that the following epitaph of the imperial era from Canusium reflected a similar slavish following of a model-book on the part of the stonecutter: *L. Critonius*

---

[590] Eck, '"Tituli honorarii", curriculum vitae und Selbstdarstellung' (above, n.92) and 'There are no *cursus honorum* inscriptions' (above, n.85) esp. 84–7.

[591] *CIL* XI 6123.

[592] E. Le Blant, *L'épigraphie chrétienne en Gaule et dans l'Afrique romaine* (1890: Ernest Leroux: Paris) 70–3; M. A. Handley, *Death, Society and Culture: Inscriptions and Epitaphs in Gaul and Spain, AD 300–750* (2003: British Archaeological Reports International Series 1135: Oxford) 26; M. A. Handley, 'Epitaphs, models and texts: a Carolingian collection of late antique inscriptions from Burgundy', in *The Afterlife of Inscriptions*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2000: BICS supplement 75: London) 47–56.

[593] *AÉpigr* (1931) 112.

[594] *RICG* XV 19.

[595] E. Le Blant, *Nouveau recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule* (1892: Imprimerie nationale: Paris) no. 174.

L. l. / Felix sibi et / Critoniae L. l. Rufilla<e> / tantum ('Lucius Critonius Felix, freedman of Lucius for himself and for Critonia Rufilla, freedwoman of Lucius, so much'), but the final word is perhaps better interpreted as 'only', and is intended to limit the use of the tomb to these two individuals alone.[596]

It is certainly true, however, that the prefabrication of sarcophagi was a common practice well before late antiquity. The discovery of three unfinished sarcophagus lids at the marble quarry of Docimium (modern Iscehisar) in central Phrygia illustrates that sarcophagi might be roughed out at the quarry before being exported to the workshop. These sarcophagi were roughly prepared for supporting two reclining figures, but were abandoned probably because of flaws in the stone.[597] Furthermore, workshop sculptors sometimes carved out quite detailed images on a sarcophagus even before it had been purchased for a specific body. As a result, some portraits on sarcophagi show signs of having been adapted for a new purpose: for example, the portrait of the infant Octavius Isochrysus was recut from a woman's portrait, whilst an image of Ariadne was rather disconcertingly restyled for a man.[598] It is also likely that ash-chests were commonly chosen from stock rather than custom-made; the pictures upon them do not always seem appropriate to the deceased whose ashes were within. For example, the ash-chest of M. Servilius Hermeros has sculpted upon it a scene of a woman reclining on a couch with three children around her.[599] In other cases, an inscribed panel appears to have been prepared before the inscription was commissioned for it: as a result, we find that the panel is divided into two areas with decorative motifs, but the inscription then overlaps the division.[600]

---

[596] *CIL* IX 371; R. Cagnat, 'Sur les manuels professionels des graveurs d'inscriptions romaines', *RPhil* 13 (1889) 51–65, at 52–3; M. Chelotti, *Le epigrafi romane di Canosa*, vol. I (1990: Dipartimento di scienze dell'antichità dell'Università di Bari/ Edipuglia: Bari) no. 117.

[597] J. C. Fant, 'Four unfinished sarcophagus lids at Docimium and the Roman imperial quarry system in Phrygia', *AJA* 89.4 (1985) 655–62.

[598] A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, vol. III (1904: London) no. 2322; BM inv. GR 1947.7–14.8 + *CIL* VI 23287: S. Walker, *Memorials to the Roman Dead* (1985: British Museum: London) 43 with figs. 31, 27. Cf. J. Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi: Their Decoration and Its Social Significance* (1996: Clarendon Press: Oxford) 81–2 for incongruous portraits on children's sarcophagi.

[599] *CIL* VI 36337: discussed by G. Davies, '*Idem ego sum discumbens, ut me videtis*: inscription and image on Roman ash chests', in *Art and Inscriptions in the Ancient World*, eds. Z. Newby and R. Leader-Newby (2007: Cambridge University Press) 38–59, at 52–3, with fig. 2.4.

[600] I. Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista: guida alla schedatura del materiale epigrafico lapideo* (1987: Vetera 1: Quasar: Rome) fig. 48; cf. G. Susini, *The Roman Stonecutter: An Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, trans. A. M. Dabrowski (1973: Blackwell: Oxford) 34–7.

Rare insight into the commercial production of inscriptions is offered by two inscriptions which appear to advertise the services on offer at stonecutters' workshops. The first of these, from Rome, starts with the common abbreviation *D M*, presumably as an eye-catching familiar motto (it makes no sense as part of the text itself), and then continues *titulos scri/bendos vel / si quid ope/ris marmor/ari opus fu/erit hic habes* ('Need an inscription carving or anything else in marble? Here you have it').[601] Another bilingual inscription from Palermo declares in its Latin version: *tituli heic ordinantur et sculpuntur* ('Inscriptions are set out and engraved here').[602] This has been interpreted as alluding to two different stages in the production of inscriptions, namely layout and carving. In many cases it seems likely that a preliminary draft of the text of an inscription was produced in cursive letters, which had to be converted into lapidary capitals when it was set out on the stone in paint, chalk, or charcoal. This process has been named *ordinatio*, and was then followed by the engraving process itself, which would inscribe the text as set out by the outline draft on the stone.[603] It is unclear whether these two processes were executed by two different craftsmen, or by a single individual; it is perhaps most likely that practice varied.[604] An inscription on a marble *tabula ansata* from a necropolis on the *via Portuensis* at Rome actually preserves two copies of the epitaph for Claudia Florentia Secundina from her mother Iulia Secundina: it appears on one side as a lightly incised graffito in cursive script, and on the other, fully engraved in capitals. The final version does not slavishly copy the graffito in terms of layout, and adds decorative ivy-leaves to frame the last line. Given that part of the graffito is cut away by the handles of the plaque, it seems likely that the inscription was commissioned upon what was at first a plain rectangular plaque, which was then shaped into a *tabula ansata* at the customer's request.[605]

Close analysis of stonecutters' errors suggests that some mistakes were the result of precisely this process, as a stonecutter made an error in translating cursive into capital lettering. Some mistakes that cannot be explained as a stonecutter's misreading of capital letters can be attributed to the earlier process of *ordinatio*: the stonecutter has carved his text accurately, but a mistake had been introduced into it during the initial transfer of the text from cursive to capital lettering. Comparison with handwriting preserved on papyri has revealed the potential for confusion between certain letters. The palaeographer Jean Mallon published a series of studies in the 1950s demonstrating how this stage in production is crucial for understanding inscriptions that otherwise do not make much sense.[606] In particular, he argued that there was the potential for confusion between the following letters:

---

[601] *CIL* VI 9556 = *ILS* 7679. [602] *CIL* X 7296 = *IG* XIV 297.

[603] Susini, *The Roman Stonecutter* (above, n.600) ch. 2.

[604] Susini, *The Roman Stonecutter* (above, n.600) ch. 3.

[605] S. Priuli, 'Una lapide sepolcrale di Roma con iscrizione incisa nel recto e minuta dello stesso testo graffita nel verso', *Epigraphica* 46 (1984) 49–63, at 49–56: Mus. Naz. Rom. inv. 369727; Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista* (above, n.600) 122, with figs. 153–4.

- *e* becomes *V* [*HSV* for *HSE*; *VIVS* for *EIVS*; *PERPVTVIS* for *PERPETVIS*]
- *ci* becomes *Q* [*QVIIVS* for *C IVLIVS*]
- *li* becomes *R* (*Q V(i)R(i)VS* for *C IVLIVS*)
- *l* becomes *V* (*VXX* for numeral *LXX*)
- *iu* becomes *H* (*PHSV* for *PIVS V(ixit)*)

Mallon's work is especially important in offering a further tool with which to interrogate the texts of inscriptions, even if it may not offer a solution to all enigmatic texts.[607] It is possible – even likely – that some inscriptions were engraved from drafts drawn up in cursive writing, but this cannot be assumed to have been universal practice. Nevertheless, in cases where a stone offers a text that is incomprehensible or involves a hapax that has exercised epigraphers to intuit ingenious explanations or to posit peculiar names, a palaeographical approach may resolve the problem by converting it into a commonplace formula, as in the following example from Numidia.

60 A palaeographical approach to epigraphy

CIL VIII 19929

EphEp V 912 = *ILAlg* II,1 433 = *ILS* 8101; emended by J. Mallon, 'Scriptoria épigraphiques', *Scriptorium* 11 (1957) 185–6 = *AÉpigr* (1958) 228 + *AÉpigr* (1966) 501.

*d(is) m(anibus) / Q(uintus) Caecili/us P(ubli) fil(ius) Quir(ina tribu) / Victori/*5 *nus qui pr(a)e/cepto patris / carissimi / paruit et meso/leum(!) cum trib/*10 *unal(i) et ara libe(n)s / perfecit v(ixit) a(nnos) LV h(ic) s(itus) / e(st)*

---

[606] J. Mallon, *Paléographie romaine* (above, n.33) ch. 2; 'Pierres fautives', *Libyca: Archéologie–Épigraphie* 2 (1954) 187–99 and 435–59; 'Scriptoria épigraphiques', *Scriptorium* 11 (1957) 177–94.

[607] It may help to explain a name-change from Flavius Fronimus to P. Iunius Frontinus in an epitaph from the city of Rome of the Flavian period, *CIL* VI 8580: L. Vidman, 'P. Iunius Frontinus = Flavius Phronimus', *Listy filologicke* 102.4 (1979) 153–6. For a sceptical view of Mallon's method, see L. Robert, 'Épigraphie et paléographie', *CRAI* (1955): 195–219; judicious assessment of various reasons for stonecutters' errors also in Susini, *The Roman Stonecutter* (above, n.600) ch. 6 and S. Panciera, 'La genesi dei documenti epigrafici secondo Mallon a proposito di una nuova iscrizione metrica', *RendLinc* ser. 8 22.5–6 (1967) 100–8.

‘To the departed spirits. Quintus Caecilius Victorinus, son of Publius, of the Quirina voting-tribe, who obeyed his dearest father’s instruction, and completed the mausoleum with tribunal and an altar willingly. He lived for 55 years. He is buried here.’

This inscription, found at Guelaine in Numidia (modern Mechta el-Kalaïne, Algeria), was first published with a rather curious turn of phrase in ll. 9–10, *cum tribunal et aralibus* and, in editing the inscription, Mommsen (in *EE* V) commented that the word *aralia* was new to him. This curious and unparalleled turn of phrase was reprinted in *ILS*. Applying his palaeographical approach to the text, Mallon argued that instead of exploring possible meanings for what is an otherwise unattested word, the text should be understood as having a V inscribed in place of E as a result of a mistake in the *ordinatio* process, and that the Victorinus has simply completed a mausoleum with tribunal and altar, willingly: *ara libe(n)s.*

A handful of inscriptions that have some of their letters still incompletely engraved offers further support for the hypothesis of an intermediary stage of *ordinatio.*[608]

61 Altar to the *dii campestres*, Gemellae: Fig. 2.37

J. Mallon, ‘Une inscription latine incomplètement gravée’, *Libyca: Archéologie–Épigraphie* 3 (1955) 155–62; M. Speidel, ‘The shrine of the *Dii Campestres* at Gemellae’, *AntAfr* 27 (1991) 111–18.

diis câmpest̂r̂i/bus M Cêlerin̂i/us Augendus / praef(ectus) eqq(uitum) a(lae) /^{5} Pann(oniorum) Seve(rianae) nu/m̂inib(us) s(anctissimis) QOS III / K(alendas) Iuni(as) fecit

‘To the gods of the training grounds. Marcus Celerinius Augendus, commander of the cavalrymen of the Severan wing of Pannonians, had this made to the most holy deities. ?QOS? 29th May.’

This altar (height 96 cm, width 42 cm, depth 25 cm) was found, together with another one similarly dedicated by T. Aurelius Aurelianus, prefect of the Pannonian cavalrymen,[609] in the only known temple of the *dii campestres* (‘gods of the training grounds’) at Gemellae, a fort in Numidia (modern

---

[608] Mallon, *Paléographie romaine* (above, n.33) 58; cf. milestone of Gordian II, *AÉpigr* (1971) 475 (above, n.123).

[609] *AÉpigr* (1976) 735; J. Baradez, ‘Gemellae: un camp d’Hadrien et une ville des confins sahariens aujourd’hui ensevelis sous les sables’, *RAfr* 93 (1949) 5–24, at 18; M. Speidel, ‘The shrine of the *Dii Campestres* at Gemellae’, *AntAfr* 27 (1991) 111–18, at 116.

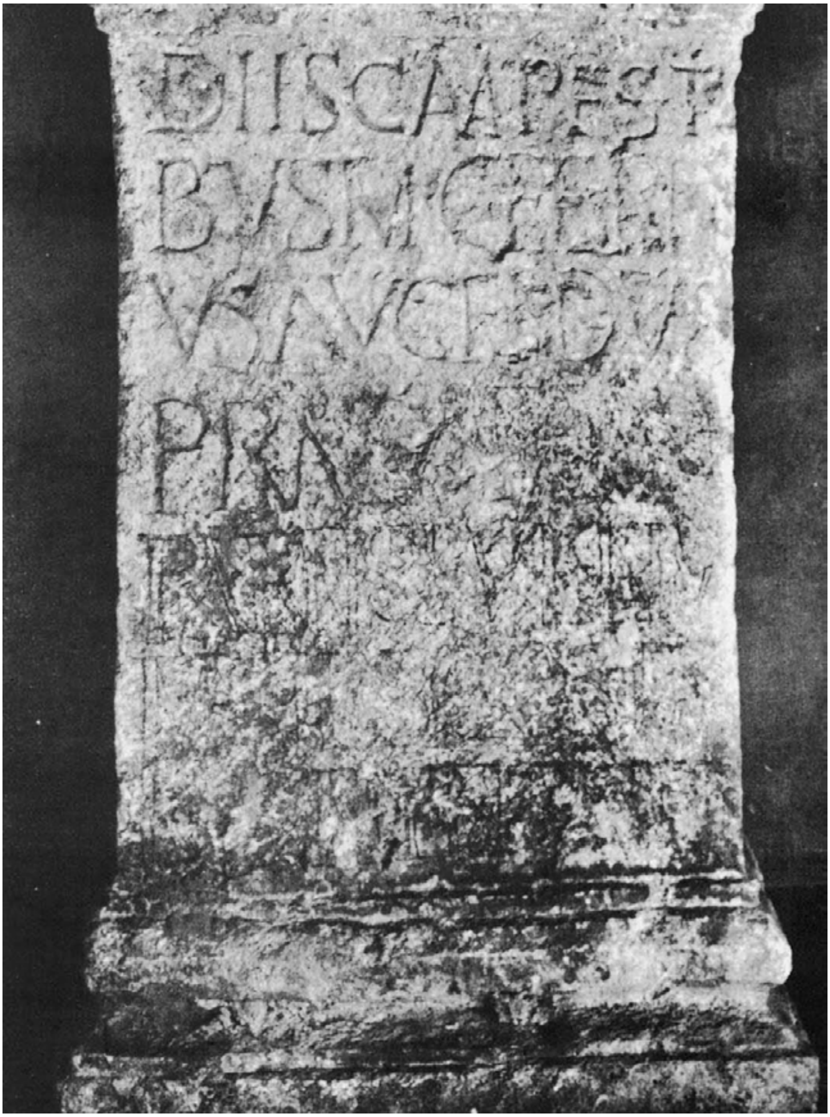


Fig. 2.37 Altar to the *dii campestres*, Gemellae – Mallon (1955) (from M. Speidel, 'The shrine of the *Dii Campestres* at Gemellae', *AntAfr* 27 (1991) 115 fig. 4)

El-Kasbat, Algeria) on the Sahara frontier. The temple was situated just outside the fort itself, beside a road within the settlement surrounding it. These gods were mainly worshipped by cavalrymen. The altar was set up in AD 222/35 by M. Celerinius Augendus, prefect of the Pannonian cavalrymen, who perhaps started his career among the *equites singulares Augusti* (emperor's bodyguards).[610] It has only its first three lines engraved: the rest of the text is merely sketched out in paint, and some of it makes no apparent sense. What is particularly interesting in this case is that the altar was found in the temple outside the camp together with the other altar to the same gods, showing that its incomplete state did not render it unusable.

It would be over-schematic to claim with Mallon that absolutely all inscriptions were produced in this way, but it seems clear that drafts of texts were produced in this way at least in some cases.[611] Above all, using Mallon's palaeographical method is unlikely to help resolve our reading of problematic public inscriptions, since on the whole slavish following of an *ordinatio* despite its illiterate text is characteristic of private dedications and funerary inscriptions of lower quality.

Overall, there is considerable variation in the degree of success with which stonecutters completed their tasks, ranging from the most elegant public inscriptions set up in the city of Rome to rather disorganized epitaphs in remote parts of the provinces. A series of case-studies of monumental inscriptions from Rome and the provinces has revealed that during the first and second centuries AD inscriptions might be carefully designed according to geometric principles based on a grid-system that affected line length, the space between lines, letter heights, and the shaping of letters. Furthermore, an inscription's design might be based upon the metrology of its architectural context.[612] The majority of inscriptions, however, may well have been cut 'free-hand', with only minimal drafting of lettering upon the stone. Evidence for some level of preparatory work prior to the act of engraving the text is relatively common, however. In a few cases, it is possible to detect the presence of a lightly incised draft text slightly to the right beneath the final engraved version.[613] In other cases it seems more likely that the draft was painted on with a brush before being incised. Even more common is the presence of lightly cut guiding-lines still visible on many inscriptions, which demonstrates a degree of preparation before the actual letter-cutting took place.[614] These guiding-lines appear to have been incised upon the monument during the first stage of production, before it was consigned to the stonecutter for the engraving of the text. Sometimes these guiding-lines themselves are something of a liability, sloping at an angle across the surface of the stone, and in other cases the stonecutter simply ignored them. It is also not uncommon for the guiding-lines to extend well beyond the area required for the text.[615] In other cases, the stonecutter ran out of space, and had to resort to the heavy use of ligatures, or even to encroaching onto the moulding of the inscription's frame: this suggests that the preparatory design was either non-existent or ill judged. It is possible that errors in carving may have been corrected by paint.[616] Certainly the use of red paint to enhance the legibility of lettering seems to have been common practice. Presumably the quality of design depended to some extent upon the importance of the commission and the amount of money being paid for it.

---

[610] Speidel, 'The shrine of the *Dii Campestres*' (above, n.609) 117.

[611] Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista* (above, n.600) ch. 12.

[612] R. Grasby, 'A comparative study of five Latin inscriptions: measurement and making', *PBSR* 64 (1996) 95–138; 'Latin inscriptions: studies in measurement and making', *PBSR* 70 (2002) 151–76.

[613] Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista* (above, n.600) ch. 12.

[614] Susini, *The Roman Stonecutter* (above, n.600) ch. 5.

The format of some inscriptions contributed to the status and meaning of their texts in a variety of ways, starting with the basic choice of material. In particular, it has been argued that the Romans chose to inscribe their laws on bronze tablets in order to evoke ideas of sanctity and inviolability.[617] Such use of bronze was a feature of the western part of the empire, whereas marble was the dominant material used in the Greek East, continuing on from existing epigraphic practices and reflecting easier access to quarries. It is also, however, possible to reach a practical explanation for the use of bronze for laws at Rome: before the opening of the marble quarry at Luni, there was no source of marble readily available within Italy. Stone inscriptions before the first century BC, therefore, tended to be inscribed upon tufas or limestone. These types of stone were not suitable for the carving of the small lettering needed for engraving the long texts typical of legal regulations: whereas legal texts on bronze tended to be 5–6 mm tall, lapidary letters tended to be 1 cm or more.[618] It is this requirement to be able to engrave long texts in small lettering that probably led to the initial adoption of bronze for legal texts, therefore, but that is not to dismiss the fact the Romans later developed a sense of the symbolism of bronze. The much lower survival rate of inscriptions on bronze rather than on stone, given the ease with which they could be melted down, is rather ironic in the light of Pliny the Elder's assertion that bronze was used for public documents precisely because it was regarded as imperishable.[619] Similar sentiments are occasionally found in inscriptions themselves, such as the album of the town council at Timgad, which stated that the inscription was being inscribed upon bronze in order to ensure it was preserved for ever.[620] The display of public documents on bronze was, therefore, probably as much a symbolic as practical measure. Public display prevented tampering with texts and, in principle at least, made them accessible to all.[621] It has even been suggested that the use of gilded bronze letters for some of the most impressive monuments of the Augustan era, such as the Temple of Mars the Avenger in Augustus' Forum at Rome, was intended to bolster the image of the golden age.[622] By contrast, the common use of lead for curse tablets had a more sinister aim.

---

[615] Susini, *The Roman Stonecutter* (above, n.600) 37–8.

[616] Robert, 'Épigraphie et paléographie' (above, n.607) 202.

[617] C. Williamson, 'Monuments of bronze: Roman legal documents on bronze tablets', *ClAnt* 6 (1987) 160–83.

[618] J. S. and A. E. Gordon, *Contributions to the Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions* (1957: University of California Press: Berkeley) 90.

[619] Plin. *HN* 34.21.99.

In addition to its material, the overall appearance of an inscription was sometimes carefully chosen. It was common for official notices to be presented within a *tabula ansata*, a rectangular frame with handles on either side of it. Private inscriptions that wished to be regarded as authoritative also chose this format, evoking the world of officialdom in order to increase the impression of authority for their own texts.[623] More detailed aspects of the layout of an inscription were also calculated for effect. It is perhaps surprising, given the imposing physical appearance of some inscriptions, such as the *lex Irnitana*, that even such apparently impenetrable inscribed texts should show some concern for their readability.[624] Similarly, the version of the *Res Gestae divi Augusti* inscribed on the interior *cella* wall of the Temple of Rome and Augustus at Ancyra included a variety of punctuation marks and paragraphing.[625] Other aspects of the design of a text also contributed to its significance. On a basic level, for example, imperial names often appeared within an inscription in larger letters than the rest of the text, even if they were not actually the most important aspect of it.[626] In this way inscriptions could reinforce the hierarchical structure of Roman society.

A recently published *stele* found reused in Didyma (Caria) offers a complex picture of the importance of language, lettering, and layout in conveying the message of an official inscription.[627] The *stele* presented a selection of the documents generated in the course of responding to a request from the town of Justinianoupolis (presumably a new name for Didyma) concerning its payment of land tax. It started with a 'divine pragmatic sanction' issued by Justinian in response to the town's request. The text was punctuated at the start with † and at the end with an ivy-leaf. The emperor's decision was in Greek, but it was dated in Latin, with the dating clause again marked off with an ivy-leaf. This was followed by two lines written in archaizing *litterae caelestes* ('heavenly letters', also found in juridical papyri), containing the date of the meeting presided over by the *praefectus praetorio Orientis* ('prefect of the East') of which an extract then followed, which combined both Latin and Greek. The Greek language was used to record what was spoken at the meeting, but Latin was used to introduce and conclude proceedings (and the same is true of the governor's declaration, below). Furthermore, the prefect's name and titles appeared in Greek that had been written in the Latin alphabet. Such hybrid script was typical of the sixth century, and reflects the compromise reached as a result of the shift away from the use of Latin in the East at the same time as it was still perceived to be the language of power. This section was also concluded with an ivy-leaf. Finally, there was a declaration by the governor of Caria, introduced and concluded in Latin, but mainly in Greek. This too was marked off at the start and finish by an ivy-leaf. In this way, the stonecutter had carefully designed the text so as to reflect the hierarchy of officials: in particular, the governor's words were carved in smaller letters than the rest, even though there was plenty of space still available at the bottom of the *stele* for larger letters. Furthermore, by imitating the different types of writing from his manuscript original, the stonecutter implicitly offered a proof of the authenticity of his text. A similar desire to distinguish part of an inscription is also found in a rescript of AD 307/8 from Heraclea Sintica (Macedonia, modern south-west Bulgaria). Here the last word *feliciter* was inscribed as if in italics in order to make clear its special status as the emperor's own greeting.[628]

---

[620] *CIL* VIII 17896, *at perpetui/[t]atis memoriam aere incisus.*

[621] Corbier, 'L'écriture dans l'espace public romain' (above, n.163) esp. 38–45.

[622] Alföldy, 'Augustus und die Inschriften' (above, n.111) 299.

[623] G. G. Pani, 'Segno e immagine di scrittura: la *tabula ansata* e il suo significato simbolico', *Miscellanea greca e romana* 10 (1986) 429–41, esp. 435–6.

[624] González, 'The Lex Irnitana' (above, n.161).

[625] E. O. Wingo, *Latin Punctuation in the Classical Age* (1972: Mouton: The Hague) 29–49.

[626] G. Alföldy, 'Die Repräsentation der kaiserlichen Macht in den Inschriften Roms und des Imperium Romanum', in *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power*, eds. L. de Blois *et al.* (2003: J. C. Gieben: Amsterdam) 3–19, at 11.

2.5.2 Language choice

Language choice is another aspect of monumental epigraphy which was sometimes aimed at prompting particular responses in viewers or expressing some fundamental sense of identity on the part of the dedicator of the inscription. The use of Latin was not always simply a reflection of the reality that Latin was the language in common use in a specific community. Public and private inscriptions also raise different issues from each other. Whereas the choice of language used in public epigraphy might reflect politics and the dynamics of power, private inscriptions, by contrast, might consolidate an individual's sense of identity. Different languages might seem appropriate for different cultural and social contexts, and Latin could exist alongside other languages in a single inscription.

---

[627] D. Feissel, 'Un rescrit de Justinien découvert à Didymes (1$^{\text{er}}$ avril 533)', *Chiron* 34 (2004) 285–65, with figs. 1–5. Cf. S. Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire AD 284–641* (2007: Blackwell: Oxford) 175–7.

[628] C. Lepelley, 'Une inscription d'*Heraclea Sintica* (Macédoine) récemment découverte, révélant un rescrit de l'empereur Galère restitutant ses droits à la cité', *ZPE* 146 (2004) 221–31, at 223.

During the late Republic and early imperial period, local languages (such as Oscan, Umbrian, Etruscan, and Iberian) gradually disappeared from the epigraphy of the regions of Italy and the western provinces.[629] The main reason for the disappearance of a language in the modern world has been posited as being that the use of that language no longer seems to bring advantages to its users, and that a community loses the motivation to maintain its language.[630] A slightly different situation existed in the Roman world, however, given the unique status of Greek in comparison with other local languages. Whereas local languages disappeared elsewhere from the Italian peninsula, Greek persisted in southern Italy because it fitted into a wider Hellenistic world. As a result, the use of Greek as an official public language survived at Naples until the third century AD.[631] A major difference between studies of modern and ancient language use, however, is our reliance upon epigraphy for our picture of the Roman world, and this certainly offers a distorting mirror of language use.[632] Above all, it is difficult to know the extent to which changes in language used by public monumental epigraphy also reflected changes in spoken language in the same communities.[633]

In recent years, support for local languages has been strongly associated with issues of nationhood and ethnicity. Eliminating the language of an ethnic minority has been one technique of undermining the solidarity of such groups: as a recent study has put it, 'Linguistic subjugation (or unification, depending on one's point of view) is therefore an important strategy in implementing political subjugation (or unification).'[634] It would, however, be anachronistic to view the spread of Latin within the Roman empire in similar terms:[635] although the elite of Rome valued Latin as a symbol of their citizenship and political institutions, there is no evidence that it deliberately obliterated local languages, in pursuance of a systematic language policy.[636] Roman government was much more prepared to accommodate local differences within its provinces than modern states sometimes appear to be. Just as the early-twentieth-century idea of Romanization as the deliberate imposition of Roman culture upon provincial societies has by now been dismissed, so too has the idea of the Romans deliberately imposing Latin upon the 'natives' in their empire.

---

[629] E. Benelli, 'The Romanization of Italy through the epigraphic record', in *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization*, eds. S. Keay and N. Terrenato (2001: Oxbow Books: Oxford) 7–16; J. Kaimio, *The Ousting of Etruscan by Latin in Etruria* (1972: ActaInstRomFin 5: Rome).

[630] L. A. Grenoble and L. J. Whaley, 'Toward a typology of language endangerment', in *Endangered Languages: Current Issues and Future Prospects*, eds. L. A. Grenoble and L. J. Whaley (1998: Cambridge University Press) 22–54.

[631] M. Leiwo, *Neapolitana: A Study of Population and Language in Graeco-Roman Naples* (1994: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 102: Helsinki).

[632] Millar, 'Local cultures in the Roman empire' (above, n.441).

[633] For an attempt to explore this problem at Pompeii, see A. E. Cooley, 'The survival of Oscan in Roman Pompeii', in *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin? Literacy and Epigraphy in the Roman West*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2002: *JRA* Supplement 48: Portsmouth, R.I.) 77–86.

A different picture of the use of Latin in inscriptions emerges in the eastern parts of the Roman empire, where a strong epigraphic tradition in Greek had long existed, and where local languages (notably Aramaic in its various guises) also abounded and were well established in epigraphy. In this region, therefore, choosing to inscribe in Latin was not in the least a default position, but was the result of a deliberate decision. Among the prime reasons for doing so was for representatives of Rome to project an image of imperial power and for Rome's provincial subjects to demonstrate loyalty. As a result, inscriptions that were inextricably linked with Roman authority were written in Latin. As discussed earlier, many milestones were set up in Latin in regions where Latin-speakers would have been few and far between, such as Judaea–Palaestina, Syria, and Arabia; admittedly, some of them displayed their distance in Greek notation, thereby making accessible to local viewers the only potentially useful part of the monument, but otherwise the choice of Latin reflected the association of road-building with the Roman army and with Roman control over the territory across which the road was constructed.[637] Boundary-stones are the other main context in which Latin was used to affirm control: the area contained within the imperial estates of Hadrian, for example, was marked out by a series of boundary-markers inscribed in Latin, even though the estates in question were located in Syria.[638] It seems clear that in these contexts Latin was used as a symbol of authority, regardless of local language use. Elsewhere in the Greek East, Latin was typically used by Roman *coloniae*, and by the military and individuals in imperial service.[639] For example, whereas the *Res Gestae* of Augustus was set up in both Greek and Latin in the provincial capital at Ancyra and in Greek at Apollonia, it was set up only in Latin in the *colonia* of Pisidian Antioch, as one of a whole series of ways in which the veterans of Antioch expressed their sense of affiliation and loyalty to Rome.[640]

---

[634] P. Trudgill, *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society* (revd edn, 1995: Penguin Books: Harmondsworth) 131; cf. H. C. Kelman, 'Language as aid and barrier to involvement in the national system', in *Advances in the Sociology of Language*, ed. J. A. Fishman (1972: Mouton: The Hague) II 185–212.

[635] R. Wardhaugh, *Languages in Competition. Dominance, Diversity, and Decline* (1987: Basil Blackwell: Oxford) 2–17 argues that language has become a powerful political symbol of unity or resistance only in the modern world.

[636] M. Dubuisson, 'Y a-t-il une politique linguistique romaine?', *Ktema* 7 (1982) 187–210; J. N. Adams and S. Swain, 'Introduction', in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Word*, eds. J. N. Adams, M. Janse, and S. Swain (2002: Oxford University Press) 1–20, at 10–16.

Conversely, it was sometimes in the interests of provincials to adopt Latin for their inscriptions. The choice of Latin in the southern baths at Perge for a dedicatory inscription to Vespasian demonstrated the city's political allegiance to the new emperor in the early months of his rule following his victory in the civil wars It was also appropriate to its dedicators, who identified themselves as the *c(ives) R(omani) et ordo et res publica Pergensium* ('Roman citizens, council and state of the people of Perge').[641] Furthermore, the use of Latin might also represent an implicit demonstration of the authenticity of documents emanating from Roman rulers. For example, both Latin and Greek were used in an imperial rescript issued by Septimius Severus and Caracalla to the *coloni* of their imperial estates in Phrygia in AD 205: the inscription has a heading in Greek, which is separated off from the main text within a pediment. This heading declares this inscription to be a copy of a rescript on display in the portico of Trajan's Baths at Rome. The text of the rescript is then inscribed in Latin on the main surface of the slab.[642]

---

[637] B. Isaac, 'Latin in cities of the Roman Near East', in *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*, eds. H. M. Cotton *et al.* (2009: Cambridge University Press) 43–72, at 48.

[638] Breton, *IGLS* VIII/3, *Les inscriptions forestières d'Hadrien dans le mont Liban* (above, n.286).

[639] Levick, 'The Latin inscriptions of Asia Minor' (above, n.165); F. Millar, 'Latin in the epigraphy of the Roman Near East', in *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3–6 sept. 1991 habiti*, eds. H. Solin, O. Salomies, and U.-M. Liertz (1995: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 104: Helsinki) 403–19.

[640] A. E. Cooley, Res Gestae divi Augusti: *Text, Translation, and Commentary* (above, n.128) 6–18.

[641] S. Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Perge*, vol. I (1999: *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 54: Rudolf Habelt: Bonn) no. 54; Eck, 'The presence, role and significance of Latin' (above, n.144) 29–32.

[642] P. Lampe and W. Tabbernee, 'Das Reskript von Septimius Severus und Caracalla an die Kolonen der kaiserlichen Domäne von Tymion und Simoe', *EpigAnat* 37 (2004) 169–78 + T. Hauken, C. Tanrıver, and K. Akbıyıkoğlu, 'A new inscription from Phrygia: a rescript of

It is unlikely that such language use can be straightforwardly explained in terms of diglossia, where (to oversimplify matters) two languages coexist, but are used in different contexts, with one appearing high in status and the other low. Rather than setting up such a simple alternative between high and low, it would be better instead to try to trace a whole range of linguistic variations in different contexts.[643] What is clear, however, is that Latin was used as the result of conscious choice in the eastern provinces, even though there may not have been fixed rules governing this choice.[644]

Bilingual inscriptions do not as a general rule simply offer the same text twice, with the aim of making a single message accessible to different audiences. The cultural context of different language-speakers can have an impact upon the way in which a text is presented. A grand example of this is the translation into Greek of Augustus' *Res Gestae*, which differed in several ways from the Latin. It was not a word-for-word translation, but simplified and explained technical Latin terms and topographical details relating to the city of Rome. It also presented a subtly different picture of Augustus' achievements, playing down the original text's imperialist tone, as well as appearing more comfortable with the monarchical implications of Augustus' position at Rome. In this way, the presentation of Augustus' achievements was adapted for its provincial audiences in Galatia.[645]

Turning now to private epigraphy, language choice was sometimes used as a way of expressing an individual's sense of identity.

62 Tombstone of Regina, South Shields: Fig. 2.38

RIB I^2 1065 = *ILS* 7063

D. R. Hillers and E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts* (1996: Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore) 54.

d(is) m(anibus) Regina liberta et coiniuge Barates Palmyrenus natione Catuallauna ann(os) XXX

rgyn' bt hry br't' hbl

Septimius Severus and Caracalla to the *coloni* of the imperial estate at Tymion', *EpigAnat* 36 (2003) 33–44.

[643] For a more subtle analysis of diglossia, see R. T. Bell, *Sociolinguistics: Goals, Approaches, and Problems* (1976: Batsford: London) 133–40; J. A. Fishman, 'Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism', *Journal of Social Issues* 23.2 (1967) 29–38; Adams and Swain, 'Introduction' (above, n.636) 9–10.

[644] Eck, 'The presence, role and significance of Latin' (above, n.144) 23–9, on flexible language choice at Ephesus.

[645] Cooley, Res Gestae divi Augusti (above, n.128) 26–30.

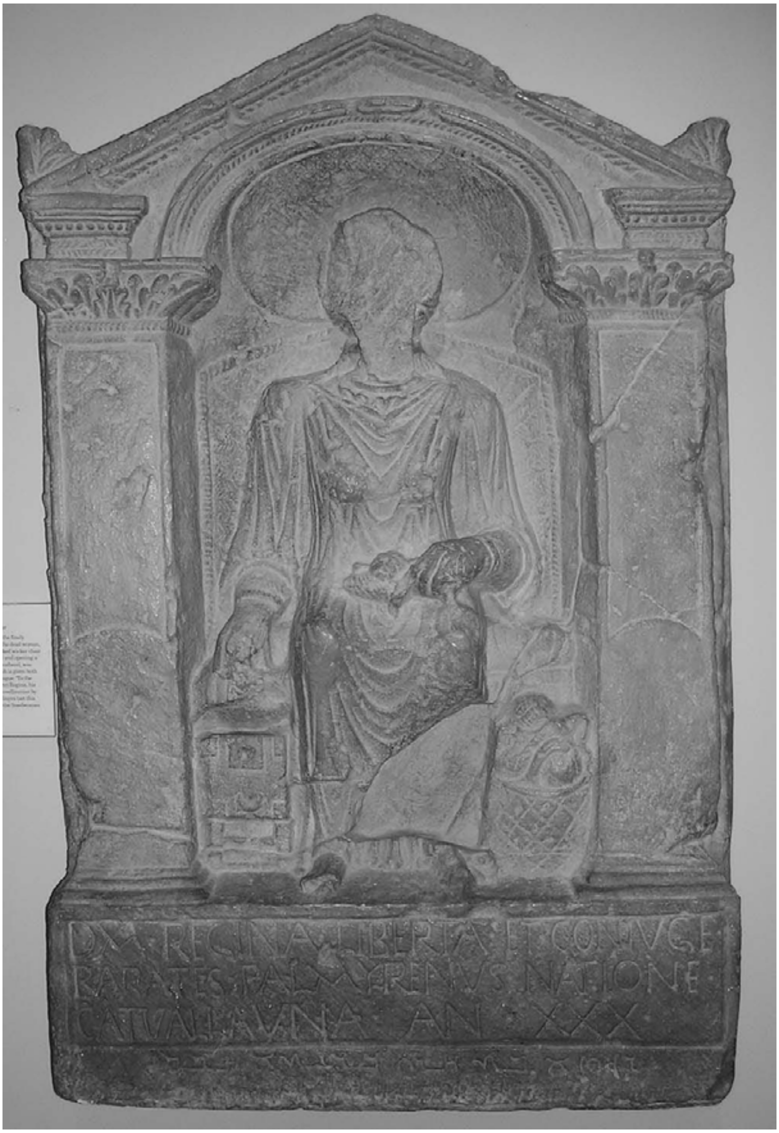

D M REGINA LIBERTA ET CONIVGE
BARATES PALMYRENVS NATIONE
CATVALLAVNA AN XXX

Fig. 2.38 Tombstone of Regina, South Shields – *RIB* I^2 1065 (photo: courtesy of Arbeia Museum)

LATIN:

'To the departed spirits of Regina, his freedwoman and wife, a Catuvellaunian, aged 30. Barates of Palmyra.'

PALMYRENE ARAMAIC:
'Regina the freedwoman of Barate, alas.'

The inclusion of Palmyrene Aramaic alongside Latin on this third-century AD tombstone found at South Shields tells us more about the sense of cultural affiliation of its dedicator (a trader or possibly a military officer from Palmyra) than about the number of Palmyrene-speakers in north-east England. The fact that Barates also called himself *Palmyrenus* in the Latin epitaph shows that he wanted to emphasize this aspect of his identity. The Palmyrene and Latin texts were not literal translations of each other, but reflected different epigraphic traditions. In fact, the Palmyrene text appears to contain the personal thoughts of Barates, in response to the death of his Celtic wife.[646] The Latin text contained several spelling mistakes, perhaps reflecting that Barates' knowledge of Latin was not very secure: *Regina*, *liberta*, and *coniuge* should all be accusatives, but the final *m* has been omitted in each case. Such a use of the accusative for an honorand reflected the standard Greek construction used at Palmyra, and has here affected the structure of the Latin epitaph.[647] The sculpted relief depicting the deceased seated upon a chair within a niche also combined Latin and Palmyrene elements, with a prominent place given not only to jewellery (typical of Palmyrene funerary reliefs) – she is wearing a necklace and bracelets, and holds an unlocked jewellery-box – but also to spinning and wool-working (an archetypal occupation of the Roman *matrona*), given that she is also holding a spindle and distaff in her lap, and with a work-basket beside her with its balls of wool. In this way, the deceased was depicted as both Roman matron and Palmyrene wife. What this representation ignored, though, was her identity as a Catuvellaunian (revealed only by the inscription itself): she may have regarded herself as Celtic/British instead, but the representation reflected how her husband wished to have her portrayed.

Nor was language related only to ethnic identity, but extended in some contexts to professional identity too. Above all, Greek was regarded as the language of medicine: according to Pliny the Elder, only medical treatises written in Greek could hope to gain people's trust.[648] Consequently, doctors even in the western provinces tended to choose Greek (sometimes even specifically the Ionic form of Hippocrates) as their language of self-representation.[649] Sometimes, it was not even necessary to use actual Greek to advertise their professional competence: a set of four *collyrium* stamps from Seine-et-Oise (Gaul) were written in the Latin language, but using Greek script. All that mattered was to give an impression of Greek.[650]

---

[646] Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (above, n.442) 32, 253–4.

[647] Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (above, n.442) 254.

[648] Plin. *HN* 29.8.17. On Greek in a medical context, see D. R. Langslow, 'Approaching bilingualism in corpus languages', in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Word*, eds. J. N. Adams, M. Janse, and S. Swain (2002: Oxford University Press) 23–51, at 41; Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (above, n.442) 340–1, 356–8; E. Samama, *Les médecins dans le monde grec: sources épigraphiques sur la naissance d'un corps médical* (2003: Hautes Études du Monde Gréco-Romain 31: Geneva) nos. 454–524 for Greek or bilingual inscriptions relating to doctors in the western provinces = *AÉpigr* (2003) 120.

Other inscriptions contained a mixture of languages, where Latin coexisted alongside another language within a single text. From these, it is possible to trace ways in which Latin and Greek played different roles within an inscription. A woman called Philoumene at Ephesus commissioned a tomb for her husband (an imperial freedman) and son using both languages: she used Greek at beginning and end for personal statements about the deceased and herself as dedicator, but in the middle she switched to Latin in order to issue a threat against potential tomb-violators of a fine due to the city's treasury. This switch seems to reflect the perception that Latin, as the language of power and authority, was more likely to be effective in protecting the tomb.[651] It is surely not the case that she simply thought that Latin readers were more likely than Greek to consider harming the tomb!

2.5.3 Reading and viewing inscriptions

In some cases, therefore, language and script were chosen for effect, but how many people actually paid any attention to inscriptions, and how many could have read them, had they been inclined to do so?

There has been considerable debate over the extent of literacy in the Roman world. The touchstone for discussion is William Harris' *Ancient Literacy*, which argues that literacy was below 10% in the Roman Empire.[652] Arriving at an overall percentage for levels of literacy is, however, perhaps not very useful for understanding epigraphic culture. Instead, we should perhaps think in terms of pockets of high levels of literacy in military camps and in cities, with considerably lower levels in rural areas. Literacy levels must also have varied considerably between different social groups, again with pockets of high levels of literacy within groups that can be defined as possessing 'scribal' or 'craftsman's' literacy.

---

[649] For other professions favouring Greek as their language of choice, even within a Latin context, resulting in code-switching between the two languages, see Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (above, n.442) 358–60.

[650] Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (above, n.442) 90–1; Voinot, *Les cachets à collyres* (above, n.243) no. 260.

[651] R. Merkelbach and J. Nollé, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. VI (1980: Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 16.6: Rudolf Habelt: Bonn) no. 2103; Levick, 'The Latin inscriptions of Asia Minor' (above, n.165) 399.

[652] W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (1989: Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass.) 22. His earlier article on Pompeii, however, suggested that as many as 2000–3000 individuals may have been literate in AD 79, which would represent a much higher percentage of the total population (more than a quarter): 'Literacy and epigraphy 1', *ZPE* 52 (1983) 87–111, at 110.

Measuring levels of literacy simply by mapping variable densities in the distribution of monumental inscriptions per 1000 km^2 is fundamentally misleading.[653] For example, if we look beyond monumental inscriptions to other forms of inscriptions (notably curse tablets from Bath and Uley, and the writing-tablets at Vindolanda) and at indirect evidence for the use of writing (finds of *stili* (metal pens) on villa sites), our impression of literacy in Roman Britain increases both in quantity and quality, and in geographical distribution, beyond urban centres into the countryside.[654] Focusing too narrowly upon monumental epigraphy, therefore, distorts our picture of the extent of literacy.[655] At the same time, it is dangerous to assume that graffiti (such as those at Pompeii) were produced by the lower classes;[656] the vast majority of graffiti leave no hint as to the social status of their writers.

The other main problem is that literacy itself is not a single phenomenon, but consists of different skills deployed in handling texts.[657] Consequently, there were many different levels of literacy and semi-literacy in the Roman world: some individuals could probably only write their name; others belonged to the category of 'slow writers', as mentioned in Egyptian papyri, and of whom the administrator Petaus may be representative, with his painstaking and repeated copying out of an official subscription.[658] This may, however, refer to people's ability to write slowly in Greek rather than demotic, and not offer insight into their overall level of literacy.[659] Furthermore, whereas some attempt may be made to estimate levels of writing ability it is impossible to gauge the extent of reading ability, and this tends to be more widespread than the ability to write. Individuals may have been able to read only certain genres of text, and it is possible that the formulaic structure of many epitaphs may have made them more accessible to readers than other types of text. The comment by one of Petronius' characters that he can read only 'lapidary letters' (*lapidarias litteras*) may even imply that reading monumental capitals was regarded as a more straightforward task than deciphering other forms of writing.[660]

---

[653] See critique of Harris' method in the context of Lusitania in J. Edmondson, 'Writing Latin in the Roman province of Lusitania', in *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin? Literacy and Epigraphy in the Roman West*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2002: *JRA* Supplement 48: Portsmouth, R.I.) 41–60, at 43–7.

[654] For Bath and Uley, see above n.192. Vindolanda: A. K. Bowman, 'The Roman imperial army: letters and literacy on the northern frontier', in *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, eds. A. K. Bowman and G. Woolf (1994: Cambridge University Press) 109–25. *Stili* on villa sites: W. S. Hanson and R. Conolly, 'Language and literacy in Roman Britain: some archaeological considerations', in *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin? Literacy and Epigraphy in the Roman West*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2002: *JRA* Supplement 48: Portsmouth, R.I.) 151–64.

[655] Cf. N. Horsfall, 'Statistics or states of mind?', in *Literacy in the Roman World* (1991: *JRA* Supplement 3: Ann Arbor) 59–76, on Harris' neglect of graffiti.

[656] Contra J. L. Franklin, Jr, 'Literacy and the parietal inscriptions of Pompeii', in *Literacy in the Roman World* (1991: *JRA* Supplement 3: Ann Arbor) 77–98, at 80, 87, who assumes that Pompeian graffiti were 'written almost entirely by Pompeii's lower classes'.

[657] A. K. Bowman and G. Woolf, 'Literacy and power in the ancient world', in *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, eds. A. K. Bowman and G. Woolf (1994: Cambridge University Press) 1–16, at 2; cf. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (above, n.652) 3–24 on problems of defining literacy, and, for a later period, R. McKitterick, 'Introduction', in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, ed. R. McKitterick (1990: Cambridge University Press) 1–10.

[658] A. E. Hanson, 'Ancient illiteracy', in *Literacy in the Roman World* (1991: *JRA* Supplement 3: Ann Arbor) 159–98.

Finally, it is also important to consider the possibility that illiterate individuals may have appreciated the power of writing and been required to participate in literate modes of behaviour in different ways, even if they themselves were not fully literate. We should, therefore, consider the implications of the possibility that a large proportion of the illiterate population was prepared to engage with the written word, via intermediaries.[661] Such intermediaries could offer access to the written word to the illiterate or semi-literate: in the case of monumental inscriptions, for example, their texts could be read out publicly by proclamation.[662] In other cases, individuals could have inscriptions read out for them more informally: an epitaph in the Alps refers to the fact that someone might be reading it or listening to it being read.[663]

Whatever the reality of levels of literacy, monumental inscriptions consistently reflected the expectation that they would be read. Many epitaphs expressed the hope that passers-by would stop and read them, and played on the conceit that the reader's voice would bring the epitaph alive by reading it out aloud. It was also a recurrent concern of legal texts to ensure that their texts were displayed in public in a format that was readable from ground level, and their use of paragraphing and punctuation reflected some consideration of legibility.[664]

---

[659] M. Corbier, 'L'écriture en quête de lecteurs', in *Literacy in the Roman World* (1991: *JRA* Supplement 3: Ann Arbor) 99–118, at 102.

[660] Petron. *Sat.* 58.

[661] A. K. Bowman, 'Literacy in the Roman empire: mass and mode', in *Literacy in the Roman World* (1991: *JRA* Supplement 3: Ann Arbor) 119–31, esp. 122; cf. R. McKitterick, 'Conclusion', in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, ed. R. McKitterick (1990: Cambridge University Press) 319–33.

[662] Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (above, n.652) 34–5.

[663] *AÉpigr* (1989) 247: *quicumque legerit, aut legentem auscultaverit.*

[664] Corbier, 'L'écriture en quête de lecteurs' (above, n.659) 112.

2.5.4 Afterlife of inscriptions

The fact that a whole range of different types of inscriptions were modified in different ways offers another indication that at least some inscriptions attracted attention and were regarded as important enough to be worth recarving. In some cases, the text of an inscription was updated, with extra words added to it. Membership lists might have extra names added to them over time, as new members joined up, as seen in the case of the *Augustales* at Liternum.[665] A statue donated by a leading magistrate, Cartilius Poplicola, at Ostia had a dedicatory inscription engraved upon its tree-trunk support. This inscription alluded to the public career of its donor, but was updated as his career progressed: *C(aius) Cartilius C(ai) f(ilius) / duo(m)viru(m) [[i]]ter[[um]]tio>> / Poplicola{e}* ('Gaius Cartilius Poplicola, son of Gaius, *duovir* twice/three times'). At first, the inscription recorded that Cartilius Poplicola had been *duovir* twice, but the word *iterum* was subsequently altered to *tertio* in order to reflect his tenure of the magistracy for a third time. It seems, however, that the updating process was abandoned when Cartilius Popilcola kept accumulating magistracies during his exceptional career, which, as we know from his tomb, culminated in an unparalleled eight times as *duovir*.[666]

Milestones were particularly prone to alterations and additions, sometimes resulting in a palimpsest of texts, supporting the idea that their purpose was increasingly honorific in aim.[667] Erasures might be inflicted upon a milestone's dedicatory inscription on more than one occasion, as in the case of a milestone near Djemila from which firstly Licinius was erased at the end of AD 324, and then Crispus in February of AD 326.[668] Private monuments too, such as tombs, were sometimes modified. This seems to be the case on the tomb inscription set up by Annidia Secunda at Narbo (modern Narbonne), on which all the names, even that of Annidia Secunda herself who had built the tomb, were preceded by the so-called *theta nigrum* (Θ), indicating that they were now deceased. In this case, the inscription was probably updated as the tomb's occupants died in turn.[669] Not all changes should be regarded as attempts to update an inscription, however: other changes may, instead, reflect corrections to the inscription made at the initial moment of production, once the stonecutter had realized that he had made a mistake. Such changes are commonly found on top of an erasure, or inserted in smaller letters.[670]

---

[665] G. Camodeca, 'Albi degli *Augustales* di Liternum della seconda metà del II secolo', *AION* (*archeol*) n.s. 8 (2001) 163–82 = *AÉpigr* (2001) 853–4; *SupplIt* 25 (2010) nos. 16–17.

[666] Statue dedicated by Cartilius Poplicola: *ILLRP* 634a = M. Cébeillac, 'Quelques inscriptions inédites d'Ostie: de la République à l'Empire', *MÉFRA* 83 (1971) 39–125, at 78–81; his epitaph: M. F. Squarciapino, *Scavi di Ostia*, vol. III, part 1, *Le necropoli* (1958: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato: Rome) 214 no. 8.

[667] Salama, 'Anniversaires impériaux Constantino-Liciniens' (above, n.138) 146–7 no. 3, 150–1; P. Salama, 'La colonie de Rusguniae d'après les inscriptions', *RAfr* 99 (1955) 5–52, at 12–17.

[668] Salama, 'Anniversaires impériaux Constantino-Liciniens' (above, n.138) 144–6 no. 2.

Damage inflicted upon inscriptions was one of a wide range of memory sanctions that could be imposed upon individuals who had fallen from favour, whether they were emperors or members of the imperial family (male and female alike), leading senators, or equestrians.[671] A wide range of sanctions can be illustrated in the case of Cn. Calpurnius Piso in AD 20: the senate suggested that these should include forbidding public mourning for his death by the women in his family, demolishing part of his house, confiscating property, prohibiting the use of his *praenomen* within his family, banning his *imago* ('wax death-mask') from family funeral processions, removing his portraits, and erasing his name from a specific inscription.[672] Members of the imperial family might also have their coins countermarked or their features defaced, but this was not common practice.[673]

Erasure of someone's name, commonly dubbed *damnatio memoriae* ('condemnation of memory') (a turn of phrase invented in modern times), provides vivid testimony to the fact that inscriptions could provoke violent reactions some years after they had been initially set up. In many cases, the act of erasing a name from an inscription probably occurred at the same time as damage was inflicted upon its accompanying portrait statue.[674] Although it was originally intended to designate an individual as an enemy of the state,[675] the practice gradually developed so as to encompass women of the imperial family too, who tended, however, to be condemned on grounds of sexual immorality rather than as public enemies. A statue on its inscribed base could provoke a range of responses: it might have its facial features chiselled away, whilst remaining identifiable; it could be transformed into someone else, whilst making it clear that the portrait had been altered; and it might be removed and stored in a warehouse or destroyed entirely.[676] Some transformations took place in the immediate aftermath of an emperor's assassination, with, for example, Domitian commonly being recut as his successors Nerva or Trajan. In other cases, statues were recycled a century or more later, as in the case of a portrait of Lucilla (wife of Lucius Verus), who was condemned by Commodus in AD 182 but recut as Helena only in the 320s.[677] Such a long hiatus between condemnation and reuse suggests that such statues were stored before being subsequently recycled.

---

[669] *CIL* XII 4581: I. Mednikarova, 'The use of Θ in Latin funerary inscriptions', *ZPE* 136 (2001) 267–76, at 275.

[670] S. Lefebvre, 'Les cités face à la *damnatio memoriae*: les martelages dans l'espace urbain', *CCG* 15 (2004) 191–217, at 194–5. For a selection of such adjustments, with photographs, see inscriptions listed in index '5. Errori, correzioni, erasioni, aggiunte' in I. Di Stefano Manzella and G. L. Gregori, *Supplementa Italica Imagines: Roma (CIL, VI) 2: Musei Vaticani, I + Antiquarium Comunale del Celio* (2003: Quasar: Rome) 638.

[671] H. I. Flower, *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture* (2006: University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill). Much interesting work has come out of a recent French project: *Condamnations et damnations: approches et modalités de réécriture de l'histoire* (2003: *CCG* 14), with further papers in *CCG* 15 (2004); S. Benoist, and A. Daguet-Gagey, eds., *Mémoire et histoire: les procédures de condamnation dans l'antiquité romaine* (2007: Centre Régional Universitaire Lorrain d'Histoire Site de Metz 31); S. Benoist and S. Lefebvre, 'Les victimes de la *damnatio memoriae*: méthodologie et problématiques', in *XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae: Provinciae Imperii Romani Inscriptionibus Descriptae*, eds. M. Mayer i Olívé, G. Baratta, and A. Guzmán Almagro (2007: Monografies de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica X: Barcelona) 133–9; S. Benoist and A. Daguet-Gagey, eds., *Un discours en images de la condemnation de mémoire* (2008: Centre Régional Universitaire Lorrain d'Histoire Site de Metz 34).

[672] J. Bodel, 'Punishing Piso', *AJP* 120.1 (1999) 43–63.

[673] A. Hostein, 'Monnaie et *damnatio memoriae*: problèmes méthodologiques', *CCG* 15 (2004) 219–36.

In the case of inscriptions, different types of erasure invited different responses from viewers. Firstly, erasure was not inevitable: as an alternative, the inscription could simply be reused so as to hide the offending text, removed to a warehouse, or entirely destroyed. Obviously, nothing remains of those that were destroyed in their entirety, but in cases where only part of an inscription was erased it seems likely that the intention was for this erasure to remain visible, so that viewers could be sensible of the downfall of the individual who had been condemned. Careful analysis of some inscriptions and the archaeological context of others suggest that inscriptions might still remain on public display, even once partially erased. In some cases, for example in inscriptions mentioning Plautianus or Plautilla and Geta who were condemned in AD 205 and 211/12 respectively, the erasures must date from different years.[678] Furthermore, Geta's name was erased from a base set up in honour of *Concordia Augg[[g]]* by L. Licinius Optatianus near the 'Arch of Trajan' at Timgad, and then replaced with titles for Caracalla, but since one of these (Germanicus) dates from October AD 213, this implies that a year or two elapsed before the reinscription was executed.[679] Although we cannot be sure that accompanying statues were also left atop their bases, once mutilated, it seems likely. A statue of Nero at Cagliari appears to have remained on public view once damaged: a graffito *VICTO* (i.e., *victo(ri)*) on the statue's breast may have been intended to mock Nero's pretensions.[680] Even so, there was some ambivalence as to whether people were supposed to remember an individual's disgrace as a negative role-model or to condemn that individual entirely to oblivion.[681] For the most part, the act of erasure was left visible, so that an individual's memory was condemned rather than deleted. In some cases, the erasure followed the shape of the lettering so closely that the condemned name was still perfectly legible, even though it had been erased.[682] Sometimes, however, an erasure was executed in a thorough manner, as in the case of a statue base in Valentia (modern Valencia) in Hispania Citerior, whose original eight-line inscription in honour of Elagabalus of AD 218 was totally erased so that only faint traces of it still remained, and then reinscribed on its other side with new honours for Aurelian, some time between 270 and 275.[683]

---

[674] V. Huet, 'Images et *damnatio memoriae*', *CCG* 15 (2004) 237–53; C. Vout, 'The art of "damnatio memoriae"', in *Un discours en images de la condemnation de mémoire*, eds. S. Benoist and A. Daguet-Gagey (2008: Centre Régional Universitaire Lorrain d'Histoire Site de Metz 34) 153–72.

[675] F. Vittinghoff, *Der Staatsfeind in der römischen Kaiserzeit: Untersuchungen zur "damnatio memoriae"* (1936: Junker & Dünnhaupt: Berlin).

[676] E. R. Varner, 'Tyranny and the transformation of the Roman visual landscape', in *From Caligula to Constantine: Tyranny and Transformation in Roman Portraiture*, ed. E. R. Varner (2000: Michael C. Carlos Museum: Atlanta, Ga.) 9–26, and 'Memory sanctions, identity politics, and altered imperial portraits', in *Un discours en images de la condemnation de mémoire*, eds. S. Benoist and A. Daguet-Gagey (2008: Centre Régional Universitaire Lorrain d'Histoire Site de Metz 34) 129–52.

[677] Varner, 'Tyranny and the transformation of the Roman visual landscape' (above, n.676) 11–14.

Of all the various examples of memory sanctions in the Roman world, the case of Geta stands out for the ferocity of the attack against his memory. Left as joint emperor with his brother Caracalla on their father's death, Geta was swiftly eliminated by his brother, who then appears to have been particularly vindictive in his condemnation perhaps in fear of Geta's support among the army. After Geta's assassination, his name and image were often completely erased and replaced by a new text on top of the erasure.[684] Execution of the erasures was variable in quality: in some cases Septimius Severus' brother, P. Septimius Geta, was erased in error for his homonymous nephew.[685] Instead of simply leaving a blank space where Geta's name had been erased, there was a tendency to engrave on top of the erasure extra honorific titles for Caracalla, Julia Domna, or Septimius Severus. Sometimes these made little sense and resulted in a repetitious and even incoherent text.[686] On the dedicatory inscription of the Arch of the *Argentarii* in the *Forum Boarium* at Rome, for example, the need to cover over the erasure resulted in Caracalla appearing both as *felix* ('fortunate') and *felicissimus* ('very fortunate'). This clumsiness in handling the inscription contrasts with the more efficient way in which Geta's portrait completely vanished from the same monument.[687] Geta's was also the first known case where a name suffered erasures in papyri too, even in villages, a precedent then followed during the rest of the third century for Macrinus, Diadumenianus, Elagabalus, Severus Alexander, Maximinus Thrax, Maximus, Pupienus, and Balbinus. Geta was even erased from the sequence of hieroglyphic representations depicting the emperor–pharaohs from Claudius to Decius at the Temple of Latopolis in the far south of Egypt.[688]

---

[678] Possible examples include *IRT2009* 430 and H. Doisy, 'Inscriptions latines de Timgad', *MÉFRA* 65 (1953) 99–137, at 125–30 no. 23; S. Lefebvre, 'Condamnation de la mémoire et espace civique: pour une pédagogie du martelage en Afrique', in *Mémoire et histoire: Les procédures de condamnation dans l'antiquité romaine*, eds. S. Benoist and A. Daguet-Gagey (2007: Centre Régional Universitaire Lorrain d'Histoire Site de Metz 31) 195–213.

[679] Concordia base: *CIL* VIII 17829 = *ILS* 434; Lefebvre, 'Condamnation de la mémoire (above, n.678) 209–11.

[680] Syracuse National Museum inv. 6383: Varner, 'Tyranny and the transformation of the Roman visual landscape' (above, n.676) 14.

[681] J.-P. Martin, 'Introduction', in *Condamnations et damnations* (above, n.671) 227–9, at 229; H. I. Flower, 'Damnatio memoriae and epigraphy', in *From Caligula to Constantine: Tyranny and Transformation in Roman Portraiture*, ed. E. R. Varner (2000: Michael C. Carlos Museum: Atlanta, Ga.) 58–69, at 59.

[682] *CIL* XIV 4393 = *ILS* 465, Diadumenianus at Ostia; photograph online at: www1.ku-eichstaett.de/epigr/uah-bilder.php?bild=$CIL_14_04393.jpg;PH0004157

[683] G. Alföldy, 'Eine eradierte Kaiserinschrift aus Valentia (Hispania Citerior)', *ZPE* 141 (2002) 257–60.

63 Erasure of Geta, Lambaesis: Fig. 2.39

CIL VIII 2557 = *CIL* VIII 18050 = *ILS* 2354

Now in the Louvre Museum, Paris; autopsy November 2009.

pro felicitate et inco/lumitate{m} saeculi do/minorum nn[[n]](ostrorum) Augg[[g]](ustorum) / L(uci) Sep(timi) Severi Pii Pertinacis /⁵ Aug(usti) et M(arci) Aureli Antonini / Aug(usti) [[[et L(uci) Septimi Getae Caes(aris)]]]

---

[684] Mastino, 'L'erasione del nome di Geta' (above, n.26) 62–81.

[685] P. Septimius Geta erased in error when included as consul for the second time in AD 203: *CIL* VI 220 = *ILS* 2163; *CIL* VIII 2557 – *ILS* 2354; *CIL* XIV 324.

[686] The syntax breaks down completely in *CIL* VIII 2551 = *ILS* 2397, AD 198.

[687] *CIL* VI 1035 = *ILS* 426, with Varner 'Memory sanctions' (above, n.676) 132–3; H. I. Flower, 'Les Sévères et l'usage de la *memoria*: l'*arcus* du *Forum Boarium* à Rome', in *Un discours en images de la condemnation de mémoire*, eds. S. Benoist and A. Daguet-Gagey (2008: Centre Régional Universitaire Lorrain d'Histoire Site de Metz 34) 97–115.

[688] D. Devauchelle, 'Effacement des noms de personnes et martelages dans les textes égyptiens d'époque romaine', in *Mémoire et histoire: Les procédures de condamnation dans l'antiquité romaine*, eds. S. Benoist and A. Daguet-Gagey (2007: Centre Régional Universitaire Lorrain d'Histoire Site de Metz 31) 3–20, at 13–15.

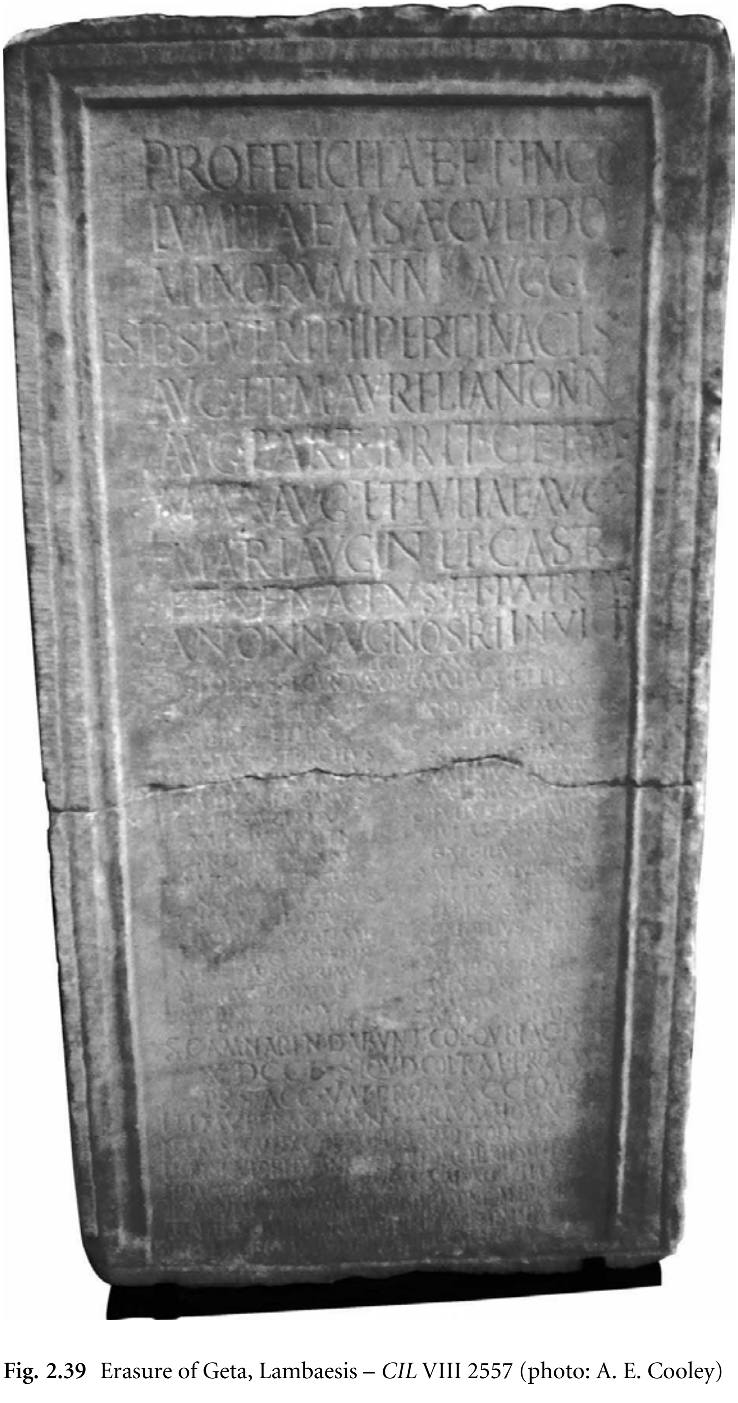


Fig. 2.39 Erasure of Geta, Lambaesis – *CIL* VIII 2557 (photo: A. E. Cooley)

≪Part(hici) Brit(annici) Germ(anici)≫ / ≪max(imi)≫ Aug(usti) et Iuliae Aug(ustae) / matri Aug(usti) n(ostri) et cast(rorum) / [[[et Fulviae Plautillae Aug(ustae)]]] ≪et senatus et patriae≫ /^{10} Antonini Aug(usti) nostri [[coniugis]] ≪Invicti≫ / cor(nicines) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) P(iae) V(indicis) (A list of names in smaller writing, in two columns follows) *lex fact(a) XI Kal(endas) Sep(tembres) [[[Plautiano]]] / II et [[Getae]] II co(n)s(ulibus) ⌜G⌝e⌜M⌝in⌜V⌝s Antoninus Filinus Marcus*

Final line: C for G; N for M; I for V

'For the happiness and safety of the age of our lord emperors Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus and of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus [[and of Lucius Septimius Geta Caesar]] ≪Parthicus Britannicus greatest Germanicus≫ Augustus and of Julia Augusta mother of our Augustus and the camps [[and of Fulvia Plautilla Augusta]] ≪and of the senate and the fatherland≫ of Antoninus our Augustus [[wife]] ≪Unconquered≫. The trumpet players of the Third Augustan Legion Pia Vindex. (A list of names in two columns follows.) The law was made on 22nd August in the consulship of [[Plautianus]] for the second time and [[Geta]] for the second time. Geminus, Antoninus, Filinus, Marcus.'

This *stele* records the regulations (*lex*) established by the *cornicines* of the Third Augustan Legion at the legionary headquarters at Lambaesis (Numidia). A similar *stele* relating to the *tubicines* of the same legion has also been found.[689] The inscription offers a good example of sequential erasures. It was initially inscribed on 22nd August AD 202. Subsequently, the names of Caracalla's wife Plautilla and her father Plautianus were erased in the first instance, and then that of Geta himself. Erasing the names of Plautilla and Geta required quite extensive rewriting of the text: where there had originally been reference to Plautilla as wife of Caracalla, the phrase has been altered so as to be referring to Julia Domna as his mother, instead. In addition, Julia Domna's titles have been extended so as to represent her not just as mother of Caracalla and the army camp, but of the senate and fatherland as well. Where Geta's name and titles were erased, further honorific titles of Caracalla have been added. The inclusion of Germanicus Maximus, granted only in October AD 213, shows that either Geta's name was not immediately erased – an unlikely scenario – or, more likely, that the erasure was left blank for a couple of years before a new text was inscribed on top of it. Places where the text has been erased are still visible, but an attempt has been made to replace the erased words with new titles of Caracalla and Julia Domna, and in l.3 an ivy-leaf decoration has been inscribed on top of the third letter N. A list of names follows in smaller letters in two columns under the heading identifying them as *cor(nicines)* of the Third Augustan Legion. The whole text ends with a consular date (AD 203), which also creates problems since it relates to the joint consulship of Plautianus who was condemned and erased, and P. Septimius Geta (brother of L. Septimius Severus) whose name has been erased here in error. All in all, this inscription demonstrates the exceptional treatment of Geta, and the way in which the inscription suffered erasures at different times, remaining visible even after the erasure had been effected.

---

[689] *AÉpigr* (1907) 184.

In some cases, however, the integrity of an official document was deemed more important than an individual's disgrace, and so a condemned name might remain intact in legal inscriptions. This is the case with the name of Domitian on diplomas, and (inconsistently) on the copies of the Flavian municipal law found in Spain.[690] An alternative solution to this problem was adopted in the *Fasti Ostienses*, which simply referred to Domitian as *Domitianus* when reference was needed to his consulship, according little dignity to his name. This implies that the *fasti* were reinscribed after his death.[691] Another technique for representing the past in a selective way was to avoid mentioning a disgraced emperor by name altogether: individuals who had served Domitian sometimes vaguely alluded to military awards made to them by 'the emperor' (*ab imp. Aug.*), carefully avoiding associating themselves with the assassinated emperor, whilst at the same time still gaining prestige by showing their favour at the imperial court.[692] Similarly, C. Minicius Italus, procurator of Asia, was described simply as having been appointed *mandatu principis* ('by the emperor's instruction') to take the place of a governor who had died in post.[693]

Diversity of practice suggests that the extent of official involvement in ensuring the removal of an individual's monuments was not uniform.[694]

---

[690] Diploma: *CIL* XVI 32; Flavian law: *ILS* 6088, from Salpensa – Domitian's name intact several times in chs. 22–6, *ILS* 6089, from Malaca – Domitian's name erased at ch. 49; González, 'The Lex Irnitana' (above, n.161) chs. 19–20, 22–6, 69, 73, 79, 81; A. Martin, 'La condemnation de la mémoire de Domitien: état de la question', in *Mémoire et histoire: les procédures de condamnation dans l'antiquité romaine*, eds. S. Benoist and A. Daguet-Gagey (2007: Centre Régional Universitaire Lorrain d'Histoire Site de Metz 31) 59–72, at 67–8.

[691] Flower, *Art of Forgetting* (above, n.671) 249–50.

[692] *ILS* 1025 = *CIL* XIV 3612.

[693] *CIL* V 875 = *ILS* 1374. J.-M. Pailler and R. Sablayrolles, '*Damnatio memoriae*: une vraie perpétuité', *Pallas* 40, *Les années Domitien* (1994) 11–53, at 22; Eck, 'Auf der Suche nach Personen und Persönlichkeiten' (above, n.85) 66.

[694] M. Kajava, 'Some remarks on the erasure of inscriptions in the Roman world (with special reference to the case of Cn. Piso, cos. 7 B.C.)', in *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3–6 sept. 1991 habiti*, eds. H. Solin, O. Salomies, and U.-M. Liertz (1995: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 104: Helsinki) 201–10. Compare the inconsistency with which names were erased from papyri too: De Jong, 'Propaganda or pragmatism?' (above n.32).

Even though Suetonius offers a vivid image of the senate taking the lead in toppling statues of Domitian after his assassination,[695] and despite the fact that just under half of all known inscriptions with his name have been modified, there was evidently no systematic implementation of sanctions against his memory, nor were private individuals (notably imperial slaves and freedmen) required to erase his name from funerary inscriptions and private dedications.[696] Local initiative was an important factor in determining how eagerly sanctions were carried out against an individual. The name of Maximian was erased on milestones in Narbonensis, for example, probably as a result of local enthusiasm in response to the fact that he had been captured at Massilia (modern Marseille) in AD 309/10.[697] The implementation of erasure also depended upon practical matters, such as the relative prominence of a name within an inscription: on the inscribed dossier relating to the *ludi saeculares* ('centennial games') of 17 BC, for example, the name of the *quindecimvir* C. Asinius Gallus was erased following his entanglement in the fall of Sejanus in AD 37 only in the final line, l.168, where it appeared at the start of a line, but was not erased in ll.107 and 151 of the same inscription.[698]

Erasures were not always directly targeted at the person of the condemned individual himself, but in the case of a disgraced emperor, army units or towns which had adopted a distinctive imperial title as part of its own name might choose to erase the offending part after his condemnation. For example, the name of Commodus was erased from the titles of the Twenty-second Legion, whilst the Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (modern Cologne) distanced itself from both Valerian and Gallienus.[699] By extension, disgraced military units might be disbanded and their names erased, as seen in the case of the Third Legion in Tripolitania (discussed above, Subsection 2.4.3). Similarly, the *Legio XXI Rapax* was erased from two inscriptions in Upper Germany, after the unit was dissolved following its involvement in a mutiny against Domitian in support of Saturninus.[700]

---

[695] Suet. *Dom.* 23.

[696] Pailler and Sablayrolles, '*Damnatio memoriae*: une vraie perpétuité' (above, n.693); Flower, *Art of Forgetting* (above, n.671) ch. 9.

[697] *CIL* XVII/2 25, 28, 40, 46, 99, 101, 166, 206; S. Benoist, 'Titulatures impériales et *damnatio memoriae*: l'enseignement des inscriptions martelées', *CCG* 15 (2004) 175–89, at 177 n.13.

[698] Most up-to-date text in B. Schnegg-Köhler, *Die augusteischen Säkularspiele* (2002: Archiv für Religionsgeschichte 4: Saur: Munich); S. Benoist, 'Martelage et *damnatio memoriae*: une introduction', in *Condamnations et damnations* (above, n.671) 231–40, at 233–4.

[699] *CIL* XIII 6728; *CIL* XIII 8261, Cologne; Benoist, 'Titulatures impériales' (above, n.697) 184–5.

[700] *CIL* XIII 11514, 11524; Benoist, 'Martelage et *damnatio memoriae*' (above, n.698) 239.

Once erased, rehabilitation was possible, if political circumstances changed. For example, the name of Ti. Claudius Candidus was erased from a base in Tarraco, AD 197/9, when, during his governorship of Hispania Citerior, he had incurred the hostility of Plautianus. When, in turn, Plautianus was condemned in 205, Candidus' name was reinscribed: again, this seems to imply that the inscription had remained on display in the intervening years.[701] A particularly elaborate example of rehabilitation is provided by the figure of Nicomachus Flavianus.[702] He had supported the usurper Eugenius against Theodosius in AD 394, being appointed consul by him in that year, but when Eugenius failed, Flavianus had ended up committing suicide that same year. His property was confiscated, his name removed from the consular *fasti*, and his honorific statue and inscription in Trajan's Forum cancelled. Almost forty years later, in AD 432, the year that his son (also Nicomachus Flavianus) was appointed praetorian prefect,[703] an inscription was carved on top of an erased text and a statue was re-erected by his grandson rehabilitating his memory.[704] His case is more complicated than that of Claudius Candidus: it was not just a question of the current emperors, Valentinian III and Theodosius II, forgiving past political transgressions, but also of modifying his career in such a way as to suit the new Christian world emerging at that time. Consequently, in their letter to the senate inscribed upon the base, the emperors referred metaphorically to their actions as the correction of a manuscript, *emendatio*, according to which they were presenting a new edition of Flavianus' career. His re-edited career inscription did not include Flavianus' minor magistracies at the start of his career, his consulship under the usurper Eugenius, or his priesthood, and contrasted in this respect with an inscription set up by his grandson-in-law, probably eight years after his death.[705] In this way, the reinscribed inscription was not a simple replacement for the one that had earlier been erased, but offered a reinterpretation of his career.

This uneasiness with traditional Roman religion also underlay other types of erasures and alterations, which were quite a different type of memory sanction, not against an individual, but against traditional cults. Some religious inscriptions had the names of traditional gods erased from them and Christian symbols added. This seems to be the case for a dedication to Jupiter at Saint-Zacharie (near Aix-en-Provence), in which the god's name was erased from an altar and Christian symbols – a cross and two lambs – added to its other side.[706] Similarly, the name of Saturn was erased from an inscription in North Africa and replaced by Christian monograms, the chi–rho and alpha–omega.[707] Non-Christian formulae might also be erased from epitaphs, as with *DMS* erased in l.1 from the epitaph of C. Octavius Faustinus and Annia Philusa at Sosontigi, Baetica.[708] A more familiar form of erasure is reflected in the way in which the names of emperors who had persecuted Christians, such as Diocletian, Galerius, and Julian, were also targeted for erasure.[709]

---

[701] *CIL* II 4114 = *ILS* 1140, with Flower, 'Les Sévères et l'usage de la *memoria*' (above, n.687) 103.

[702] *PLRE* I Flavianus 15.

[703] *PLRE* I Flavianus 14.

[704] *CIL* VI 1783 = *ILS* 2948; C. W. Hedrick, *History and Silence: Purge and Rehabilitation of Memory in Late Antiquity* (2000: University of Texas Press: Austin).

[705] *CIL* VI 1782, ll.1–7 = *ILS* 2947; from a private residence on the Caelian.

Prominent public figures were not the only ones whose names might be erased from an inscription. Some otherwise unknown private individuals had their names erased from epitaphs, probably reflecting feuds between friends and families, which resulted in individuals being excluded from a particular burial-site.[710] Once again, however, alterations could also be the result of a desire to update an inscription, so it is important not to over-interpret the evidence. In the case of a funerary altar from Nîmes of the first century AD, for example, the name of Syntyche was erased in l.4 where she initially appeared as one of the commemorated members of the family. She then seems to have enjoyed an unexpected longevity, since her name is then reinscribed at the end of the text, where she is now recorded as the commemorator of her husband, who has predeceased her.[711] The erasure reflects nothing more than the problems of commissioning an epitaph too soon.

Even in the case of inscriptions unconnected with individuals whose memory had been condemned, recycling was the norm, not just in late antiquity but in earlier periods too.[712] In Sabratha, after much of the city had been damaged, probably in an earthquake during AD 365, inscriptions, statues, and architectural fragments were stored in the vaults of the

---

[706] *ILN* III *Aix-en-Provence* no. 168; Benoist, 'Martelage et *damnatio memoriae*' (above, n.698) 236.

[707] *CIL* VIII 6960; R. Delmaire, 'La *damnatio memoriae* au bas-empire à travers les textes, la législation et les inscriptions', in *Condamnations et damnations* (above, n.671) 299–310, at 305.

[708] *CIL* II^2/5 244; Lefebvre, 'Les cités face à la *damnatio memoriae*' (above, n.670) 198–9.

[709] Delmaire, 'La *damnatio memoriae* au bas-empire' (above, n.707) 299–310, at 305.

[710] J. Edmondson, 'Conmemoración funeraria y relaciones familiares en Augusta Emerita', in *Sociedad y cultura en Lusitania romana*, eds. J.-G. Gorges and T. Nogales Basarrate (2000: Serie Estudios Portugueses 13: Mérida) 299–327, at 323–4; Lefebvre, 'Les cités face à la *damnatio memoriae*' (above, n.670) 202–4 discussing *AÉpigr* (1983) 494; Flower, *Art of Forgetting* (above, n.671) 10.

[711] *CIL* XII 3488; Benoist, 'Martelage et *damnatio memoriae*' (above, n.698) 236.

[712] Examples in R. Coates-Stephens, 'Epigraphy as *spolia*: the reuse of inscriptions in early medieval buildings', *PBSR* 70 (2002) 275–96, at 278–9.

Capitolium, ready for reuse. Some were indeed reused: the lower left-hand part of one inscription was found reused in the late-fourth-century paving at the west end of the north Forum portico, whilst other fragments of it were found still in the store.[713] The extensive reuse of inscriptions implies that they were no longer regarded as worth retaining in their original contexts. Some types of reuse destroyed the inscriptions entirely. This was especially the case for bronze inscriptions, but marble inscriptions might be burned in lime-kilns along with other pieces of marble statuary and architecture: as many as nineteen lime-kilns have been identified scattered around the site at Ostia, for example.[714] In particular, inscribed monuments were reused in building town defences in various parts of the empire, such as at Aquileia, Narbonne, Chester, and, in Lusitania alone, at Mérida, Coria, Avila, and Talavera de la Reina.[715] The case of Aquileia is early in the sequence, where an emergency was prompted by a siege in AD 238, but otherwise such activity was typical of late antiquity.[716] As well as being reused en masse in this way, individual inscribed monuments were reused so as to take advantage of their shape: for example ash-chests became holy water stoups or baptismal fonts in churches,[717] and sarcophagi were transformed into troughs for fountains or door lintels, as well as simply being reused for new burials.[718] Less salubriously, funerary slabs were even recycled as toilet seats in Ostia (IV.iv.4).[719]

Inscriptions were sometimes transported over some distance for reuse, particularly by sea: funerary urns were carried off from Rome and Ostia during the mediaeval period, along with a variety of architectural fragments, to be reused in various churches along the Amalfi coastline.[720] This activity must post-date the foundation of Amalfi in 596, and probably belongs to the period after it became a maritime power during the ninth century, when Amalfi merchants were engaged in transporting art objects from the Arabic world to Rome. It seems likely that these funerary urns were then part of their cargo as they returned home. Several of the inscriptions on the urns were partially or wholly erased, suggesting that the texts were no longer of any relevance. In other contexts, however, notably at Pisa, inscriptions were deliberately reused and displayed in order to benefit from association with Rome.[721] The imperial monuments of Rome itself were extensively reused within the capital (for example in Constantine's building of Old St Peter's basilica and the Lateran palace and church),[722] but were also transported for reuse in neighbouring districts too: the mediaeval church of Santa Rufina in south Etruria incorporated several inscriptions, of which a fragment of the Arval *acta* can be definitely located to the outskirts of Rome in the grove at modern Magliana in its original context.[723] The majority of the other inscribed fragments found reused in this church are also likely to have been brought from Rome. This summons up the spectre of cartloads of stone being transported around the countryside for reuse in the early mediaeval period, and a similar picture emerges more surprisingly from the discovery of five Latin inscriptions and other cut stones reused in a remote mountainous location at Kasba des Aït Khalifa in Mauretania (modern Morocco), having been brought from Volubilis, roughly 90 km away.[724]

---

[713] *IRT2009* 95; Kenrick, *Excavations at Sabratha* (above, n.519) 114, 315–16.

[714] P. Lenzi, '"Sita in loco qui vocatur calcaria": attività di spoliazione e forni da calce a Ostia', *Archeologia Medievale* 25 (1998) 247–63.

[715] Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista* (above, n.600) ch. 8 on reuse. Narbonne: M. Greenhalgh, *Marble Past, Monumental Present: Building with Antiquities in the Mediaeval Mediteraneam* (2009: The Medieval Mediterranean 80: Brill: Leiden) 518–20. Lusitania: Edmondson, 'Funerary inscriptions and the development of local epigraphic cultures in Roman Lusitania' (above, n.81), at 463. On late-antique walls: Greenhalgh, *Marble Past, Monumental Present* (above) 51–2.

[716] Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista* (above, n.600) 70.

[717] *CIL* XI 570, in S. Maria di Monte Reale, Cesena.

[718] Sarcophagi are reused in different ways in the church of St Aphrodise, Béziers: J. Bromwich, *The Roman Remains of Southern France* (1993: Routledge: London) 62.

[719] C. Pavolini, *Ostia* (new edn, 2006: Guide Archeologiche Laterza: Rome) 198.

[720] D. Manacorda, 'Le urne di Amalfi non sono Amalfitane', *ArchCl* 31 (1979) 318–37, esp. 327–37; 'Amalfi: urne romane e commerci medioevali', in *ΑΠΑΡΧΑΙ: nuove ricerche e studi sulla Magna Grecia e la Sicilia antica in onore di Paolo Enrico Arias* II, eds. M. L. Gualandi, L. Massei, and S. Settis (1982: Giardini: Pisa) 713–52.

Discussion of inscriptions should be incorporated into wider debates concerning the nature of the reuse of ancient architectural materials (*spolia*) from late antiquity onwards.[725] Whilst some consider that the reuse of pieces of the Roman past reflected a desire to make meaningful connections to that past and to use *spolia* for reasons of triumphalism, religious appropriation, or aesthetic conservatism, others argue that reuse was simply a practical necessity, a measure to save money, a reflection of declining skill among craftsmen, who were no longer capable of emulating the elegant architecture of the past, and the result of the lack of manufacturing of new construction materials.[726] The Arch of Constantine at Rome is one of the most striking examples of such reuse, raising questions about the extent to which Constantine and his contemporaries were deliberately using the past in order to try to draw legitimacy from it.[727]

---

[721] G. Scalia, '"Romanitas" pisana tra XI e XII secolo', *Studi medievali* ser. 3.13 (1972) 791–843; S. Settis, 'Continuità, distanza, conoscenza: tre usi dell'antico', in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, vol. III, *Dalla tradizione all'archeologica*, ed. S. Settis (1986: Biblioteca di storia dell'arte n.s. 3: Einaudi:Turin) 373–486.

[722] Greenhalgh, *Marble Past, Monumental Present* (above, n.715) 52–5; R. T. Ridley, *The Eagle and the Spade: The Archaeology of Rome during the Napoleonic Era 1809–1814* (1992: Cambridge University Press) ch. 1, 'The protection and destruction of classical Rome before 1809'.

[723] J. Reynolds, 'Inscriptions', in N. Christie, ed., *Three South Etrurian Churches: Santa Cornelia, Santa Rufina and San Liberato* (1991: Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome 4: London) 301–7, at 301 no. 1.

[724] M. Euzennat, 'Annoceur (Kasba des Aït Khalifa), faux poste romain dans le Moyen Atlas', *BAMaroc* 4 (1960) 381–410, esp. 404–7.

[725] Coates-Stephens, 'Epigraphy as *spolia*' (above, n.712).

One of the main issues is the extent to which the changing religious landscape had an impact upon the treatment of inscriptions, as Christians decided how to respond to pagan monuments.[728] A variety of attitudes can be traced during the late fourth/fifth centuries, giving the impression of a lively debate on the question. Even within legislation a variety of attitudes can be found. Whereas some legislation required statues associated with pagan cult to be destroyed,[729] other regulations prescribed the preservation of the images of gods because of their value as works of art.[730] Consequently, in AD 382 Theodosius wrote to the governor of Osrhoene instructing him to keep a specific temple open as a sort of public art gallery.[731] This attitude is also found in Prudentius during the early fifth century: he urged his contemporaries to regard statues as works of art, and to maintain their decorative function by removing them from temples.[732] Elsewhere, the law code differentiated between the need to protect the sculptural decoration of temples and the necessity of destroying cult statues and altars.[733] Nevertheless, the actual practice of reuse was more complicated than this implies, since although the Christian reuse of 'pagan' spoils could be interpreted as reflecting a sense of religious triumphalism, the same could not be true of Christians reusing Christian materials.[734] In fact, behind much of the practice of reusing antiquities, non-Christian though they might be, lay a concern for urban regeneration. The practice of moving around statue bases in late antiquity was part of a reaction to concern about how to maintain the attractiveness of the urban environment, as reflected in legislation of the 320s–420s.[735] Inscriptions upon statue bases in Caesarea (modern Cherchel, North Africa) and various towns in Italy explicitly recorded the fact that they had been transferred 'from dirty places' (*de sordentibus locis*) or 'from hidden places' (*de abditis locis*).[736]

---

[726] R. Coates-Stephens, 'Attitudes to *spolia* in some late antique texts', in *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, eds. L. Lavan and W. Bowden (2003: Late Antique Archaeology 1: Brill: Leiden) 341–58.

[727] J. Elsner, 'From the culture of *spolia* to the cult of relics: the Arch of Constantine and the genesis of late antique forms', *PBSR* 68 (2000) 149–84.

[728] Coates-Stephens, 'Epigraphy as *spolia*' (above, n.712) 291–5; H. Saradi-Mendelovici, 'Christian attitudes toward pagan monuments in late antiquity and their legacy in later Byzantine centuries', *DOP* 44 (1990) 47–61.

[729] *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.19.1, AD 408.

[730] A. Anguissola, 'Note alla legislazione su spoglio e reimpiego di materiali da costruzione ed arredi architettonici, I sec. a.C. – VI sec. d.C.' and P. Cattani, 'La distruzione delle vestigia pagane nella legislazione imperiale tra IV e V secolo', both in *Senso delle rovine e riuso dell'antico*, ed. W. Cupperi (2002: Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, ser. IV quaderni 14: Pisa) 13–29, 31–44.

[731] *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.8.

[732] Prudent. *C. Symm.* 1.499–505; C. Lepelley, 'Le musée des statues divines: la volonté de sauvegarder le patrimoine artistique païen à l'époque théodosienne', *CahArch* 42 (1994) 5–15.

[733] *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.15, 16.10.19.2.

[734] Coates-Stephens, 'Attitudes to *spolia*' (above, n.726).

It would be a mistake to be too prescriptive in this matter: 'the Middle Ages present us with so many types of re-use that almost anything can be argued from them with conviction, ranging from triumphalism and religious appropriation to aesthetic conservatism'.[737] It is, therefore, important to judge individual cases on their own merits. In some cases, inscriptions were reused so as to remain invisible in their new contexts, such as the base of a holy-water stoup at S. Sergio in Urbino, which was supported by a cylindrical base inscribed with an epitaph, turned upside down and embedded beneath the paving level.[738] It is difficult to interpret this as more than simply a practical measure. Other instances of reuse show that inscriptions were still appreciated for their ornamental value, and were used to adorn the façades of buildings. The Casa dei Crescenzi (also known as the 'House of Cola di Rienzo') in Rome is an outstanding example of extensive reuse (though possibly not involving inscriptions): its twelfth-century builder, Nicolaus Crescentius, displayed on its façade an impressive array of architectural remains (both ancient and mediaeval copies), accompanied by a lengthy inscription in Latin: *Non fuit ignarus cuius domus hec Nicolaus quod nil momenti sibi mundi gloria sentit; verumquod fecit hanc non tam vana coegit gloria quam Romae veterem renovare decorum.* ('Nicholas, whose house this was, was not unaware that the glory of the world has no importance in itself; it was not vanity which motivated him to build this house, but the desire to restore the ancient dignity of Rome').[739] In cases such as these, however, one might suspect that the text of inscriptions was not important, and that they were reused by virtue of their properties as decorative monuments. One way of partially reconciling the contradictory picture of the practice of using *spolia* is perhaps to regard Rome as a special case, where the resonance of the imperial past was more difficult to ignore than in other cities.[740]

---

[735] J. Alchermes, '*Spolia* in Roman cities of the late empire: legislative rationales and architectural reuse', *DOP* 48 (1994) 167–78; Y. Janvier, *La législation du bas-empire romain sur les édifices publics* (1969: La Pensée Universitaire: Aix-en-Provence).

[736] *de sordentibus locis*: *CIL* VIII 20963, 20965, 21078–9, also *ex sordentibus locis* – *CIL* XIV 4721 (Ostia); *de abditis locis*: *CIL* X 3714 (Liternum), *CIL* IX 1563, 1588 (Beneventum); Lepelley, 'Le musée des statues divines' (above, n.732) 10–12; J. Curran, 'Moving statues in late antique Rome: problems of perspective', *Art History* 17.1 (1994) 46–58.

[737] Greenhalgh, *Marble Past, Monumental Present* (above, n.715) 67.

[738] G. Forni, 'Epigrafe funeraria da Urbino', *Epigraphica* 36 (1974) 231–4.

[739] C. E. Beneš, 'Mapping a Roman legend: the House of Cola di Rienzo from Piranesi to Baedeker', *Italian Culture* 26 (2008) 57–83 (whose translation of the inscription is used here); M. Barbanera and S. Pergola, 'Elementi architettonici antichi e post-antichi riutilizzati nella

It is, however, crucial to frame the discussion in the most profitable way, and this should mean abandoning an either/or framework that views ideology and pragmatism as two mutually exclusive ways of interpreting the reuse of inscriptions along with other types of building materials from late antiquity onwards. Of course, by the Renaissance, the classical past more obviously began to be charged with meaning, and an awareness of the relationship between past and present was explicitly articulated, as in the case of a funerary altar which was transformed into a Christian altar in the early sixteenth century by Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, future Pope Julius II (1503–13): *Eucharistiae / Iul(ianus) card(inalis) sax/um ex urbi/ca ruina re/lictum ob e/legantiam / erexit* (+) ('Cardinal Iulianus resurrected for communion (this) abandoned stone from the city's ruin because of its elegance').[741]

---

c.d. Casa dei Crescenzi: La "memoria dell'antico" nell'edilizia civile a Roma', *BullCom* 98 (1997) 301–28, with catalogue of architectural fragments.

[740] Greenhalgh, *Marble Past, Monumental Present* (above, n.715) esp. 43–50.

[741] Museo Nazionale Romano inv. 8578ter; Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista* (above, n.600) 72 n.86.

3 A technical guide to Latin epigraphy

3.1 Finding published inscriptions

The most extensive corpus of Latin inscriptions is the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*). Initiated by Theodor Mommsen in 1853, its first volume was published a decade later, and new parts of the corpus are still being prepared and published over 150 years later. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of Germany in 1989/90, *CIL* has been enjoying a period of renewed vigour, and has been based since 1994 at the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences.[1] From the start, it had the ambitious aim of publishing all Latin inscriptions, as an extension of the project initiated in 1815 by the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences for publishing all Greek classical inscriptions as *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum. CIL* did in fact succeed in publishing the vast majority of Latin inscriptions then known by the time of the outbreak of the First World War, and it now contains about 180 000 inscriptions in seventeen volumes, which together are made up of some seventy parts.[2] Latin is the editorial language used throughout. Although the volumes are basically arranged geographically, some gather together inscriptions of a particular type, such as milestones, whilst the first volume has a chronological focus. Within each volume, the inscriptions are arranged topographically, and then by theme and chronology (roughly, religious dedications, followed by imperial inscriptions, honorific texts, epitaphs). Each volume also includes information about the authors of earlier epigraphic publications and manuscripts, crucial for appreciating the ways in which records of inscriptions have been created over time (see further below, Subsection 3.2.5), and a digest of what was known about each region and town at the time of publication. Inscriptions whose authenticity is in doubt ('falsae') are included in a separate section, and are marked *

---

[1] G. Alföldy, 'De statu praesenti *Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum* et de laboribus futuris ad id pertinentibus', *Epigraphica* 57 (1995) 292–5; overview of the corpus in J. Bodel, ed., *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions* (2001: Routledge: London) 159–65. *CIL* project homepage: http://cil.bbaw.de/cil_en/index_en.html (last accessed Feb. 2011).

[2] M. G. Schmidt, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (2001: Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Berlin) 18.

(see further below, Subsection 3.3.2); added to them are inscriptions thought not to belong to the site where they have been found ('alienae').

Much of *CIL* was published in the nineteenth century, and although it often remains the most influential, and sometimes the sole, edition of many inscriptions, it is only with parts of *CIL* published since the 1990s that the standards of modern epigraphic publication are adequately met. Earlier volumes tend to include limited comment on individual inscriptions as physical objects, although the style of transcription, with majuscule lettering for extant letters and an indication where stones have been damaged, does consistently give an impression of relative letter sizes, of decorative features on the stone (such as the presence of sculpted reliefs), and of the state of preservation of fragmentary inscriptions. They also offer minimal historical analysis. Nevertheless, the project has often led the way in setting standards for epigraphic publication, producing firstly lithograph plates and latterly black-and-white photographs to illustrate inscriptions included in *CIL* I.[3] Even so, these illustrations focus upon the text and are not really concerned with the overall monumental appearance of each inscription. The lithograph plates in particular are of only limited use, since they run the risk of encouraging a false confidence in their accuracy, as can be seen by comparing the lithograph facsimile published in 1862 of the *lex parieti faciendo* from Puteoli with the actual stone.[4] Elsewhere, comments on lettering style – where they do appear – can be rather vague, such as 'tabella parva litteris bonis' ('small tablet with good lettering'),[5] 'urna eleganter sculpta' ('elegantly inscribed urn'),[6] and 'tabula marmorea litteris pessimis' ('marble tablet with very bad lettering').[7] Along with a lack of accurate information about the dimensions and monumental characteristics of inscriptions, this is a major drawback of earlier volumes of *CIL*. Some sort of general description is usually included, but this is not always accurate, and dimensions are not always stated: for example, in Oxford's Ashmolean Museum there is a white marble altar dedicated to Silvanus, which is misleadingly described in *CIL* as a 'basis marm.' ('marble base').[8] Mention should also be made of a hollow indentation where a fire can be kindled ('focus') on the altar's upper surface, a jug engraved in relief ('urceus') on its left side, and a libation-dish ('patera') on its right.

---

[3] F. Ritschl, ed., *Priscae latinitatis monumenta epigraphica ad archetyporum fidem exemplis lithographis repraesentata: Tabulae lithographae* (1862: Riemerum: Berlin); A. Hübner, ed., *Exempla scripturae epigraphicae Latinae a Caesaris dictatoris morte ad aetatem Iustiniani* (1885: G. Riemerum: Berlin); A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae: Imagines* (1965: De Gruyter: Berlin) = *Guide*^{4} nos. 1429–31.

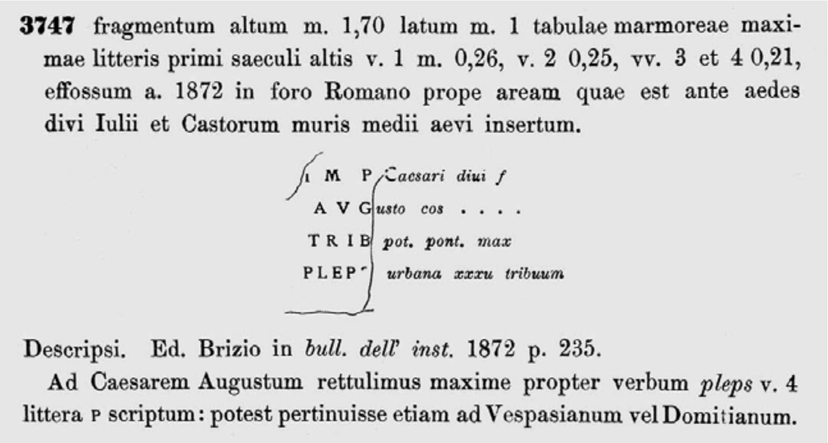
[4] *CIL* I^2 698, discussed by Bodel, *Epigraphic Evidence* (above, n.1) 53–5, with figs. 1.7–9.

[5] *CIL* VI 16385.

[6] *CIL* VI 17531.

[7] *CIL* VI 19144.

[8] *CIL* VI 630.



3747 fragmentum altum m. 1,70 latum m. 1 tabulae marmoreae maximae litteris primi saeculi altis v. 1 m. 0,26, v. 2 0,25, vv. 3 et 4 0,21, effossum a. 1872 in foro Romano prope aream quae est ante aedes divi Iulii et Castorum muris medii aevi insertum.

IM P *Caesari diui f*
A V G*usto cos . . . .*
T R I B *pot. pont. max*
PLEP *urbana xxxu tribuum*

Descripsi. Ed. Brizio in *bull. dell' inst.* 1872 p. 235.

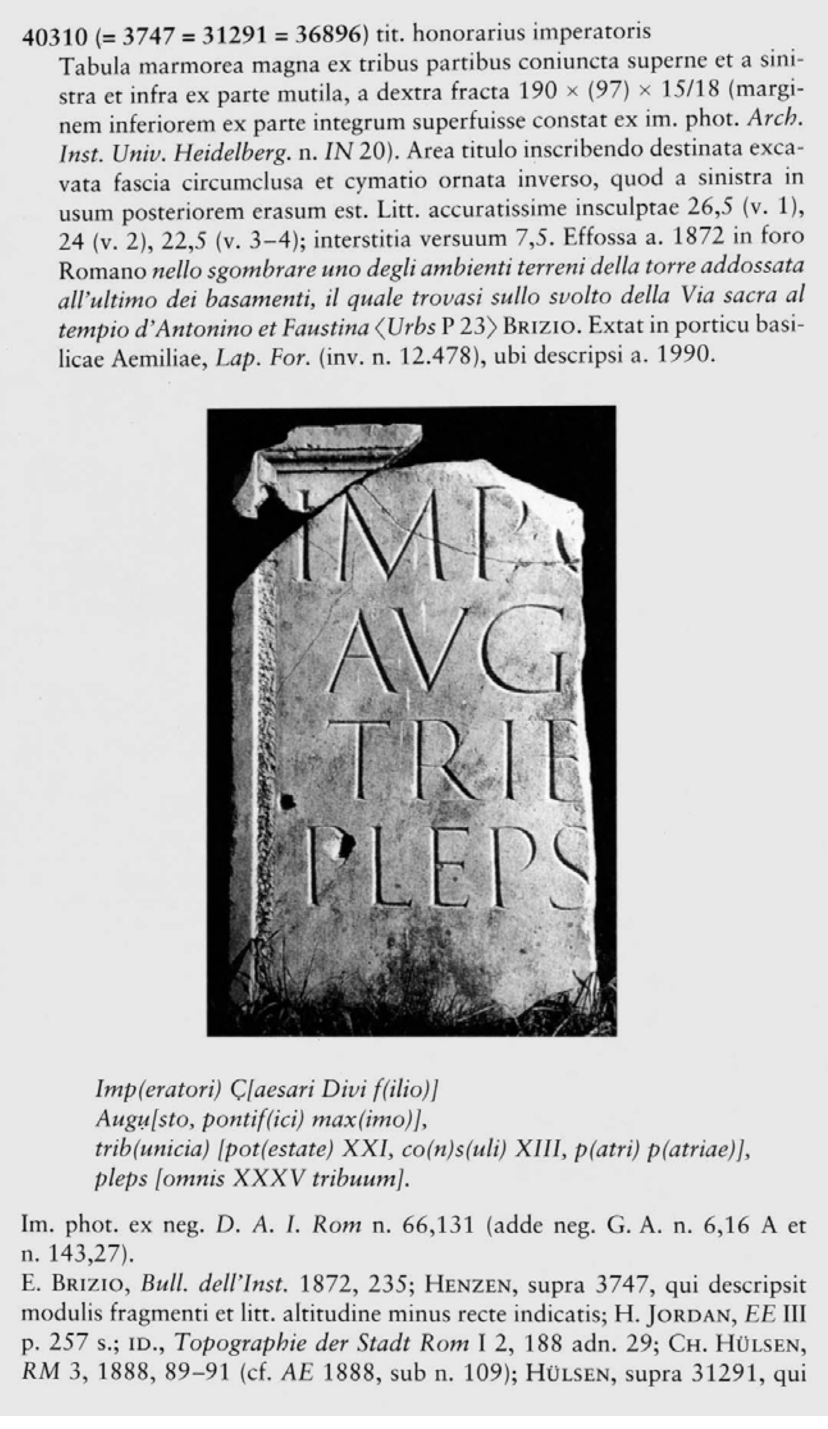
Ad Caesarem Augustum rettulimus maxime propter verbum *pleps* v. 4 littera P scriptum: potest pertinuisse etiam ad Vespasianum vel Domitianum.

Fig. 3.1 An inscription as described in the 1876 edition of *CIL* – *CIL* VI 3747 (1876)

The most recent fascicles of *CIL* VI adopt a new approach to transcribing their inscriptions, and publish photographs of the inscriptions (or, in the case of *CIL* II^2/V, II^2/VII, II^2/XIV, place them on microfiches) alongside minuscule transcriptions of their texts (which expand abbreviations and offer supplements that restore the text), and these photographs are being made available to researchers online (*CIL* II^2 in EDH, *CIL* VI in EDH and *Archivium Corporis Electronicum* – see further below). These latest fascicles set new standards for epigraphic publication, with full descriptions of the inscriptions and their findspots, and detailed historical analysis with bibliography.[9] This can best be illustrated by comparing the same inscription as originally published as *CIL* VI 3747 (1876) with its new edition in *CIL* VI/VIII, 2 40310 (1996) [Figs. 3.1–2]. The edition of the inscription in 1876 is brief, providing an overall impression of its monumental character and dimensions, a note on its findspot, a statement that the inscription is being edited on the basis of autopsy, together with an indication of its original publication in 1872, and ends with a brief comment on the possibility that the inscription could relate to Augustus, Vespasian, or Domitian. By contrast, the new edition of the same inscription in 1996 is much fuller (only part of the entry here in Fig. 3.2), giving a detailed description of the inscription's physical condition and findspot (quoting verbatim from the account of the inscription's discovery), providing a photograph accompanied by a

---

[9] S. Panciera *et al.*, 'Il monumento iscritto come punto d'incontro tra epigrafia, archeologia, paleografia e storia', *ScAnt* 13 (2006) 633–60, at 633–8 for reflections on changing attitudes to epigraphic publication.



40310 (= 3747 = 31291 = 36896) tit. honorarius imperatoris

Tabula marmorea magna ex tribus partibus coniuncta superne et a sinistra et infra ex parte mutila, a dextra fracta 190 × (97) × 15/18 (marginem inferiorem ex parte integrum superfuisse constat ex im. phot. *Arch. Inst. Univ. Heidelberg.* n. *IN* 20). Area titulo inscribendo destinata excavata fascia circumclusa et cymatio ornata inverso, quod a sinistra in usum posteriorem erasum est. Litt. accuratissime insculptae 26,5 (v. 1), 24 (v. 2), 22,5 (v. 3–4); interstitia versuum 7,5. Effossa a. 1872 in foro Romano *nello sgombrare uno degli ambienti terreni della torre addossata all'ultimo dei basamenti, il quale trovasi sullo svolto della Via sacra al tempio d'Antonino et Faustina* ⟨*Urbs* P 23⟩ Brizio. Extat in porticu basilicae Aemiliae, *Lap. For.* (inv. n. 12.478), ubi descripsi a. 1990.

Imp(eratori) Ç[aesari Divi f(ilio)]
Augụ[sto, pontif(ici) max(imo)],
trib(unicia) [pot(estate) XXI, co(n)s(uli) XIII, p(atri) p(atriae)],
pleps [omnis XXXV tribuum].

Im. phot. ex neg. *D. A. I. Rom* n. 66,131 (adde neg. G. A. n. 6,16 A et n. 143,27).

E. Brizio, *Bull. dell'Inst.* 1872, 235; Henzen, supra 3747, qui descripsit modulis fragmenti et litt. altitudine minus recte indicatis; H. Jordan, *EE* III p. 257 s.; id., *Topographie der Stadt Rom* I 2, 188 adn. 29; Ch. Hülsen, *RM* 3, 1888, 89–91 (cf. *AE* 1888, sub n. 109); Hülsen, supra 31291, qui

Fig. 3.2 The same inscription as described in the 1996 edition of *CIL* – *CIL* VI/VIII, 2 40310 (1996)

minuscule transcription, an annotation outlining the inscription's publication history (by now rather more extensive than in 1872), a commentary on how the fragmentary inscription might be restored, and an extensive historical and topographical analysis of the inscription's significance, with bibliographical references.

The task of providing indexes to *CIL* is almost as daunting as compiling the volumes themselves, and often indexes are published separately from the volume itself, sometimes several decades later. For example, the indexes for *CIL* XIII appeared only in 1943, more than forty years after the first fascicle of the volume had been published. The bibliographical compilation in *Guide de l'épigraphiste* offers essential orientation in this matter as in so many others, not least since some indexes have been published quite separately from *CIL*.[10] Other indexes are available on the *CIL* project website.[11] Some fascicles still remain without indexes.[12] As well as covering the actual content of inscriptions (typically personal names – *nomina*, *cognomina*; imperial names and titles; royalty; consuls and other dating formulae; magistrates and other headings relating to public administration; military units and offices, wars/expeditions, army buildings; religious topics such as names of gods, goddesses, festivals, priests, Christian formulae; *populus Romanus*, voting-tribes; provinces, towns and other forms of settlement, rivers; municipal matters; *collegia*; professions; opening lines of verse inscriptions), indexes also include epigraphic headings (such as abbreviations, noteworthy features of orthography, unusual grammatical forms and stonecutters' errors, *apices*), topographical indications of modern findspots, as well as a 'catch-all' section for anything interesting ('notabilia varia'). Increasingly, electronic resources are being put to good use: a CD-ROM *Epigraph: A Database of Roman Inscriptions* was produced by E. J. Jory in 1992. It contains two databases of the texts published in *CIL* VI between 1876 and 1933. The first is a plain-text version of the majuscule texts: consequently, searches need to take account of the potential presence of abbreviations and incompletely preserved words; the second is a full version of the raw data, including all of the encoding for epigraphical features such as letters that are damaged but certain, or restored, or doubtful. Finally, searchable online databases now offer a serious alternative solution to the problem of finding one's way in *CIL*.

---

[10] F. Bérard *et al.*, *Guide de l'épigraphiste: bibliographie choisie des épigraphies antiques et médiévales* (4th edn, 2010: Éditions Rue d'Ulm/ Presses de l'École Normale Supérieure: Paris). *Guide*^{4} no. 573 for indexes to *CIL* III, *Guide*^{4} nos. 839–40 for *CIL* XI.

[11] *CIL* indexes: http://cil.bbaw.de/dateien/indices.html (last accessed Feb. 2011): for *CIL* I^2/II, 4; *CIL* XVII/IV, 1.

[12] *CIL* IV Supplement III, *CIL* XIII/III and XIII/VI.

The internet is now one of the major resources available for finding published inscriptions. Recent years have seen the development of several invaluable online resources for Latin epigraphy. These online databases can be used simply to identify inscriptions, search for illustrations, and discover bibliographical information, but are also extremely useful for searching for linguistic parallels. The Berlin Academy has created the *Archivium Corporis Electronicum*, a searchable database providing access to images of inscriptions (photographs and paper impressions known as squeezes) published by *CIL* and other major corpora, along with updated bibliographical information.[13] The *Electronic Archive of Greek and Latin Epigraphy* (EAGLE) has as its aim the inclusion of all known Greek and Latin inscriptions dating from before the seventh century AD, in their best editions. It currently includes four major databases, which can be searched all together via the shared portal:[14]

- *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg* (EDH) includes Latin inscriptions from the provinces (excluding Sicily and Sardinia), and incorporates three databases: *Epigraphic Text Database* (over 56000 inscriptions by May 2009), the *Epigraphic Bibliography* (over 12000 entries by January 2009), and the *Photographic Database* (with information on the findspot and current location as well as bibliographical details). The database is not just concerned with inscriptions as texts, but also offers information on their monumental characteristics. Entries do not simply reproduce information from existing editions, but sometimes offer revised versions. Greek inscriptions from the Roman period have been added since 2004.[15]
- *Epigraphic Database Roma* (EDR) includes some 27355 inscriptions from Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia, which can be searched via a wide range of categories (not just by text, but also by ancient and modern location, category of monument or inscribed text, type of material or of writing, language use, social status of named individuals, date, and by bibliographical reference).[16]
- *Hispania Epigraphica Online* consists of 23293 inscriptions from the Iberian peninsula, which can be both searched and browsed as a whole

---

[13] *Archivium Corporis Electronicum*: http://cil.bbaw.de/dateien/datenbank.php (last accessed Feb. 2011).

[14] EAGLE: www.eagle-eagle.it/Italiano/portale_it.htm (last accessed Feb. 2011).

[15] EDH: www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh/index.html (last accessed Feb. 2011): *Guide*^{4} no. 509.

[16] EDR: www.edr-edr.it/Italiano/index_it.php (last accessed Feb. 2011): *Guide*^{4} no. 514.

via ‘table view’. It includes photographs and drawings of the inscriptions, dimensions and descriptions, and bibliographical references.[17]

- *Epigraphic Database Bari* (EDB) includes 26 164 Christian inscriptions from *ICUR*, 22 265 of them in Latin, with work still proceeding on adding to coverage of *ICUR* (see further below).[18]

The Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby (EDCS) also remains an extremely useful resource, not least since it provides by far the most extensive coverage of Latin epigraphy, claiming to include almost all known Latin inscriptions, with records for some 355 068 inscriptions from 18 600 places, including even very recent publications; the only major volumes unrepresented are *CIL* XV, *ICUR* I and VII, and *ILCV*.[19]

The other recent revolution in publishing and facilitating access to Latin inscriptions has been the creation of the EpiDoc initiative (Epigraphic Documents in Text Encoding Initiative eXtensive Markup Language: EpiDoc TEI XML).[20] This aims to develop standards and tools for the digital encoding and interchange of ancient texts by using the Extensible Markup Language (XML) and the conventions of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), and promotes international cooperation in the presentation, exchange, and integration of the work of different individuals and projects in publishing Latin inscriptions electronically. The first corpora (of Greek inscriptions), the result of the EpiDoc Aphrodisias pilot project,[21] have been published solely as digital editions – *ala2004* and *IAph 2007* – and the first major corpus of Latin inscriptions, from Tripolitania, has also been completed (*IRT2009*). This not only revisits the corpus of inscriptions from Tripolitania published by John Ward-Perkins and Joyce Reynolds in 1952, but makes available many photographs of the inscriptions from Ward-Perkins’ archive at the British School at Rome, and includes new translations by Joyce Reynolds, and maps by Hafed Walda.[22] In addition, there is a number of other projects currently being developed in conjunction with the EpiDoc project. The US Epigraphy Project provides information about inscriptions currently in collections in the USA. A list of these inscriptions (720 Greek,

---

[17] *Hispania Epigraphica Online*: www.eda-bea.es/ (last accessed Feb. 2011): *Guide*^{4} no. 530.

[18] EDB: www.edb.uniba.it/ (last accessed Feb. 2011): *Guide*^{4} no. 702.

[19] EDCS: www.manfredclauss.de (last accessed Feb. 2011): *Guide*^{4} no. 508.

[20] EpiDoc: http://epidoc.sourceforge.net/ (last accessed Feb. 2011).

[21] *ala2004*: http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004 (last accessed Feb. 2011): *Guide*^{4} no. 324; *IAph2007*: http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007 (last accessed Feb. 2011): *Guide*^{4} no. 326.

[22] J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, enhanced electronic reissue by Gabriel Bodard and Charlotte Roueché (2009) = *IRT2009*: http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/index.html (last accessed Feb. 2011).

1575 Latin) was published in 1997; this is also available in digital format online, updated and revised, and a database of Latin inscriptions marked up in EpiDoc XML is under development.[23] New EpiDoc epigraphic corpora are being prepared for Roman Cyrenaica (*IRCyr*), Latium Vetus, Albania, and the region on the north coast of the Black Sea (*IOSPE/ Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini*), as well as for archaic Latin inscriptions and the 'a nastro' (ribbon) inscriptions from the catacombs of Rome (epitaphs drawn with a pointed tool in fresh mortar).[24]

Despite the major achievement represented by *CIL*, the corpus still has some way to go, given that on a recent estimate it includes under half of all Latin inscriptions ever found (some 400 000 inscriptions), with in addition well over 1000 new inscriptions still being found annually.[25] Lesser mortals might simply give up with this prospect facing them, but the international teams of scholars working for *CIL* instead continue their Herculean labours. Second editions of *CIL* II and X as well as an entirely new volume – *CIL* XVIII – dedicated to verse inscriptions are in progress, and previews of this work may be found scattered in various places, by consulting *Année Épigraphique*, *Guide de l'épigraphiste* (4th edn, 2010), and the *Journal of Roman Studies* quinquennial survey article, 'Inscriptions and Roman studies'.[26] Supplements have been produced at a steady rate for other volumes, starting with *Ephemeris Epigraphica* (*EphEp*), published between 1872 and 1913.[27] As a result of the continual process of updating *CIL*, it can prove tricky to keep track of all the various re-editions of a particular inscription, especially for *CIL* VI. This problem has now been greatly alleviated by the publication of a two-volume internal concordance to the whole of *CIL*, including parts published up to 2000, along with some other related corpora (although it is puzzling why *CIL* VII is not cross-referenced to *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*).[28] Addenda and corrigenda to this concordance are available online, and, as new fascicles of *CIL* are published, the concordance will be kept up to date via PDF files made available on the *CIL* website.[29] In addition, this website provides links to concordances for inscriptions published in epigraphic works that pre-date *CIL*.

---

[23] J. Bodel and S. Tracy, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the USA: A Checklist* (1997: American Academy in Rome: New York); US Epigraphy Project: http://usepigraphy.brown.edu (last accessed Feb. 2011).

[24] EpiDoc projects: http://wiki.digitalclassicist.org/Category:EpiDoc (last accessed Feb. 2011).

[25] G. Alföldy, 'Il futuro dell'epigrafia', in *XI congresso internazionale di epigrafia greca e latina: Atti* I (1999: Quasar: Rome) 87–102, at 89, 90 n.10.

[26] Latest survey was published in 2007 by A. E. Cooley, S. Mitchell, and B. Salway.

[27] *Guide*^{4} no. 505.

[28] A. Fassbender, *Index numerorum: ein Findbuch zum Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (2003: De Gruyter: Berlin) = *AÉpigr* 2003, 7 (*Guide*^{4} no. 507).

In the meantime, local corpora often offer information on inscriptions that is more up to date than that to be found in *CIL*. Below are listed the major regional corpora that complement *CIL*; museum catalogues and thematic corpora are also important sources for up-to-date editions of inscriptions, and can be identified via *Guide de l'épigraphiste*, chs. 5–6.[30] There are various tools available for keeping up to date with the publication of new inscriptions, revised texts, and new interpretations of old ones. The periodical *Année Épigraphique* has since 1888 provided an annual digest of what has been published in a given year for new inscriptions (Greek and Latin) relating to the Roman world, and also increasingly has offered summaries of discussions based largely on epigraphic material, in addition to its usual records of new and re-edited inscriptions. Publication of the journal is usually a few years behind (for example, *AÉpigr* 2005 devoted to inscriptions published during the year 2005 appeared in August 2008), but with over 2 000 entries in each volume and with extensive thematic, geographical, and onomastic indexes, it is an indispensable means of finding one's way through the ever increasing numbers of publications. The quinquennial survey articles entitled 'Inscriptions and Roman Studies', published in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, aim to provide a flavour of some of the highpoints in epigraphic publications over a five-year period.[31] The last survey, published in 2007, covered the years 2001–5; the next one, in preparation for 2012, will cover 2006–10. It is also worth being aware that some journals tend to be particularly rich in epigraphic articles, notably *Chiron*, *Epigraphica*, *Tyche*, and *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, and quick to report new discoveries in specific provinces (for example, *Britannia* and *Hispania Epigraphica*). An efficient way of finding out about new publications is to consult the *Guide de l'épigraphiste*^{4} (annual supplements online are planned to resume in 2011).[32] An even speedier mode of keeping up to date is to subscribe to the ‘Current Epigraphy’ weblog, which includes reports on new publications and seminar papers.[33]

---

[29] *CIL* concordance: http://cil.bbaw.de/cil_en/dateien/konkordanz.html (last accessed Feb. 2011).

[30] The list of corpora below will be updated periodically on the section of the CUP website dedicated to this *Manual*, which may be found via www.cambridge.org/resources/.

[31] *Guide*^{4} no. 1333: *JRS* 1960 (1910–60), *JRS* 1966 (1961–5), *JRS* 1971 (1966–70), *JRS* 1976 (1971–5), *JRS* 1981 (1976–80), *JRS* 1986 (1981–5), *JRS* 1993 (1986–90), *JRS* 1997 (1991–5), *JRS* 2003 (1995–2000), *JRS* 2007 (2001–5); the next article for *JRS* 2012 (2006–10) is in press.

[32] Supplements will be posted at www.antiquite.ens.fr/publications/guide_fr.htm (last accessed Feb. 2011).

3.1.1 Guide to *CIL* and other corpora (* = in preparation)

- *CIL* I **From earliest times to death of Julius Caesar, 44 BC** (*Guide*^{4} nos. 515–16)
  - *CIL* I (1863); *CIL* I^2/I (1893), *Fasti consulares et triumphales, elogia, Fasti anni Iuliani* superseded by *InscrIt* XIII, 1–3 (*Guide*^{4} nos. 1034, 1038, 1195); *CIL* I^2/II, 1 (1918); *CIL* I^2/II, 2 (1931); *CIL* I^2/II, 3 (1943); *CIL* I^2/II, 4 (1986)
- *CIL* II **Iberian peninsula** (*Guide*^{4} nos. 527, 529)
  - *CIL* II (1869); *CIL* II Supplement (1892); *CIL* *II^2/IV – *Conventus Hispalensis*; *CIL* II^2/V – *Conventus Astigitanus* (1998); *CIL* II^2/VII – *Conventus Cordubensis* (1995); *CIL* *II^2/XII – *Conventus Caesaraugustanus*; *CIL* II^2/XIV, 1 – *Conventus Tarraconensis, pars meridionalis* (1995); *CIL* II^2/XIV, 2 (2011) – *Conventus Tarraconensis, pars media*
  - *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía* (*CILA*) (*Guide*^{4} no. 541): *CILA* I – Huelva (1989); *CILA* II – Sevilla (1991); *CILA* II,1 – La Vega (Hispalis) (1991); *CILA* II, 2 La Vega (Italica) (1991); *CILA* II, 3 – La Campiña (1996); *CILA* II, 4 – El Aljarafe, Sierra Norte, Sierra Sur (1996); *CILA* III (Jaén) (1991); *CILA* IV Granada (2002)
  - *Inscripciones romanas de Galicia* (*IRG*) (*Guide*^{4} no. 545): *IRG* 1 – Santiago de Compostela (1949); *IRG* 2 – Provincia de Lugo (1954); *IRG* 3 – Museo de Pontevedra (1955); *IRG* 4 – Provincia de Orense (1968)
  - *Corpus de inscricións romanas de Galicia* (*CIRG*) (*Guide*^{4} no. 546): *CIRG* 1 – Provincia de A Coruña (1991); *CIRG* 2 – Provincia de Pontevedra (1994)
  - *Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne* (*IRC*) (*Guide*^{4} no. 564): *IRC* 1 – Barcelone, except Barcino (1984); *IRC* 2 – Lérida (1985); *IRC* 3 – Gérone (1991); *IRC* 4 – Barcino (1997); *IRC* 5 – Supplements to vols. 1–4, *instrumentum domesticum* (2002)
  - *Inscripcions romanes del País Valencià* (*Guide*^{4} no. 562): I – Saguntum and territory (2002); II, 1 – L’Alt Palància, Edeba, Lesera and territories + II, 2 – Milestones of País (2005); III – Saetabis and territory (2nd edn, 2006); IV – Edeta and territory (2008); V – Valentia and territory (2009)

---

[33] Current Epigraphy blog: www.currentepigraphy.org/ (last accessed Feb. 2011).

- *CIL* III **Northern and eastern provinces** (*Guide*^{4} no. 571) (Noricum, Raetia, Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia, Thrace, Greece, Crete, Asia Minor, Syria, Judaea, Arabia, Cyrenaica, Egypt)
  - *CIL* III/I–II (1873); *CIL* III Supplements 1–2 (1902), crucial for re-editing inscriptions previously published; *CIL* *III^2/VI – Noricum; M. Šašel Kos, *Inscriptiones Latinae in Graecia repertae: Additamenta ad CIL III* (1979) (*Guide*^{4} no. 573)
  - *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae* (*ILBulg*) (*Guide*^{4} no. 577): *ILBulg* I, 2 – Inter Oescum et Iatrum (1989)
  - *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae* (*IScM*) (*Guide*^{4} no. 165): *IScM* II, 1 – Histria and neighbourhood (1983); *IScM* II, 2 – Tomis and territory; *IScM* II, 3 – Callatis and territory (1999); *IScM* II, 5 – Capidava, Troesmis, Noviodunum (1980)
  - *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae* (*IDR*) (*Guide*^{4} no. 582): *IDR* I, 1 – Prolegomena, Diplomas, Wax tablets (1975); *IDR* I, 2 – *Pars meridionalis* (1977); *IDR* I, 3: Dacia Superior – *IDR* I, 3/1 – *Pars occidentalis* (1977), *IDR* I, 3/2 – Ulpia Traiana Dacica (1980), *IDR* I, 3/3 – *Pars media* (1984), *IDR* I, 3/4 – *Pars occidentalis* (1988), *IDR* I, 3/5 – Apulum (2001), I, 3/6 – Apulum, *Instrumentum domesticum* (1999)
  - *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia . . . repertae et editae sunt* (*ILJug*) (*Guide*^{4} nos. 586–8)
  - *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure* (*IMS*) (*Guide*^{4} no. 589): *IMS* 1 – Singidunum and north-west (1976); *IMS* 2 – Viminacium and Margum (1986); *IMS* 3/2 – Timacum Minus and valley of Timok (1995); *IMS* 4 – Naissus, Remesiana, Horreum Margi (1979); *IMS* 6 – Scupi and region of Kumanovo (1982)
  - *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns* (*RIU*) (*Guide*^{4} nos. 595–6): *RIU* 1 – Savaria, Scarbantia, *Limes* to Flexum–Arrabona (1972); *RIU* 2 – Salla, Mogentiana, Mursella, Brigetio (1976); *RIU* 3 – Brigetio, *Limes* to bend in R. Danube (1981); *RIU* 4 – Area between R. Drau and *Limes* at Lussonium–Altinum (1984); *RIU* 5 – Intercisa (1991); *RIU* 6 – Aquincum territory, Civitas Eraviscorum, *Limes* from Matrica to Annamatia, territory of Gorsium (2001). Updated by P. Kovács, *Tituli Romani in Hungaria reperti: Supplementum* (2005)
  - *Inscriptionum lapidariarum Latinarum provinciae Norici* (*ILLPRON*) (*Guide*^{4} no. 606): indexes (1986–7)
  - *Inscriptiones Bavariae Romanae* (1915) (*Guide*^{4} no. 614)
  - *Corpus des inscriptions latines d'Albanie* (2009) (*Guide*^{4} no. 575) (digital edition in preparation)

- *CIL* IV **Vesuvian region: wall inscriptions, wax tablets, pots** (*Guide*⁴ no. 617)
  - *CIL* IV (1871); *CIL* IV Supplements: I – wax tablets (1898), II, III, 1–4 – on walls and pots (1909, 1952, 1955, 1963, 1970); *CIL* IV Supplement III, 5; *CIL* IV.Supplement IV, 1 (2011) Addenda et corrigenda. Images of painted inscriptions at Pompeii published as *Titulorum pictorum Pompeianorum*, eds. A. Varone and G. Stefani (2009) (*Guide*⁴ no. 618)
  - *Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum* (1999) (*TPSulp*) 'Murecine' archive (*Guide*⁴ no. 623)
- *CIL* V **Northern Italy: Augustan regions IX, X, XI** (*Guide*⁴ no. 624) (Cisalpine Gaul: Liguria; Venetia, Histria; Transpadana; Alps)
  - *CIL* V/I Region X (1872); *CIL* V/II Regions XI and IX (1877); *Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementa Italica* I (1884) (*Guide*⁴ no. 625)
  - Region IX: (*Guide*⁴ no. 654) *SupplIt* 2 (1983) – Vada Sabatia; *SupplIt* 3 (1987) + *SupplIt* 22 (2004) – Genua; *SupplIt* 4 (1989) – Albingaunum; *SupplIt* 6 (1990) + *SupplIt* 22 (2004) – Vallis Tanari Superior; *SupplIt* 8 (1991) – Carreum Pontentia; *SupplIt* 10 (1992) – Hasta, Albintimilium; *SupplIt* 12 (1994) – Industria; *SupplIt* 13 (1996) – Vardacate, Forum Germa[– – –], Pedona; *SupplIt* 17 (1999) – Forum Fulvii Valentia, Alba Pompeia; *SupplIt* 19 (2002) – Pollentia, Augusta Bagiennorum; *SupplIt* 22 (2004) – Forum Iulii Iriensium; *SupplIt* 24 (2009) – Hasta – Ager Hastensis
  - Region X: (*Guide*⁴ nos. 626–30, 642) *InscrIt* X, 1 – Pola et Nesactium (1947); *InscrIt* X, 2 – Parentium (1934); *InscrIt* X, 3 – Histria septentrionalis (1936); *InscrIt* X, 4 – Tergeste (1951); *InscrIt* X, 5 – Brixia (1984–6); *SupplIt* 4 (1989) + *SupplIt* 22 (2004) – Bellunum; *SupplIt* 5 (1989) + *SupplIt* 22 (2004) – Feltria; *SupplIt* 6 (1990) – Tridentum et Anauni; *SupplIt* 8 (1991) – Brixia et Benacenses, Sabini, Trumplini, Camunni; *SupplIt* 10 (1992) – Tergeste; *SupplIt* 11 (1993) – ager inter Benacum et Athesin; *SupplIt* 12 (1994) – Iulium Carnicum, Ausugum; *SupplIt* 15 (1997) – Ateste; *SupplIt* 16 (1998) – Forum Iulii; *SupplIt* 17 (1999) – Ferrara (*Guide*³ no. 547); *SupplIt* 24 (2009) – Tarvisium
  - Region XI: (*Guide*⁴ nos. 651–2, 646) *InscrIt* XI, 1 – Augusta Praetoria (1932); *InscrIt* XI, 2 – Eporedia (1931); *SupplIt* 9 (1992) + *SupplIt* 22 (2004) – Ticinum, Laumellum et vicinia; *SupplIt* 16 (1998) Bergomum, Forum Vibii Caburrum; *SupplIt* 19 (2001) – Vercellae and Inter Vercellas et Eporediam
- *CIL* VI **Rome** (*Guide*⁴ no. 658)

  - *CIL* VI/I – Religion, emperors, magistrates, priests, military (1876); *CIL* VI/II – *Columbaria*, craftsmen, funerary: A–Claudius (1882); *CIL* VI/III – Funerary: Claudius–Plotius (1886); *CIL* VI/IV, 1 – Funerary: Plotia–Zozon (1894); *CIL* VI/IV, 2 – *Additamenta* (1902); *CIL* VI/IV, 3 – *Additamentorum auctarium* (1933); *CIL* VI/V – Forgeries (1885); *CIL* VI/VI, 1–2 – Indexes of *nomina* and *cognomina* (1926, 1980); *CIL* VI/VI, 3 – Index of irregular word forms (2006); *CIL* *VI/VI, 4 – Topographical index; *CIL* VI/VII, 1–7 – Indexes of key words (1974–5, 1989); *CIL* *VI/VIII, 1 – nos. 39431–39800 + sacred inscriptions, curse tablets; *CIL* VI/VIII, 2 – Imperial family (1996); *CIL* VI/VIII, 3 – Senatorial and equestrian magistrates (2000); *CIL* *VI/VIII, 4 – Flavian amphitheatre, royalty, minor officials; *CIL* *VI/VIII, 8 – Funerary
  - *Supplementa Italica Imagines: supplementi fotografici ai volumi italiani del CIL – Roma (CIL, VI)* (*Guide*^{4} no. 659): 1 – *Musei capitolini* (1999); 2 – *Musei Vaticani*, I + *Antiquarium Comunale del Celio* (2003) (*Guide*^{3} Suppl. 4); 3 – *Collezioni fiorentine* (2008)
- *CIL* VII **Britain** (*Guide*^{4} no. 706)
  - Published in 1873, this volume of *CIL* has been superseded by *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (*RIB*) (*Guide*^{4} no. 708): *RIB* I, 1–2 – Inscriptions on stone + indexes (2nd edn, 1995); *RIB* II – *Instrumentum domesticum; RIB* III – Inscriptions on stone, 1955–2006 (2009)
  - *The Vindolanda Writing-Tablets* II–III (1994, 2003) (*Tab. Vindol.* – *Guide*^{4} no. 1245), with Vindolanda Tablets Online http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/
- *CIL* VIII **North Africa** (*Guide*^{4} no. 713) (Mauretaniae Tingitana, Caesariensis, Sitifensis; Numidia; Africa Proconsularis)
  - *CIL* VIII/I–II – Africa Proconsularis, Numidia; Mauretaniae (1881), substantially revised in a series of supplements: *CIL* VIII Supplement I – Africa Proconsularis (1891); *CIL* VIII Supplement II – Numidia (1894); *CIL* VIII Supplement III – Mauretaniae, milestones, *instrumentum*, (1904); *CIL* VIII Supplement IV – Africa Proconsularis (1916); *CIL* VIII Supplement V Indexes – 1, *Nomina* and *cognomina* (1942), 2, Imperial family, royalty, consuls, public honours, army, sacred (1955), 3, Roman people, tribes, provinces, states (1959)
  - *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique* (1923) (*ILAfr*) (*Guide*^{4} no. 714)
  - *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (1952) (*IRT*) (*Guide*^{4} nos. 719–21), with enhanced digital edition online at http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/ (2009)
  - *Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie* (1944) (*ILTun*) (*Guide*^{4} no. 725)

  - *Inscriptions of Roman Cyrenaica* – digital edition in preparation http://ircyr.kcl.ac.uk/
  - *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie* (*ILAlg*) (*Guide*^{4} no. 745): *ILAlg* I – Proconsularis (1922); *ILAlg* II – Cirtean Confederation, Cuicul, Suburburan tribe; *ILAlg* II/1 – Rusicade, Cirta, Castellum Celtianum, Caldis, Castellum Tidditanorum (1957); *ILAlg* II/2 – between Cirta and Thibilis, Thibilis, from Civitas Nattabutum to Tigisis, area to south of Gadiaufala, Tigisis, and Sigus, Sigus and its surrounds, Sila and its surrounds (1976); *ILAlg* II/3 – Saddar, Castellum Subzvaritanum et gens Suburburum colonorum, colonia Cuiculitanorum, between Cuicul and Milev, Milev and surrounds, Uzelis and surrounds, Castellum Arsacalitanum and environs, Castellum Phuensium and surrounds, Castellum Mastarense and surrounds (2003)
  - *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc* (*IAM*) (1982) (*Guide*^{4} nos. 766–7): 2 – *Inscriptions latines* (1982); 2 – *Inscriptions latines supplément* (2003)
- *CIL* IX **South-eastern Italy: Augustan regions II, IV, V** (*Guide*^{4} no. 772) (Calabria, Apulia, Samnium, Sabinum, Picenum)
  - *CIL* IX (1883); *CIL* *IX Suppl. 1 – Region IV
  - Region II: (*Guide*^{4} no. 774) *SupplIt* 5 (1989) – Rubi; *SupplIt* 8 (1991) – Barium; *SupplIt* 11 (1993) + *SupplIt* 23 (2007) – Gnathia; *SupplIt* 20 (2003) – Venusia; *SupplIt* 23 (2007) – Butuntum; *SupplIt* 24 (2009) – Sipontium
  - Region IV: (*Guide*^{4} no. 788) *SupplIt* 2 (1983) + *SupplIt* 22 (2004) – Histonium, Teate Marrucinorum; *SupplIt* 3 (1987) + *SupplIt* 22 (2004) – Corfinium; *SupplIt* 4 (1989) + *SupplIt* 22 (2004) – Sulmo, Trebula Suffenas; *SupplIt* 5 (1989) + *SupplIt* 22 (2004) – Superaequum, Forum Novum; *SupplIt* 8 (1991) + *SupplIt* 22 (2004) – Aufidena; *SupplIt* 9 (1992) – Amiternum; *SupplIt* 13 (1996) – Nursia; *SupplIt* 18 (2000) – Reate, Ager Reatinus; *SupplIt* 24 (2009) – Forum Novum
  - Region V: (*Guide*^{4} no. 799) *SupplIt* 6 (1990) + *SupplIt* 22 (2004) – Cingulum; *SupplIt* 8 (1991) + *SupplIt* 22 (2004) – S. Vittore di Cingoli; *SupplIt* 11 (1993) – Tolentinum; *SupplIt* 13 (1996) – Septempeda; *SupplIt* 18 (2000) – Trea; *SupplIt* 23 (2007) – Firmum Picenum, Potentia; *SupplIt* 24 (2009) – Picenum, Pausulae
- *CIL* X **South-western Italy: Augustan regions I, III + Sicily, Sardinia** (*Guide*^{4} no. 804) (Bruttium, Lucania, Campania, Latium adiectum; Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica)

  - *CIL* X/I – Bruttium, Lucania, Campania, *CIL* X/II – Sicily, Sardinia, Indexes (1883); *CIL* *X^2.
  - Region I (*Guide*^{4} nos. 810–11): *SupplIt* 1 (1981) – Ferentinum; *SupplIt* 2 (1983) – Velitrae; *SupplIt* 6 (1990) – Setia; *SupplIt* 16 (1998) – Aletrium; *InscrIt* I, 1 – Salernum (1981)
  - Region III (*Guide*^{4} nos. 805, 808): *SupplIt* 3 (1987) – Locri, Tegianum, Cosilinum, Atina, Volcei, Eburum; *SupplIt* 5 (1989) – Regium Iulium; *InscrIt* III, 1 – Civitates vallium Silari et Tanagri (1974)
  - Sardinia: *Iscrizioni latine della Sardegna* (1961–8) (*Guide*^{4} no. 834)
- *CIL* XI **Central and Northern Italy: Augustan regions VI, VII, VIII** (*Guide*^{4} no. 838) (Umbria, Aemilia, Etruria)
  - *CIL* XI/I – Aemilia, Etruria (1888); *CIL* *XI Supplement – Etruria; *CIL* XI/II, 1 – Umbria, *instrumentum* (1901); *CIL* XI/II, 2 – Addenda, indexes of *nomina*, *cognomina*, emperors (1926); further indexes published in *Studi Romagnoli* and *Epigraphica* (*Guide*^{4} nos. 839–40).
  - Region VI (*Guide*^{4} no. 852): *SupplIt* 1 (1981) – Pisaurum; *SupplIt* 6 (1990) + *SupplIt* 22 (2004) – Camerinum; *SupplIt* 11 (1993) – Mevaniola; *SupplIt* 12 (1994) – Attidium; *SupplIt* 18 (2000) – Ameria, Suasa; *SupplIt* 19 (2002) – Interamna Nahars; *Suppl.* 23 (2007) – Asisium, Matilica
  - Region VII (*Guide*^{4} nos. 847, 850): *SupplIt* 1 (1981) – Falerii Novi; *SupplIt* 16 (1998) – Rusellae; *InscrIt* VII, 1 – Pisae (1953)
  - Region VIII (*Guide*^{4} no. 841): *SupplIt* 8 (1991) – Caesena; *SupplIt* 10 (1992) – Forum Popili, Forum Livi; *SupplIt* 11 (1993) – Parma
- *CIL* XII **Gallia Narbonensis + western Alps** (*Guide*^{4} no. 860)
  - *CIL* XII (1888)
  - *Inscriptions latines de Gaule (Narbonnaise)* (*ILGN*) (*Guide*^{4} no. 861)
  - *Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise* (*ILN*) (*Guide*^{4} no. 863): *ILN* 1 – Fréjus (1985); *ILN* 2 – Antibes, Riez, Digne (1992); *ILN* 3 – Aix-en-Provence (1995); *ILN* 4 – Apt (1997); *ILN* 5 – Vienne (2004/5)
  - *Inscriptions Latines des Alpes* 1 – *Alpes Graies* (1998) (*ILAlpes* – *Guide*^{4} no. 867)
- *CIL* XIII **Three Gauls and Two Germanies** (*Guide*^{4} no. 882) (Aquitania, Lugdunensis, Belgica + Germania Inferior and Superior)
  - *CIL* XIII/I, 1 – Aquitania, Lugdunensis (1899), *CIL* XIII/I, 2 – Belgica (1904), *CIL* XIII/II, 1 – Upper Germania (1905), *CIL* XIII/II, 2 – Lower Germania, milestones (1907), *CIL* *XIII/II Supplement – Germanies, *CIL* XIII/III – *Instrumentum domesticum*: 1, lamps, *amphorae*, pottery and clay objects (1901), 2, pottery, oculists' stamps (1906), *CIL*

  XIII/IV – Addenda (1916), *CIL* XIII/V Indexes (1943), *CIL* XIII/VI – Stamps on clay objects (1933)
  - *Inscriptions latines des Trois Gaules* (1963) (*ILTG*) (*Guide*^{4} no. 883)
  - *Inscriptions latines d'Aquitaine* (*ILA*) (*Guide*^{4} no. 893): *ILA* 1 – Nitiobroges (1991); *ILA* 2 – Santons (1994); *ILA* 3 – Vellaves (1995); *ILA* 4 – Arvernes (1996); *ILA* 5 – Lectoure (2000); *ILA* 6 – Pétrucores (2001); *ILA* 7 – Bordeaux (2010)
  - *Nouveau recueil des inscriptions latines de Belgique* (*ILB*^{2}) (2002) (*Guide*^{4} no. 908)
  - *Inscriptiones Latinae Galliae Belgicae* (*ILGB*): *ILGB* 1 – Lingones (2003) (*Guide*^{4} no. 915)
- *CIL* XIV **Italy, Region I: Latium vetus** (*Guide*^{4} no. 928)
  - *CIL* XIV (1887), *CIL* XIV – Supplement, Ostia (1930), *CIL* XIV – Supplement, Ostia – topographical indexes (1933), *CIL* *XIV – Supplement, Latium vetus (excluding Ostia).
  - *InscrIt* IV, 1 – Tibur (1952) (*Guide*^{4} no. 797)
  - *Supplementa Italica Imagines: Supplementi fotografici ai volumi italiani del CIL. Latium Vetus 1 (CIL, XIV; Eph. Epigr., VII e IX): Latium Vetus Praeter Ostiam* (2005) (*Guide*^{4} no. 930)
- *CIL* XV **Rome, *Instrumentum domesticum*** (*Guide*^{4} no. 936)
  - *CIL* XV/I – brick-stamps, tile-stamps, large clay objects (1891), *CIL* XV/II, 1 – *amphorae*, pottery, lamps, glass and metal objects (1899), *CIL* XV/II, 2 – seals, gems, rings (1975). See also H. Bloch, *Supplement to Volume XV, 1 of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Including Complete Indices to the Roman Brick-Stamps* (1948) (*Guide*^{4} nos. 937–8); E. M. Steinby, *Indici complementari ai bolli doliari urbani (CIL*, XV, 1) (1987) (*Guide*^{4} no. 943)
  - J. Suolahti and E. M. Steinby, *Lateres signati Ostienses* (1977–8) (*Guide*^{4} no. 942)
- *CIL* XVI **Military diplomas** (*Guide*^{4} no. 949)
  - *CIL* XVI (1936); *CIL* XVI Supplement (1955).
  - New finds since 1954 published in *Roman Military Diplomas* I–V (1978, 1985, 1994, 2003, 2006) (*RMD*) (*Guide*^{4} no. 950)
- *CIL* XVII **Milestones** (*Guide*^{4} no. 952)
  - *CIL* XVII/II – Narbonensis, Three Gauls and Two Germanies (1986); *CIL* XVII/IV, 1 – Raetia, Noricum (2005); *CIL* *XVII/IV, 2 – Pannonia, Moesia, Thrace
- **CIL* XVIII **Verse inscriptions (*Carmina Latina Epigraphica*)**
  - *CIL* *XVIII/1 – Rome; *XVIII/2 – Hispaniae; *XVIII/4 – Italy; *XVIII/5 – Africa

3.1.2 Major corpora of Christian inscriptions

Various specialist corpora cover Christian inscriptions, alongside the digital database being developed at Bari.[34]

- *ICUR – Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, 3 vols. (1857–1915) (*Guide*^{4} no. 697)
- *ICUR* n.s. – *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae: Nova series* (*Guide*^{4} no. 698). Ten volumes published, containing over 40 000 inscriptions, arranged topographically, by cemetery
- *Sylloge inscriptionum christianarum veterum Musei Vaticani* (1963) (*Guide*^{4} no. 703). Supplements *ICUR* for inscriptions in the Vatican Lapidary Gallery.
- *ICI* – *Inscriptiones christianae Italiae septimo saeculo antiquiores* (*Guide*^{4} no. 513)
    - *ICI* 1 – Regio VII: Volsinii (1985) (*Guide*^{4} no. 848)
    - *ICI* 2 – Regio VII: Centumcellae (1985) (*Guide*^{4} no. 848)
    - *ICI* 3 – Regio IV: Cluviae, Interpromium, Sulmo, Corfinium, Superaequum, Peltuinum, Aveia, Marruvium, Supinum Vicus, Alba Fucens, Carsioli, Amiternum, Interocrium (1986) (*Guide*^{4} no. 789)
    - *ICI* 4 – Regio VII: Ager Capenas (1986) (*Guide*^{4} no. 848)
    - *ICI* 5 – Regio III: Regium Iulium, Locri, Taurianum, Trapeia, Vibo Valentia, Copia-Thurii, Blanda Iulia (1987) (*Guide*^{4} no. 806)
    - *ICI* 6 – Regio VI: Umbria (1989) (*Guide*^{4} no. 853)
    - *ICI* 7 – Regio IX: Dertona, Libarna, Forum Iulii Iriensium (1990) (*Guide*^{4} no. 655)
    - *ICI* 8 – Regio II: Hirpini (1993) (*Guide*^{4} no. 775)
    - *ICI* 9 – Regio IX: Liguria reliqua, trans et cis Appeninum (1995) (*Guide*^{4} no. 656)
    - *ICI* 10 – Regio V: Picenum (1995) (*Guide*^{4} no. 800)
    - *ICI* 11 – Regio VII: Clusium (2003) (*Guide*^{4} no. 848)
    - *ICI* 12 – Regio X: Milan (2009) (*Guide*^{4} no. 647)
- *Monumenta Epigraphica Christiana* (1943) (photographs, with brief descriptions, but no transcriptions; chronological and topographical indexes) (*Guide*^{4} no. 1432)
    - I, 1 – Roma

---

[34] Survey of Christian corpora in D. Mazzoleni, 'L'epigrafia cristiana in Occidente: bilanci e prospettive', in *Epigrafi del mondo cristiano antico* (2002: Lateran University: Rome) 21–8 (repr. from *La documentation patristique: bilan et prospective*, eds. J. C. Fredouille and R.-M. Roberge (1995: Presses de l'Université Laval/Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne: Laval/Paris) 107–15).

  - II, 1 – Mediolanum; II, 2 – Comum; II, 3 – Papia
  - III, 1 – Lucca
  - IV, 1 – Neapolis; IV, 2 – Beneventum
- Iberian peninsula
  - *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae* (1871) (*Guide*^{4} no. 532)
  - *Inscriptionum Hispaniae Christianarum Supplementum* (1900) (*Guide*^{4} no. 532)
  - *Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda* (2nd edn, 1969) (*Guide*^{4} no. 533)
- Britain
  - *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae* (1876) (*Guide*^{4} no. 710)
- Gauls and Germanies
  - *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII*^{e} *siècle* (*Guide*^{4} no. 888): 1 – Provinces Gallicanes (1856); 2. Les sept provinces (1865)
  - *Nouveau recueil d'inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule* (1892) (*Guide*^{4} no. 889)
  - *RICG – Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la renaissance carolingienne* (includes extensive introductory sections covering topographical, material, linguistic, and onomastic topics): *RICG* 1 – Première Belgique (1975) (*Guide*^{4} no. 890); *RICG* 8 – Aquitaine première (1997) (*Guide*^{4} no. 890); *RICG* 15 – Viennoise du Nord (1985) (*Guide*^{4} no. 864)
  - *CIMAH – Corpus inscriptionum medii aevi Helvetiae: die frühchristlichen und mittelalterlichen Inschriften der Schweiz*, 5 vols. (1977–97) (*Guide*^{4} no. 892)
- North Africa
  - *ICKarth – Les inscriptions funéraires chrétiennes de Carthage*, 3 vols. (1975, 1982, 1991) (*Guide*^{4} no. 738)

Alongside these corpora which tend to be organized topographically, it is often helpful to consult major selections of Latin inscriptions and other collections that are arranged thematically. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (*ILS*) remains the most comprehensive selection of Latin inscriptions, with chapters gathering together inscriptions relating to the Republic, different social and professional groups, the army, religion, games, public buildings, municipal affairs, funerary inscriptions, *instrumentum*.[35] It has comprehensive indexes, and a concordance with *CIL*. *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae* (*ILLRP*) provides more detailed coverage for the period of the Republic.[36] Christian inscriptions are assembled in the four volumes of *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres* (*ILCV*), again arranged thematically. Volume 1, for example, is divided into two parts, with Part One presenting Christian inscriptions that relate to a Roman context, and Part Two assembling inscriptions that belong fully in a Christian milieu. In Part One, chapter headings include various social and professional groups, the military, building-inscriptions, acclamations, and *instrumentum domesticum*; chapters in Part Two gather together inscriptions relating to particular Christian groups and rituals, building-inscriptions, prayers, martyrs, and the scriptures. Volume 3 contains extensive indexes. Volume 4 is a later supplement, which includes corrections to the earlier volumes, along with concordances to the major corpora. Finally, a further volume of revisions (1981) completes the work.[37]

---

[35] *ILS* – *Guide*^{4} no. 49. The book has also been digitized by Google from the library of the University of Michigan and uploaded to the Internet Archive: www.archive.org/details/inscriptionesla01dessgoog (last accessed Feb. 2011) – 'flip book beta' view provides access to the scanned pages, which you can either browse through or select a particular page to view.

Other collections are more narrowly focused, and vary in approach: some offer the most up-to-date editions with photographs, together with more detailed commentaries on individual texts than the major corpora, whilst others present bare texts with little comment. They vary from collections of documents organized by emperors (four volumes covering Augustus to Hadrian) to a wide-ranging set of volumes dealing with oriental religions in the Roman world (*EPRO*), and specialist corpora dealing with legal texts (*FIRA*^{2}, *RS*), inscribed monuments relevant to gladiatorial games in the western parts of the empire (*EAOR*), and verse inscriptions (*CLE*).[38] Other thematic collections may be identified via *Guide de l'épigraphiste*.

Finally, students who have little or no knowledge of Latin can still gain access to a rich selection of inscriptions in translation. The market for sourcebooks is gradually expanding, with varied coverage of aspects of political, cultural, and social history provided by the series Routledge Sourcebooks for the Ancient World, and by LACTORs.[39] These generally deal not only with inscriptions, but with other types of textual evidence too. Students who use inscriptions in translation need to be especially attentive in looking out for square brackets, which indicate words that have not survived on the original inscription, but that have been supplied by the translator; that this is not of concern only to users of inscriptions in translation, the following section will demonstrate.

---

[36] *ILLRP* – *Guide*^{4} no. 517.

[37] *ILCV* – *Guide*^{4} nos. 52–3.

[38] V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones: Augustus and Tiberius (1976), E. M. Smallwood: Gaius, Claudius, and Nero (1984), M. McCrum and A. G. Woodhead: Flavians (1961), E. M. Smallwood: Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian (1966) = *Guide*^{4} nos. 1022–5; *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain*, *EPRO* = *Guide*^{4} no. 2946; *Fontes iuris Romani anteiustiniani*, *FIRA*^{2} = *Guide*^{4} no. 1075, *Roman Statutes*, *RS* = *Guide*^{4} no. 1080; *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano*, *EAOR* = *Guide*^{4} no. 1139; *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (1895–7) = *Guide*^{4} no. 1221.

[39] Routledge sourcebooks: www.routledge.com/books/series/routledge_sourcebooks_for_the_ancient_world_RSAW/ (last accessed Feb. 2011); LACTOR series: www.lactor.kcl.ac.uk/ (last accessed Feb. 2011).

3.2 Reading an epigraphic publication

3.2.1 How to use *CIL*

Anyone who wants to study Latin inscriptions will sooner or later have to open the pages of a volume of *CIL*.[40] Since this can be quite a daunting experience, this section is designed to help a new user of the volumes understand the densely packed information that accompanies the transcriptions of the texts. This information is vital for assessing the reliability of those transcriptions and for considering the inscription not just as a text but also as a physical object. It is important to be able to ascertain whether an editor is publishing an inscription which he himself has seen, or whether he is reliant upon the testimony of others or upon a squeeze. This crucial information is encoded in the following way:

- ***descripsi:*** I have seen and drawn up an entry for a previously unpublished inscription
- ***contuli:*** I have checked an already published inscription by autopsy
- ***contuli quae supersunt:*** I have checked by autopsy what remains of an already published inscription
- ***recognovi:*** I have corrected some minor errors in a previously published inscription
- ***recognovi et emendavi***: I have corrected some serious errors in a previously published inscription
- ***recognovi, quantum potui emendavi:*** I have corrected a previously published inscription as far as what has been poorly preserved allows
- ***frustra quaesivi***: I have not been able to locate the inscription
- ***ex ectypo:*** from a squeeze

---

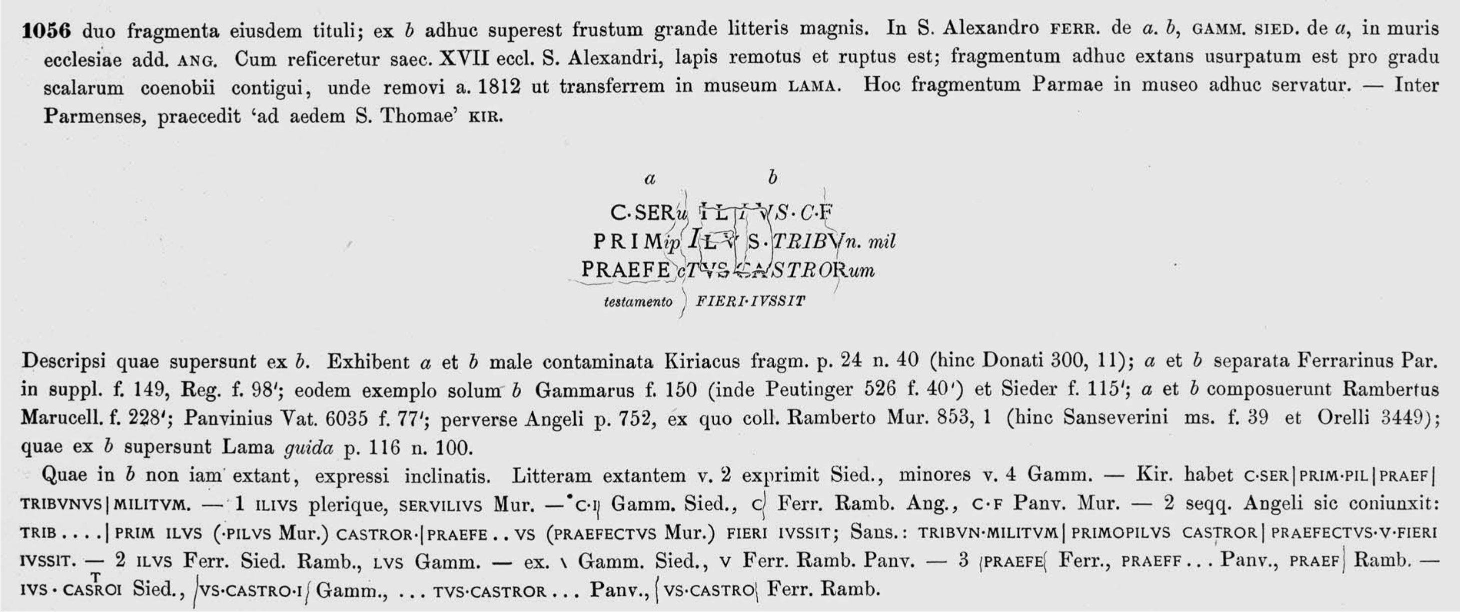
[40] See also I. Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista: guida alla schedatura del materiale epigrafico lapideo* (1987: Vetera 1: Quasar: Rome) 36–8.

64 An inscription from Parma: Fig. 3.3

CIL XI 1056

The entry begins with a vague description of the monument ('two fragments of the same inscription; a large chunk of *b* with big letters is still extant'). It then proceeds to give an account of where the inscription has been seen by various individuals, ending with its transfer into the local museum in 1812, where fragment *b* still remains. The transcription of the text then follows: majuscule letters indicate surviving text; italicized minuscule letters indicate editorial supplements; italicized majuscule letters represent letters no longer extant, but recorded by earlier sources. Relative letter sizes are indicated, as is the fragmentary state of the stone, and individual damaged letters. The editor then states that he has recorded what remains of fragment *b* from autopsy (*descripsi quae supersunt ex* b), and lists previous accounts of the inscription. Finally, there is an apparatus criticus, listing variant readings of the text. There is no historical commentary or attempt to date the inscription. In order to assess the reliability of the variant readings, we need to consult the introductory section to the inscriptions of Parma as a whole, where the editor comments on the chronology, relationship, and reliability of the various authors mentioned in this individual entry in abbreviated format. For example, it reveals that the first to record the inscription, Cyriac of Ancona, saw the inscription himself whilst on a journey through Parma in October 1442. By contrast, Panvinio (= Panv.) offers a version of the inscription that is entirely derivative from previous accounts of it: consequently, we might rightly suspect his mistaken reading PRAEFF in l.3. By contrast, the publication of the surviving fragment in *SupplIt* 11 (1993) no. 3 includes more detailed analysis of the inscription's appearance (including dimensions) and a photograph of it, and provides references to secondary bibliography that help to contextualize the career of this military officer. It also records the inscription's inventory number, information necessary for relocating the inscription in the museum's storerooms.

As the above example shows, an entry typically starts with a physical description of the inscribed object. Until recently, such a description was extremely brief; occasionally it is not even accurate (p. 328, above). The latest fascicles of *CIL*, by contrast, provide exemplary, full information relating to the type of monument, style of lettering, and dimensions both of the overall object and of the letters themselves. In addition, the entry gives information about the findspot of an inscription, when known (*s(ine) l(oco)* indicating that no topographical information was given in the first publication), and about the history of where the inscription has travelled, detailing the stages



1056 duo fragmenta eiusdem tituli; ex *b* adhuc superest frustum grande litteris magnis. In S. Alexandro FERR. de *a*. *b*, GAMM. SIED. de *a*, in muris ecclesiae add. ANG. Cum reficeretur saec. XVII eccl. S. Alexandri, lapis remotus et ruptus est; fragmentum adhuc extans usurpatum est pro gradu scalarum coenobii contigui, unde removi a. 1812 ut transferrem in museum LAMA. Hoc fragmentum Parmae in museo adhuc servatur. — Inter Parmenses, praecedit ‘ad aedem S. Thomae’ KIR.

a *b*

C·SER*u* IL*I*VS·*C*·F
PRIM*ip* *I*LV S·*TRIBV n. mil*
PRAEFE *c*TVS CA*STRO*R*um*
testamento *FIERI·IVSSIT*

Descripsi quae supersunt ex *b*. Exhibent *a* et *b* male contaminata Kiriacus fragm. p. 24 n. 40 (hinc Donati 300, 11); *a* et *b* separata Ferrarinus Par. in suppl. f. 149, Reg. f. 98′; eodem exemplo solum *b* Gammarus f. 150 (inde Peutinger 526 f. 40′) et Sieder f. 115′; *a* et *b* composuerunt Rambertus Marucell. f. 228′; Panvinius Vat. 6035 f. 77′; perverse Angeli p. 752, ex quo coll. Ramberto Mur. 853, 1 (hinc Sanseverini ms. f. 39 et Orelli 3449); quae ex *b* supersunt Lama *guida* p. 116 n. 100.

Quae in *b* non iam extant, expressi inclinatis. Litteram extantem v. 2 exprimit Sied., minores v. 4 Gamm. — Kir. habet C·SER|PRIM·PIL|PRAEF|TRIBVNVS|MILITVM. — 1 ILIVS plerique, SERVILIVS Mur. — C·I Gamm. Sied., C Ferr. Ramb. Ang., C·F Panv. Mur. — 2 seqq. Angeli sic coniunxit: TRIB . . . . | PRIM ILVS (·PILVS Mur.) CASTROR·|PRAEFE . . VS (PRAEFECTVS Mur.) FIERI IVSSIT; Sans.: TRIBVN·MILITVM|PRIMOPILVS CASTROR|PRAEFECTVS·V·FIERI IVSSIT. — 2 ILVS Ferr. Sied. Ramb., LVS Gamm. — ex. \ Gamm. Sied., V Ferr. Ramb. Panv. — 3 PRAEFE Ferr., PRAEFF . . . Panv., PRAEF Ramb. — IVS·CAS$\overset{T}{R}$OI Sied., VS·CASTRO·I Gamm., . . . TVS·CASTROR . . . Panv., VS·CASTRO Ferr. Ramb.

Fig. 3.3 An inscription from Parma – *CIL* XI 1056

of its journey in chronological order, together with its current location. Information derived from others is sometimes quoted verbatim, and a key to the abbreviated surnames of sources can be found in the section on *Auctores* towards the start of the volume (for example in *CIL* VIII and X) or at the beginning of a section on an individual town (as is the case in *CIL* XI). If specific pieces of data are untrustworthy, they may be flagged up by a comment, such as *fraude* ('deceitfully'), *errore* ('mistakenly'), or *temere* ('rashly'). For a more general assessment of how reliable each source is, the paragraph relating to the author in the *Auctores* section should be consulted. If an inscription is published at second-hand, it is particularly vital to consider the assessment of its original editor's reliability offered by *CIL*. By convention, the names of early authors are usually 'translated' into Latin forms, with, for example, Joost Lips becoming Justus Lipsius. More detailed studies of individual authors may be found beyond *CIL* (see below, Subsection 3.2.5).

The description of the inscribed object is followed by a transcription of its text. Until recently, volumes of *CIL* transcribed inscriptions in majuscule lettering, imitating the text's original layout, such as indicating partially preserved letters and how stones are fractured. Restored letters are represented in italicized minuscule lettering. Letters read by earlier editors but which are no longer extant are indicated by italicized majuscule lettering. The same typographical style (italicized majuscule) can, however, be used to indicate letters inscribed on top of an erasure, which may otherwise be indicated by being boxed off $\boxed{\text{like this}}$. /// is used to indicate where letters have been erased from the inscription. Letters that have been erased but are still legible are underdotted. As discussed above, this format has been replaced in more recent volumes, since the inclusion of photographs is now standard (either printed within the volume or supplied separately on microfiches). As a result, inscriptions are now transcribed in minuscule, with the system of epigraphic conventions given below (see above Figs. 3.1–2 for an example of the publication of the same inscription according to the old and new conventions).

Following the transcription there are bibliographical notes, apparatus criticus, and explanatory notes relating to the inscription (especially explaining abbreviations). Again, in more recent volumes, the character of the notes has changed, engaging much more fully in historical issues rather than in purely technical ones relating to the inscription itself. The apparatus criticus details variant readings of the inscription made by different authors. These may be of particular interest where an inscription has suffered damage over the years.

Within the majority of the volumes that are arranged topographically, inscriptions are presented in geographical sections (by province, district, and towns with their territories), which foster the chance of gaining an overview of the epigraphic culture of a particular town or district. Each section is preceded by a historical commentary upon the region/province and then the town in question. It offers a summary of the geographical and historical information that can be derived from ancient literary sources, particularly focusing upon a town's foundation and institutional development, and presents a brief overview of previous epigraphic scholarship. It also includes useful information such as the citizen voting-tribe associated with each town. The preliminary sections of each volume are also very important: as already mentioned, in many volumes, the editor lists all of the sources studied in the course of compiling the volume, including manuscripts from the mediaeval and Renaissance periods, as well as earlier corpora (in other volumes, this information is included in the introductory section to individual towns). Sometimes inscriptions are no longer extant, so these manuscripts in fact provide the only first-hand information about an inscription (see further below, Subsection 3.2.5). Finally, each volume starts with a separate section of *falsa et aliena*. These inscriptions have a separate numbering system from the main body of inscriptions published in the volume, and each individual entry is marked *. They are also typographically distinct, being transcribed in plain minuscule. This section includes not only inscriptions thought to be forgeries (*falsa*) (see further below, Subsection 3.3.2), but also inscriptions that are genuine, but do not belong to the location where they were found (*aliena*). For example, the entry at *CIL* XI 250*, 2 lists inscriptions from other sites that have ended up in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence, but which are published in full elsewhere in *CIL*: the list includes inscriptions from Tunis (in *CIL* VIII), Tarracina and Naples (*CIL* X), and Canusium (*CIL* IX). Finally, some volumes include indexes at the end.

3.2.2 Editorial conventions

One of the most debated technical issues among epigraphers since the 1930s has been how to present a version of an inscription in a printed edition. This is an issue of equal importance to epigraphers and papyrologists, and has evolved through the work of scholars in both sub-disciplines. Increasingly, scholars have wished to present texts in minuscule lettering alongside a photograph of the original monument, rather than trying to reproduce the layout of the text in majuscule lettering, and this has necessitated a change in conventions. Epigraphic publications contain a potentially bewildering proliferation of different types of brackets. These brackets are, however, essential: it is crucial not to mislead the reader into thinking that letters in a text are more legible than they really are.

Although the 'Leiden System', as developed by papyrologists at the Eighteenth International Congress of Orientalists at Leiden in 1932, dominated publications from the 1930s onwards,[41] a number of modifications to the system have increasingly been gaining currency, and the table below sets out the key to this new system.[42] As will be clear, even now there is not complete uniformity in practice, but it is particularly essential to check whether the editor gives a list of symbols used in texts published before the 1930s, before any attempt to impose a uniform system was made. In some cases, diacritics used in the past to carry the exact opposite meaning to their current use: for example < > used to indicate letters included by mistake in the inscription, which the editor has cancelled, whereas in the current system it indicates letters omitted by mistake from the inscription, which the editor has added.[43] The new system does not attempt to indicate absolutely everything – for example, it does not identify letters that are incompletely engraved – but such details as these can now be seen from photographs.

There is still no absolute standardization in presentation, however, with, for example, *AÉpigr* reproducing texts in minuscule, with line divisions indicated by /, whilst *CIL* reproduces the basic line divisions in its presentation of the text itself, and reserves / for places where line divisions need to be indicated in the apparatus criticus. Even when a convention is generally accepted – for example underdotting letters that are only partially preserved – there still remains a degree of editorial subjectivity in deciding which letters need to be marked in this way, even though, strictly speaking, a letter should only be dotted rather than enclosed in square brackets if it is not just a guess, but is plausible from remaining traces and context.[44] Consequently, if the letter in question is of importance for an argument, it should be checked on a photograph, squeeze, and ideally on the inscription itself. There also remains the problem that some editorial supplements within square brackets can be virtually guaranteed, whereas others represent rather more imaginative speculation.

---

[41] Leiden system: summary by S. Dow, *Conventions in Editing: A Suggested Reformulation of the Leiden System* (1969: Greek, Roman and Byzantine Scholarly Aids 2: Duke University: Durham, N.C.) 14–17, with proposals for modifications.

[42] H. Krummrey and S. Panciera, 'Criteri di edizione e segni diacritici', *Tituli* 2 (1980) 202–15, further modified by S. Panciera, 'Segni diacritici: riflessioni e proposte', in *Épigraphie Hispanique: problèmes de méthode et d'édition* (1984: Publications du Centre Pierre Paris 10: Paris) 372–9 (repr. in *Epigrafi, epigrafia, epigrafisti: scritti vari editi e inediti (1956–2005) con note complementari e indici* (2006: Quasar: Rome) II 1711–17) and 'Struttura dei supplementi e segni diacritici dieci anni dopo', *Suppl. Italica* n.s. 8 (1991: Quasar: Rome) 9–21, at 16–19, (repr. in *Epigrafi, epigrafia, epigrafisti*: II 1717–26); Krummrey in *CIL* VI 8.3 (2000) xxxi–xxxii. Summarized by J.-M. Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine* (2007: Picard: Paris) 61–6; Bodel, *Epigraphic Evidence* (above, n.1) xxv–xxvi.

[43] Useful tables comparing different conventions in Panciera, 'Struttura dei supplementi e segni diacritici' (above, n.42) 12–15.

Diacritic signs

Abbreviations:
a(*bc*) = An abbreviated word, which the editor has written out in full.
a(−−−) = An abbreviated word, which cannot be completed.
a(*bc*−) = An abbreviated word, which the editor has written out in full, but only the stem of the word is evident.

Damage suffered by the inscription:
ABC = Letters which can be read, but whose meaning and context is unclear. Could belong to the start, middle, or end of a word, or to more than one word.
[*abc*] = Letters which have been lost through damage to the inscription, but which the editor has supplied. If there is damage both at the end of one line and at the beginning of the next, the brackets should be added in both places.[45]
[*abc*−] = Letters which have been lost through damage to the inscription, and which the editor has supplied, but only the stem of the word is evident.
ạḅc̣ = Letters which are so damaged that they could not be recognized outside their context in the inscription, but whose identification is possible from context.
+++ = Traces of letters which are so damaged that they cannot be recognized; each cross represents one letter.
[···] = Letters which have been entirely lost, and which the editor could not supply; each dot represents one letter.
[·10·] = Letters which have been entirely lost, and which the editor could not supply, but the precise number of missing letters can be calculated.
[−c.5−], [−5?−] = Letters which have been lost, which the editor could not supply, but whose approximate number can be calculated.

---

[44] Salutary warnings about dotted letters are given by W. K. Pritchett, 'Dotted letters in Greek epigraphy', *AJA* 59 (1955) 55–61.

[45] Example: *[hoc sepulcrum si quis] vend[ere aut]*
[alienare voluerit in]feret ae[rario]
The same applies for other types of brackets.

[–] = Small lacuna where a *praenomen* (of one, two, or three letters) has been lost.

[–?] = Possibly a small lacuna where a *praenomen* has been lost.

[– – –] = Lacuna on a single line, whose extent cannot be determined.

[– – –?] = Possibly a lacuna on a single line, whose extent cannot be determined.

[– – – – – –] = A lacuna of one whole line.

[– – – – – –?] = Possibly a lacuna of one whole line.

[– – –|– – –] = Lacuna over two lines, whose extent cannot be determined.

– – – – – – = A lacuna of whole lines, whose original number is unclear.

– – – – – – ? = Unclear whether there is a lacuna, at start or end of a text.

a̲b̲c̲ = Letters read by a previous editor, but that have since disappeared.

Letters erased in antiquity:

[[*abc*]] = Letters erased in antiquity, but which can still be read clearly or probably.

[[*ạḅc̣*]] = Letters erased in antiquity, which could not be recognized outside their context in the inscription, but whose identification is possible from context.

[[[*abc*]]] = Letters erased in antiquity, which have been supplied by the editor.

[[[···]]] = Traces of letters erased in antiquity, but which cannot now be read; one dot stands for each letter.

[[[–5?–]]]
[[[–c.5–]]] = Traces of letters erased in antiquity, but which cannot now be read; original number of letters can be roughly estimated.

[[[– – –]]] = Traces of letters erased in antiquity, but no estimate of their original number is possible.

[[[– – – – – –]]] = Traces of letters erased in antiquity, which cannot now be read, extending over a complete line.

[[[– – – – – –?]]] = Possibly traces of letters erased in antiquity, which cannot now be read, extending over a complete line.

[[– – – – – –]] = Traces of letters erased in antiquity over whole lines, which cannot now be read, and whose original extent cannot be determined.

[[– – – – – –?]] = Unclear whether letters have been erased.

<<*abc*>> = Letters inscribed on top of other erased letters, and which can be read clearly.

<<*ABC*>> = Letters inscribed on top of other erased letters, and which can be read but not contextualized.

(*cont.*)

(*Cont.*)

<< *ạḅc̣* >> = Letters inscribed on top of other erased letters, and which are not clearly legible, but which can be identified from context.

<<[*abc*]>> = Letters inscribed on top of other erased letters, and which cannot be read and have been supplied by the editor.

<<[. . .]>> = Letters inscribed on top of other erased letters, but which can no longer be read; each dot represents a letter.

<<[−5?−]>>
<<[−c.5−]>> = Letters inscribed on top of other erased letters, but which cannot now be read; original number of letters can be roughly estimated.

<<[−−−]>> = Letters inscribed on top of other erased letters, but which cannot now be read; no estimate of their original number is possible.

Errors in the inscribed text:

\`*abc*´ = An ancient addition to correct or supplement the text. Details of where this has occurred are added to app. crit.

{*abc*} = Letters included by mistake in the inscription, which the editor has removed.

<*abc*> = Letters omitted by mistake from the inscription, which the editor has added.

⸢*abc*⸣ = Letters corrected by the editor. This is not used of non-standard orthography or grammar, but of definite errors. App. crit. should state what is on the inscription. For example, *C.* ⸢*f.*⸣ in text; E *pro* F *lapis* (‘stone has E instead of F’) in app. crit.

(*a*)*bc* = Letters added by the editor to comply with standard orthography.

(scil. *abc*) = A word that is not included in the text, but which is understood and which the editor adds.

<−−−>,
<−w−−−−−> = Inscription not completed.

Appearance of letters and monument:

á, é, í, ó, ú = Marks showing that vowels are long in quantity.

ì = I *longa* (i.e., taller than other letters around it). Other taller letters are indicated in app. crit. only.

$\overline{abc}$, = Letters and numerals indicated by a line added above them.

⊂ *abc* ⊃ ((*abc*)) (*abc*) = Letters or symbols represented differently on the inscription (such as inverted or backwards letters, numerals, or symbols), but which are not in need of correction or supplement. For example (*mulieris*) stands for the symbol of a backwards C. Large numbers over 1000 that are difficult to understand can also be written

(*Cont.*)

		out in words rather than reproducing the symbols. For example, (*quattuor milia centum nonaginta unus*) stands for the numeral IIIICLXXXXI; this numeral is then given in the app. crit.. Cf. also ⊂ *Manius* ⊃ = M’; ⊂ *y* ⊃, ⊂ *v* ⊃ = ‘Claudian’ letters.
⊂ crux ⊃ ((crux))	=	Describes a picture inserted into an inscription.
âb	=	Letters joined in a ligature (each letter which is joined to the next letter is indicated by circumflex accent).
a ∘ *bc*	=	Interpunct.
(vac.)	=	Space left deliberately blank within the inscription.
(vac. 3)	=	Space left deliberately blank within the inscription, corresponding to the space of 3 letters.
(vac.c.3) (vac.3?)	=	Space left deliberately blank within the inscription, possibly corresponding to the space of 3 letters.
(vac.?)	=	Unclear because of surface damage whether or not a space has been left deliberately blank within the inscription.
abc|*abc abc* / *abc*[46]	=	Line division, for inscriptions written out continuously, not line by line (i.e., as in *AÉpigr*, not *CIL*).
abc ‖ *abc*	=	Distinguishes different sides or parts of a monument; these may be specified as being *in fronte* (‘on the front’), *in latere intuentibus sinistro* (‘on the left side’), *in latere intuentibus dextro* (‘on the right side’), *in postica* (‘on the rear’). It marks off letters not inscribed in their proper place.
(!)	=	An editorial note advising that the reader should examine something carefully.
sic	=	An error which the editor has not corrected.

3.2.3 ‘History from square brackets’

It is vital, therefore, to take careful note of the various editorial markings when reading epigraphic publications, and in particular to acknowledge the uncertainties inherent in letters supplied by editors within square brackets [like this]. Although such supplements can often be unproblematic within the context of a common formula, such as *[dis] manibus*, at other times, the impression can be falsely given that a key historical conundrum can be securely resolved by editorial supplements, thereby producing what E. Badian has aptly dubbed ‘history from square brackets’.[47] For example, one of the most explicit contemporary sources for Augustus' alleged 'restoration of the Republic' actually relies upon an editorial supplement in the *fasti Praenestini*: *corona querc[ea, uti super ianuam domus Imp. Caesaris] / Augusti poner[etur, senatus decrevit, quod rem publicam] / p. R. rest[it]u[it]* ('[the senate decreed] that an oak-wreath should be placed [above the doorway of the house of Imperator Caesar] Augustus, [because] he restored [the Republic] to the Roman people').[48] This is a phrase unparalleled in the language of official Augustan sources, although until recently it was taken to explain a fundamental feature of Augustus' constitutional programme, despite some insightful criticism of this interpretation.[49] It is entirely misleading, therefore, to offer us the following choice in our interpretation of the events that unfolded in the senate on 13th January 27 BC: 'Thus when we find in the *Fasti Praenestini* for January 13, 27 BC, the assertion that the *res publica* had been "restored" (by Augustus) – *res publica restituta* – are we to understand the restoration of the traditional Republic or simply of the state, i.e. "government"?'[50] This is misleading for the simple reason that the *Fasti Praenestini* did not 'assert' anything of the kind. This is historical interpretation built upon conjecture, but presented as fact.[51]

---

[46] Panciera, ‘Struttura dei supplementi e segni diacritici’ (above, n.42) 19 proposes a distinction between marking line-ends / and verse-ends |.

[47] E. Badian, ‘History from “square brackets”’, *ZPE* 79 (1989) 59–70, discussing inscriptions relating to Philip II and Alexander; cf. Bodel, *Epigraphic Evidence* (above, n.1) 52–5.

Indeed, the publication of a previously unknown *aureus* commemorating that Augustus *LEGES ET IVRA P(opulo) R(omano) RESTITVIT* ('restored laws and rights to the Roman people') offers an alternative (although, of course, still conjectural) version of the missing part of the inscription that could modify our picture of Augustus' actions in 28/7 BC.[52] It is entirely possible that the *fasti Praenestini* should not be regarded as one of the main pieces of evidence for the way in which Augustus hid his autocratic powers behind a claim to be restoring the Republic in the 'first settlement of 27 BC'. Instead, the alternative should at least be considered that what Augustus was doing was restoring not the 'Republic' but 'laws and rights': *corona querc[ea, uti super ianuam domus Imp. Caesaris] / Augusti poner[etur, senatus decrevit, quod leges et iura*] *p.R. rest[i][u[it]*'.[53] This latter editorial supplement at least has the merit of reflecting official political language as now revealed by the gold coin, and reminds us of the importance of looking beyond inscriptions in seeking parallels for contemporary political language.

---

[48] *Fast. Praen.* 13 January, *Inscr. Ital.* XIII.ii 113, 396–7.

[49] E. A. Judge, '"Res publica restituta": a modern illusion?', in *Polis and Imperium: Studies in Honour of Edward Togo Salmon*, ed. J. A. S. Evans (1974: Hakkert: Toronto) 279–311, esp. 288–98.

[50] A. M. Gowing, *Empire and Memory: The Representation of the Roman Republic in Imperial Culture* (2005: Cambridge University Press) 4.

[51] Contrast the more subtle approach to the issue of Augustus' place within the *res publica* offered by W. Eder, 'Augustus and the power of tradition: the Augustan Principate as a binding link between Republic and Empire', in *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*, eds. K. A. Raaflaub and M. Toher (1990: University of California Press: Berkeley) 71–122 and, on similar lines, 'Augustus and the power of tradition', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, ed. K. Galinsky (2005: Cambridge University Press) 13–32; cf. also K. Galinsky, ch. 2 'The restoration of the *res publica*', in his *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (1996: Princeton University Press).

[52] BM accession no. CM 1995.4–1.1, discussed by J. W. Rich and J. H. C. Williams, '*Leges et iura p.R. restituit:* a new aureus of Octavian and the settlement of 28–27 BC', *NC* 159 (1999) 169–213.

3.2.4 Abbreviations

Latin inscriptions, in contrast to their Greek counterparts, are liberally spattered with abbreviations. Some of these were in common usage throughout the empire, such as *d(is) m(anibus)*, whilst others were distinctive of particular times or places.[54] Various lists of abbreviations are available printed in epigraphic handbooks, but these are subject to huge variation in comprehensiveness. Take the single letter *a* by way of example. In the handbook by Calabi Limentani, the list of common abbreviations compiled by Degrassi there gives just *annus* and *assis* as possible expansions.[55] Lassère offers a slightly more extensive list of principal abbreviations: *albata (factio) – Alexandriana (legio) – annus – Antoniniana (legio) – anuum, anno, annorum, annos – antiquo – as – autem.*[56] Both of these pale into insignificance, however, alongside the huge list of possibilities compiled in 1998 by Tom Elliott and published on the website of the American Society for Greek and Latin Epigraphy.[57] This offers just over 150 possible ways of expanding the single letter *a*, based upon the texts of inscriptions published in *AÉpigr* 1888–1993. Even so, this only represents 'common' abbreviations, defined as being those that appear more than ten times in the inscriptions sampled. Clearly, this exponential explosion of possibilities is largely courtesy both of the freedom of space available on the web and also of the opportunity to compile lists from online digital texts, rather than the result of a sudden realization that abbreviations are more complicated than usually thought. In addition to its lists of common abbreviations, the same website also offers even more extensive lists of all abbreviations used in the same sample of inscriptions, including grammatical variants of the same word.

---

[53] Cf. F. Millar, 'The first revolution: Imperator Caesar, 36–28 BC', in *La révolution romaine après Ronald Syme: bilans et perspectives*, ed. A. Giovannini (2000: Fondation Hardt: Geneva) 1–38, at 6; A. E. Cooley, Res Gestae divi Augusti: *Text, Translation and Commentary* (2009: Cambridge University Press) 258–60.

[54] See, for example, the case-study of the chronology and distribution of the abbreviation *in h.d.d.* by M-T. Raepsaet-Charlier, 'La datation des inscriptions latines dans les provinces occidentales de l'Empire Romain d'après les formulas "IN H(ONOREM) D(OMUS) D(IVINAE)" et "DEO, DEAE"', *ANRW* II.3 (1975: De Gruyter: Berlin) 232–82.

[55] I. Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina* (1968: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino: Milan) 481.

[56] Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine* (above, n.42) 1061.

[57] http://www.case.edu/artsci/clsc/asgle/abbrev/latin/popa.html (last accessed Feb. 2011).

Numerals are a specific sub-category of abbreviation:[58]

I	1
V	5
ς	6
X	10
C	100
Đ, ⊥, ↓	500
M, ∞, ⌽, (I)	1,000
X̄	supralineate numeral = multiply by 1000: here, 10 × 1000 = 10 000
I))	5000
((I))	10 000
I)))	50 000
(((I)))	100 000
$\boxed{\text{X}}$	numeral enclosed in three-sided box = multiply by 100 000: here, 10 × 100 000 = 1 000 000
Q	500 000

The following symbols are also used fairly commonly:[59]

ꟿ then M’	Manius
Ɔ	Gaia (*mulier*), particularly in the form * *lib.* (‘a woman’s freed(wo)man’)
Ɔ or 7 or >	*centurio* / *centuria*

---

[58] Lassère, *Manuel d’épigraphie romaine* (above, n.42) 56–60; Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista* (above, n.40) 150–57; A. E. Gordon, *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy* (1983: University of California Press: Berkeley, Los Angeles) 44–49; E. Le Blant, *Paléographie des inscriptions latines du III^{e} siècle à la fin du VII^{e}* (1898: Ernest Leroux: Paris) includes numerals as well as letter-forms.

[59] Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista* (above, n.40) 152 for rarely used symbols.

Θ	so-called ‘theta nigrum’, indicating that someone is deceased (often used on a tomb with multiple occupancy in contrast with *v(ivus)*). It was used in Rome, Narbonne, and Lugdunum from the early first century BC to mid first century AD. In Noricum, Pannonia, and Arles it appears to have been used rather differently, as a substitute for *obitus* as part of the regional formula *obitus annonorum tot* (‘dead at the age of’). After the mid first century the symbol tended to be confined to use by soldiers and gladiators killed in combat.[60]

Abbreviations can be indicated on inscriptions in a variety of ways. Although abbreviations are not always consistently marked within a single inscription, the following marks can be used to indicate an abbreviation:[61]

- a line going through letters horizontally or diagonally
- like an acute accent above a letter
- like an acute accent to the right of the abbreviated word
- a tiny circle above the letter
- a dot above the letter
- two commas above a letter
- curved horizontal line above letter.

Abbreviations can be characterized in one of the following ways:

- suspension (where the end of a word is omitted): *IMP* = *IMP(erator)*
- contraction (where letters are omitted from within a word): *PBR* = *p(res)b(ite)r*[62]
- contraction/suspension (combining both of the above): *QQ* = *Q(uin)q(uennalis)*
- doubling/tripling, to indicate plurals: *AVGG NN* = *AVG(usti) N(ostri)*, where there are two emperors; *AVGGG NNN* = *AVG(usti) N(ostri)*, where there are three emperors.

The ways in which abbreviations were used in inscriptions varied over time, and can be considered as one factor when trying to date an inscription

---

[60] Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista* (above, n.40) 153; R. Friggeri and C. Pelli, ‘Vivo e morto nelle iscrizioni di Roma’, *Miscellanea* (1980: *Tituli* 2: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura: Rome) 95–172; P. Kruschwitz, ‘Der Gebrauch von Θ in republikanischen Grabinschriften’, *ZPE* 138 (2002) 109–12; I. Mednikarova, ‘The use of Θ in Latin funerary inscriptions’, *ZPE* 136 (2001) 267–76.

[61] Fundamental study by A. E. Gordon, ‘Supralineate abbreviations in Latin inscriptions’, *CPCA* 2.3 (1948) 59–132.

[62] *ILCV* I 176l – see 3.4 below.

(see further below, Section 3.4). Most notably, contraction is a particular characteristic of Christian texts.

3.2.5 Working with stemmata

This section illustrates the value and importance of consulting the stemmata of inscriptions offered by *CIL*. Although the editors of *CIL* try to re-examine all of the inscriptions published in their volumes, their information is sometimes reliant upon earlier manuscripts and publications, in cases where the inscription has since been lost or destroyed. This section gives a flavour of the methods of some of the main sources of Latin inscriptions from whom *CIL* derives much of its material, describing some of the major developments in the ways in which Latin inscriptions have been recorded. This should offer some guidance as to what it is reasonable to expect from early epigraphic sources, underlining both their advantages and their limitations. The following example illustrates some of the problems.

65–6 Two inscriptions found on Rome's Capitol: Figs. 3.4–5

CIL VI 1313–14

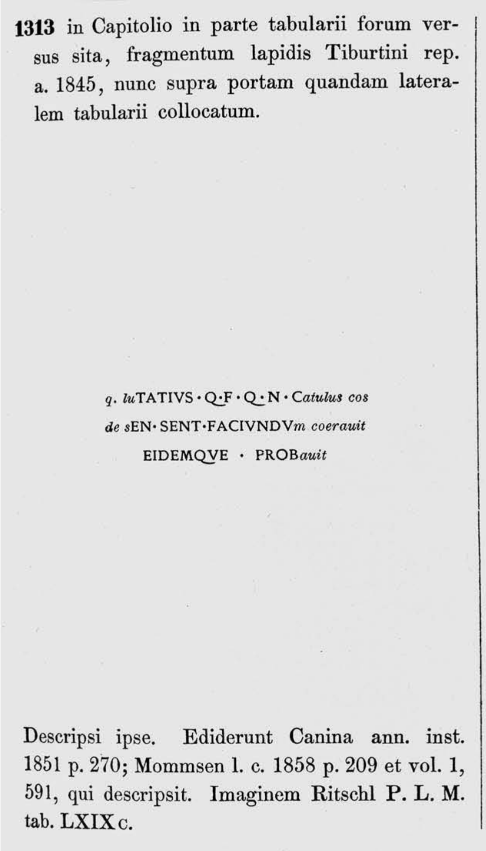
CIL I^2 736 = *CIL* VI 1313 = *ILS* 35a = *ILLRP* 368 + *CIL* I^2 737 = *CIL* VI 1314 cf.31597 = *ILS* 35 = *ILLRP* 367. Cf. *CIL* VI 31597. N. Purcell, '*Atrium Libertatis*', *PBSR* (1993) 125–55, esp. 138–40; A. Mura Sommella, 'Tabularium', in *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, vol. V, T–Z, ed. E. M. Steinby (1999: Quasar: Rome) 17–20, at 17–18.

CIL VI 1313:
[Q(uintus) Lu]tatius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Q(uinti) n(epos) C[atulus co(n)s(ul) / de s]en(atus) sent(entia) faciundu[m coeravit] / eidemque prob[avit]

'Quintus Lutatius Catulus, son of Quintus, grandson of Quintus, consul, in accordance with a senatorial decree saw to its construction and also approved it.'

CIL VI 1314:
Q(uintus) Lutatius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Q(uinti) [n(epos)] Catulus co(n)s(ul) / substructionem et tabularium / de s(enatus) s(ententia) faciundum coeravit [ei]demque / pro[bavit]

'Quintus Lutatius Catulus, son of Quintus, grandson of Quintus, consul, in accordance with a senatorial decree saw to the construction of the retaining-wall and record-office and also approved it.'

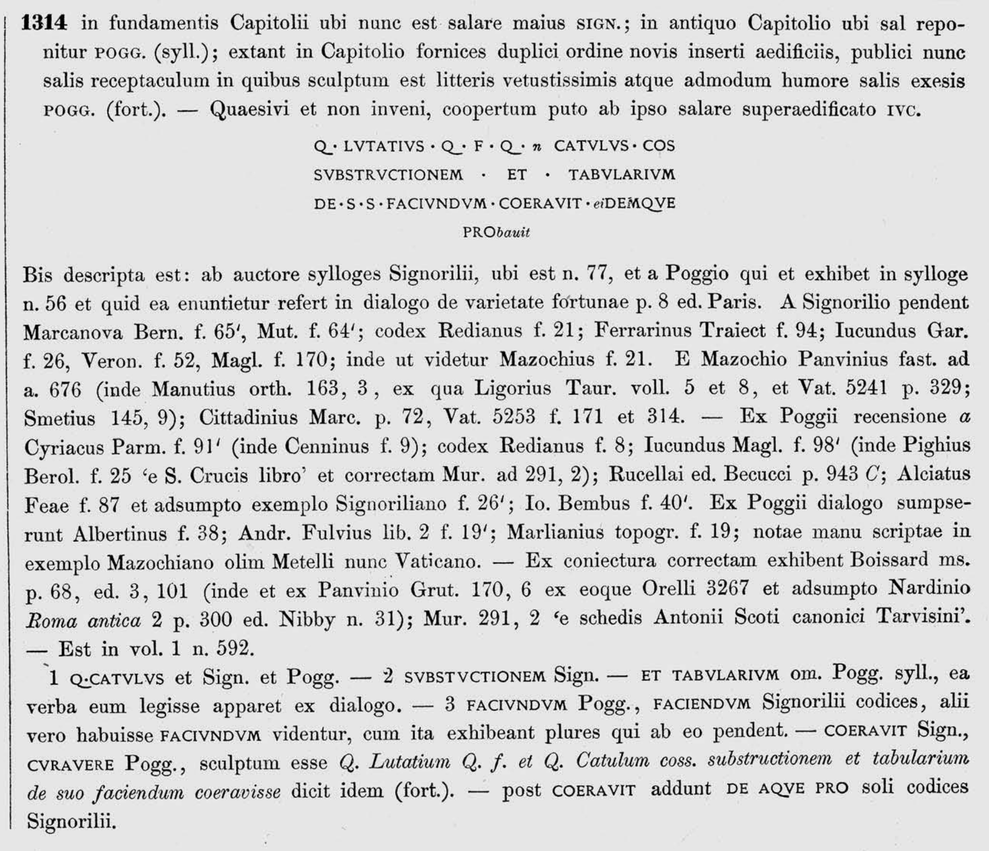


1313 in Capitolio in parte tabularii forum versus sita, fragmentum lapidis Tiburtini rep. a. 1845, nunc supra portam quandam lateralem tabularii collocatum.

*q. lu*TATIVS · Q·F · Q · N · C*atulus cos*
*de s*EN· SENT·FACIVNDV*m coerauit*
EIDEMQVE · PROB*auit*

Descripsi ipse. Ediderunt Canina ann. inst. 1851 p. 270; Mommsen l. c. 1858 p. 209 et vol. 1, 591, qui descripsit. Imaginem Ritschl **P. L. M.** tab. LXIX c.

Fig. 3.4 An inscription found on Rome's Capitol – *CIL* VI 1313



1314 in fundamentis Capitolii ubi nunc est salare maius SIGN.; in antiquo Capitolio ubi sal reponitur POGG. (syll.); extant in Capitolio fornices duplici ordine novis inserti aedificiis, publici nunc salis receptaculum in quibus sculptum est litteris vetustissimis atque admodum humore salis exesis POGG. (fort.). — Quaesivi et non inveni, coopertum puto ab ipso salare superaedificato IVC.

Q · LVTATIVS · Q · F · Q · *n* CATVLVS · COS
SVBSTRVCTIONEM · ET · TABVLARIVM
DE · S · S · FACIVNDVM · COERAVIT · *ei*DEMQVE
PRO*bauit*

Bis descripta est: ab auctore sylloges Signorilii, ubi est n. 77, et a Poggio qui et exhibet in sylloge n. 56 et quid ea enuntietur refert in dialogo de varietate fortunae p. 8 ed. Paris. A Signorilio pendent Marcanova Bern. f. 65′, Mut. f. 64′; codex Redianus f. 21; Ferrarinus Traiect f. 94; Iucundus Gar. f. 26, Veron. f. 52, Magl. f. 170; inde ut videtur Mazochius f. 21. E Mazochio Panvinius fast. ad a. 676 (inde Manutius orth. 163, 3, ex qua Ligorius Taur. voll. 5 et 8, et Vat. 5241 p. 329; Smetius 145, 9); Cittadinius Marc. p. 72, Vat. 5253 f. 171 et 314. — Ex Poggii recensione *a* Cyriacus Parm. f. 91′ (inde Cenninus f. 9); codex Redianus f. 8; Iucundus Magl. f. 98′ (inde Pighius Berol. f. 25 'e S. Crucis libro' et correctam Mur. ad 291, 2); Rucellai ed. Becucci p. 943 *C*; Alciatus Feae f. 87 et adsumpto exemplo Signoriliano f. 26′; Io. Bembus f. 40′. Ex Poggii dialogo sumpserunt Albertinus f. 38; Andr. Fulvius lib. 2 f. 19′; Marlianius topogr. f. 19; notae manu scriptae in exemplo Mazochiano olim Metelli nunc Vaticano. — Ex coniectura correctam exhibent Boissard ms. p. 68, ed. 3, 101 (inde et ex Panvinio Grut. 170, 6 ex eoque Orelli 3267 et adsumpto Nardinio *Roma antica* 2 p. 300 ed. Nibby n. 31); Mur. 291, 2 'e schedis Antonii Scoti canonici Tarvisini'. — Est in vol. 1 n. 592.

1 Q·CATVLVS et Sign. et Pogg. — 2 SVBSTVCTIONEM Sign. — ET TABVLARIVM om. Pogg. syll., ea verba eum legisse apparet ex dialogo. — 3 FACIVNDVM Pogg., FACIENDVM Signorilii codices, alii vero habuisse FACIVNDVM videntur, cum ita exhibeant plures qui ab eo pendent. — COERAVIT Sign., CVRAVERE Pogg., sculptum esse *Q. Lutatium Q. f. et Q. Catulum coss. substructionem et tabularium de suo faciendum coeravisse* dicit idem (fort.). — post COERAVIT addunt DE AQVE PRO soli codices Signorilii.

Fig. 3.5 Another inscription found on Rome's Capitol – *CIL* VI 1314

These inscriptions have long been interpreted as evidence for the construction by Q. Lutatius Catulus of the *tabularium* overlooking the Roman Forum, a view that has been recently reinforced by the entry in the authoritative *LTUR*. At first glance, *CIL* VI 1314 might seem the more reliable text, given that far less of it has been restored than is the case for *CIL* VI 1313. It is crucial, however, to be attentive to the stemmata. The lack of square brackets does not actually indicate a secure reading, but rather reflects the early date at which the inscription was seen. By contrast, in the case of *CIL* VI 1313, we find 'descripsi ipse': in other words, the editor of *CIL* has himself seen the inscription, previously unpublished (found in 1845), and edited it here for the first time. Furthermore, reference is made to a lithograph illustration of the inscription in F. Ritschl, *Priscae Latinitatis Monumenta Epigraphica ad Archetypum Fidem Exemplis Lithographis Repraesentata* (1862: Berlin), tab. LXIXc, with which the edition in *CIL* can be compared (although since this is not a photographic image, it would be better to inspect either an online photograph or the stone itself, where it is now located on the Capitol).[63] By contrast, *CIL* VI 1314 offers a much more detailed stemma that might appear to indicate that the inscription is of undisputed pedigree. It is crucial to note, however, that, despite the long list of authors who have included this inscription in their epigraphic collections, the inscription has only actually been seen by two individuals, Nicolò Signorili in his *Descriptio Urbis Romae* written some time before 1431, and Poggio Bracciolini in his *De Varietate Fortunae* of 1448. It had disappeared from view by the time of Giovanni Giocondo in the 1480s. All later editions of the inscription are therefore derived from these two authors (*A Signorilio pendent*...; *Ex Poggii recensione*...). Both eyewitnesses commented on difficulties in reading the inscription since it had been badly eroded (allegedly by salt), and the apparatus criticus in *CIL* also shows differences between their readings of the inscription (Poggio did not even include in his transcription the crucial word *tabularium*!). In short, this epigraphic evidence is not at all sufficient on which to base an identification of the building as the *tabularium*.

The earliest surviving epigraphic manuscript dates back to the Carolingian period, the ninth-century Einsiedeln itinerary (*Codex Einsiedlensis*), which presents inscriptions in a topographical order, via a journey from Rome; these inscriptions were not copied at first hand, but offered an abridged version of an older, lost text.[64] The twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, may fairly be characterized as a period of indifference to Rome's pagan ruins, with the odd exception of Magister Gregorius from England, who – unusually for the time – showed interest in the city's pagan past, but could only lament the fact that he could make no sense of the legal inscription upon a bronze tablet displayed near the famous bronze she-wolf statue: 'on this tablet I read many things, but understood few' (*in hac tabula plura legi, set pauca intellexi*).[65] During the fourteenth century Petrarch and Boccaccio showed some interest in Latin inscriptions from a literary and artistic perspective, whilst Cola di Rienzo famously exploited the *lex de imperio Vespasiani* for his own political purposes.[66] It was the rise of humanism in the early fifteenth century, however, that prompted both condemnation of contemporary destruction of Rome's surviving ruins and resurgence of interest in classical Latin inscriptions. Francesco da Fiano, Cencio Rustici, and Flavio Biondo all raised their voices in protest, and Biondo's *Roma instaurata* (1444–6) made use of inscriptions to support his topographical identifications around the city.[67] A major milestone is marked by the epigraphic collection (sylloge) compiled in *c.*1430 by the papal secretary Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1457). He was primarily interested in identifying the monuments of Rome from their dedicatory inscriptions. His sylloge included eighty-six inscriptions, of which thirty-four were taken from the *Codex Einsiedlensis*, and the other fifty-two copied from actual monuments in Rome and other Italian towns. His original manuscript no longer survives, but there are two later manuscript copies of it.[68]

---

[63] Online photograph: EDH – www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~f56/fotos/F014202.JPG

[64] Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina* (above, n.55) 39–40; R. Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (1973: Blackwell: Oxford) 5.

Six volumes of notes about classical monuments seen on his journeys were produced by Bracciolini's contemporary, Cyriac of Ancona (Ciriaco d'Ancona = Cyriacus, 1391–1452), who travelled extensively in Italy, Greece, and the Levant between 1425 and 1448.[69] At first his travels were primarily intended to further his mercantile interests, but increasingly he indulged his antiquarian enthusiasms through his travels. Although not much of his work remains in his own hand, parts of his notebooks were copied by others from the mid 1460s. Despite Cyriac's lack of formal scholarly training, his approach to inscriptions anticipated most of the requirements of modern epigraphic publication, since he was concerned not just with transcribing the inscribed text, but also with describing the monument, along with indicating a findspot.[70] This was a major difference in approach from that of Bracciolini. A century later, Antonio Agustín suspected the authenticity of some of the inscriptions transcribed by Cyriac, and his name was linked to some forgeries in Spain. Like other early compilers of epigraphic notes, Cyriac also had a tendency to supply missing parts to incomplete inscriptions. In one case, Cyriac's mistaken restoration of an imperial dedication to Septimius Severus as one to L. Verus was subsequently enshrined in stone, when the inscription was restored in the seventeenth century.[71] Nevertheless, recent archaeological excavation has vindicated the existence of some of his suspect texts: an inscription recording the restoration of town walls by local magistrates at Lissus, recorded by Cyriac in 1436, has now actually been recovered from the town walls there, showing the basic trustworthiness of his work. Even so, his reading of the inscription is not accurate in terms of its formal layout (its overall length and line divisions), and his transcription of individual expressions is rather garbled in places.[72]

---

[65] *De mirabilibus urbis Romae* §33: R. B. C. Huygens, ed., *Magister Gregorius: Narracio de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae* (1970: Textus minores 42: Brill: Leiden); M. R. James, 'Magister Gregorius de mirabilibus urbis Romae', *HER* 32.128 (October 1917) 531–54, at 554; G. McN. Rushforth, 'Magister Gregorius de mirabilibus urbis Romae: a new description of Rome in the twelfth century', *JRS* 9 (1919) 14–58, at 29; Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina* (above, n.55) 40–1; cf. Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (above, n.64) 7–9.

[66] Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (above, n.64) ch. 3.

[67] Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (above, n.64) 57–8, 66–70.

[68] I. Kajanto, 'Poggio Bracciolini and classical epigraphy', *Arctos* 19 (1985) 19–40.

[69] E. Ziebarth, 'Cyriacus von Ancona als Begründer der Inschriftenforschung', *Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum* 9 (1902) 214–26.

Other significant methodological advances in epigraphic scholarship were initiated by engineer–architect Fra Giovanni Giocondo (*c.*1433–1515), who in 1488/9 assembled a sylloge of several hundred inscriptions from monuments in Rome for Lorenzo de' Medici, who complemented his manuscript syllogai of inscriptions with a collection of actual antiquities, including bronze and marble inscriptions. Giocondo created his sylloge out of an awareness of the need to attempt to record historical evidence that was then rapidly disappearing. He was not alone in this awareness, as noted above. In a dedicatory letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, he lamented 'For what was once carefully set up and fixed in a conspicuous place by someone, you will soon see dug up and carelessly broken to bits, trampled and worn away under foot by someone else, without the smallest concern for antiquity . . . I have collected many inscriptions – whose marbles and bronze plaques are continually being broken, melted down and destroyed – in order that, under your auspices, they might become everlasting and be passed on to

---

[70] M. Guarducci, 'Ciriaco e l'epigrafia', in *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la cultura antiquaria dell'Umanesimo*, eds. G. Paci and S. Sconocchia (1998: Edizioni Diabasis: Reggio Emilia) 169–72; E. W. Bodnar with C. Foss, *Cyriac of Ancona. Later Travels* (2003: I Tatti Renaissance Library: Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass.).

[71] S. M. Marengo, 'Itinerari epigrafici di Ciriaco nelle Marche: l'iscrizione ricinense C.I.L. IX 5747', in *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la cultura antiquaria dell'Umanesimo*, eds. G. Paci and S. Sconocchia (1998: Edizioni Diabasis: Reggio Emilia) 173–83.

[72] *CIL* III 1704, with J. J. Wilkes, 'The manuscript tradition of Dalmatian inscriptions: Cyriac of Ancona and after', in *Antonio Agustín Between Renaissance and Counter-Reform*, ed. M. H. Crawford (1993: Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts 24: London) 81–93.

posterity' (*quod enim ab diligente olim in conspicuo loco positum fixumque fuit, ab negligente atque antiquitatis minime studioso mox erutum & in frusta disjectum pedibus calcari conterique animadvertes . . . epigrammata pleraque collegi, quae tuo auspicio aeterna fieri, ac posteritati tradi possint, quorum marmora aeneaeque tabulae assidue franguntur, funduntur, pereunt*).[73]

Giocondo took his inspiration from the well-established discipline of philology, realizing the importance of creating stemmata for inscribed texts as well as literary ones. He routinely stated whether he had himself seen an inscription, and inscriptions checked by autopsy were assembled in the first part of his collection: 'I have collected nothing else in this volume other than those things that I have seen, and which I have copied out carefully, so that I might satisfy my readers, if not by my abilities or learning, at least by my accuracy and diligence' (*praeter quae vidi quaeque accurate exscripsi in hoc volumen nihil congessi ut si non facultate aut doctrina fide tamen ac diligentia legentibus satisfacerem*).[74] The rest, which he had not himself seen, were gathered together in a separate volume, and he would specify his source of information for these inscriptions, and also record variant readings of them. As he explained in a second dedicatory letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, 'since I have written down in the previous volume those things that I collected by means of my own labours and sweat, I considered it worthwhile to write down in the following work also those things that I received from friends, and from most worthy and most diligent men . . . even if it is wrong for me not to trust those from whom I have taken these particular inscriptions, it still doesn't seem right to regard them with the same certainty as my own, lest someone would ascribe to me errors if he were to find them by comparing the transcriptions with the originals' (*cum ergo in superiori volumine annotaverim quae propriis laboribus atque sudoribus congessi, operae pretium duxi etiam ea quae ab amicis & dignissimis diligentissimisque viris accepi . . . etsi nefas est mihi his a quibus epigrammata ipsa suscepi non credere, certitudini meae tamen non placet aequare, ne quis errores si quos <post> exempla collatis exemplaribus invenerit mihi adscribat*).[75] Furthermore, he showed a new wariness of errors committed by stonecutters in creating an inscription, on analogy with copyists' errors in literary manuscripts: 'For, if they {our ancestors} composed tastefully, elegantly and carefully, they nevertheless gave these things to be engraved in either marble or bronze to workers who were both illiterate and made many mistakes; as a result, their errors were either rarely spotted or their correction could not be made easily or without damaging the stone' (*nam si politer, eleganter, accurateque componebant, ipsis opificibus in aes, aut in marmora caedenda delegabant, qui cum & litterarum ignari essent & abunde errarent, tum eorum errata vel minime notabantur vel litura non commode aut sine lapidis iactura superinduci poterat)*.[76] He is also the first known to have commented on the relevance of lettering to dating.[77]

---

[73] Trans. M. Koortbojian, 'A collection of inscriptions for Lorenzo de' Medici: two dedicatory letters from Fra Giovanni Giocondo: introduction, texts and translation', *PBSR* 70 (2002) 297–317, Letter 1 at 310–11, 313–15.

[74] Trans. M. Koortbojian, 'A collection of inscriptions for Lorenzo de' Medici' (above, n.73), Letter 1.

[75] Trans. M. Koortbojian, 'A collection of inscriptions for Lorenzo de' Medici' (above, n.73), Letter 2.

At roughly the turn of the fifteenth/sixteenth centuries inscriptions came first to be published in printed books, enabling them to spread more widely around Europe, and stirring up interest in collecting and studying inscriptions.[78] In other respects too, the sixteenth century ushered in some important new developments in the discipline of epigraphy, as inscriptions came to be appreciated as offering primary source material for particular aspects of Roman history.[79] Rather than simply publishing inscriptions according to geographical criteria (for example by findspot or by current location), collections began to adopt different ways of organizing inscriptions.[80] Particular innovations included new ways of classifying and indexing inscriptions, and an interest in finding techniques to represent letter-forms, together with the damage and erosion suffered by them. In his capacity as secretary to Spanish jurist Antonio Agustín, Jean Matal (Johannes Metellus, *c.*1517–97) focused his attention on inscriptions as sources for law, and organized a team of collaborators to transcribe texts at first hand. Among his papers is even one of the earliest known squeezes, of a bronze inscription, although the regular taking of squeezes was first adopted only later by Raffaello Fabretti (1619–1700), in the course of putting together his work *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae in aedibus paternis*

---

[76] Trans. M. Koortbojian, 'A collection of inscriptions for Lorenzo de' Medici' (above, n.73), Letter 2.

[77] M. Koortbojian, 'Fra Giovanni Giocondo and his epigraphic methods: notes on Biblioteca Marciana, MS Lat. XIV, 171', *KölnJb* 26 (1993) 49–55 and 'A collection of inscriptions for Lorenzo de' Medici' (above, n.73); W. Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History: Historical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance* (2005: BICS Supplement 86: London) 24–5, ch. 4.

[78] Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina* (above, n.55) 45.

[79] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History* (above, n.77).

[80] I. Calabi Limentani, 'Note su classificazione ed indici epigrafici dallo Smezio al Morcelli: antichità, retorica, critica', *Epigraphica* 49 (1987) 177–202; W. Stenhouse, 'Classical inscriptions and antiquarian scholarship in Italy, 1600–1650', in *The Afterlife of Inscriptions*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2000: BICS supplement 75: London) 77–89.

asservantur explicatio (1699).[81] Matal pursued his research in a critical spirit, recording variant readings of inscriptions, and watching out for inauthentic material, for example regarding a sylloge of inscriptions sent to him from Spain as being essentially unreliable. He was also unusual in that he collected not just Latin inscriptions, but also Hebrew, Etruscan, and Greek ones as well.[82]

Matal's methods influenced the appearance of the sylloge prepared by Martin de Smet (= Smetius, *c.*1525–*c.*1578), whose manuscript was posthumously edited for publication and printed with an *Auctarium* of inscriptions collected by him by Justus Lipsius in 1588. This represented the vicissitudes of lettering, where letters had suffered damage or erasure. All of this work reflected a realization that letter-forms could help with dating an inscription.[83] Smet also adopted a new structure in his sylloge, arranging inscriptions thematically into four parts (places and buildings; religious antiquities; famous men; epitaphs): 'therefore I have preferred rather to follow an order of material and themes, and have omitted a sequence by places, which could be easily shown through an index: and I have taken care for similar things to be juxtaposed with each other, as far as this could be done conveniently' (*omissa igitur locorum serie, quae per indicem aliquem monstrari facile posset, rerum atque argumentorum ordinem quendam sequi potius malui: et ut similia similibus, quatenus fieri commode posset iungerentur, curavi*).[84] This seems to mirror the arrangement of the collection of actual inscriptions created by Smet for Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi in his palace at Rome as his secretary between 1545 and 1551. Indeed, the physical collection of inscriptions was displayed in the Palazzo da Carpi alongside the manuscripts containing the epigraphic syllogai, each mirroring the other.[85] Finally, his inclusion of seventeen indexes offered multiple ways in which his sylloge could be used beyond those implicitly embedded in the order in which he had chosen to present the individual inscriptions. This opened up new opportunities for research on topics such as onomastics, and began a move towards using inscriptions as historical sources in their own right rather than merely as illustrations of local history, an approach which was then further developed by Ligorio.[86]

---

[81] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History* (above, n.77) 50–3; Fabretti's squeezes: P. Kragelund, 'Rostgaard, Fabretti and some paper impressions of Greek and Roman inscriptions in the Danish Royal Library', *AnalRom* 29 (2003) 155–73.

[82] R. Cooper, 'Epigraphical research in Rome in the mid-sixteenth century: the papers of Antonio Agustín and Jean Matal', in *Antonio Agustín Between Renaissance and Counter-Reform*, ed. M. H. Crawford (1993: Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts 24: London) 95–111.

[83] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History* (above, n.77) 58–9.

[84] Letter from Smet to his patron Marco Laurino 1565, quoted by Calabi Limentani, 'Note su classificazione ed indici epigrafici', (above, n.80) 183.

[85] H. Wrede, 'Ein imaginierter Besuch im Museo da Carpi', in *Le collezioni di antichità nella cultura antiquaria europea*, ed. M. Fano Santi (1999: *Rivista di Archeologia* Supplement 21/ Bretschneider: Rome) 18–30 at 20.

Pirro Ligorio (*c.*1513–83) is, however, a rather more controversial figure (see further below, Subsection 3.3.2). An artist from Naples, he arrived on the scene at Rome in 1534. First employed as painter of house façades during the 1540s, he entered the service of Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este (1509–72) in 1549 as antiquary, and carried out excavations at Hadrian's villa at Tivoli. From 1558 he acted as official papal architect for Pope Paul IV and then Pius IV (being involved in completing the Belvedere Court at the Vatican and the dome of St Peter's), but fell from favour in the mid 1560s with the election of Pius V. He was then re-employed by the d'Este family, designing the Villa d'Este at Tivoli for Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este and then becoming Court Archaeologist at Ferrara from 1569 for the cardinal's nephew Duke Alfonso II d'Este, in whose service he died in 1583.[87] His two vast encyclopaedias of antiquities, destined to remain in manuscript form only,[88] offered an appreciation of inscriptions as primary historical sources on a vast new scale, but included many inscriptions of his own creation alongside genuine ones, resulting in the authenticity of the latter also being called into question (see further below, Subsection 3.3.2).[89] At the same time, however, Ligorio does offer eyewitness accounts of the discovery of some of the most important inscriptions at Rome, notably the *fasti Capitolini* (on which see further below). In his capacity as superintendent of the fabric of Rome's defences ('soprastante alla fabbrica delle fortezze di Roma'), he was often on the spot as inscriptions were uncovered, such as a statue base honouring M. Claudius Fronto in Trajan's Forum.[90] Sometimes, as in this case, these inscriptions later disappeared, presumably into lime-kilns, so that Ligorio is our only evidence for them.[91]

---

[86] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History* (above, n.77) 67–8; Calabi Limentani, 'Note su classificazione ed indici epigrafici' (above, n.80) 185–7.

[87] Biographical information drawn from E. Mandowsky and C. Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities: The Drawings in MS XIII. B.7 in the National Library in Naples* (1963: Warburg Institute: London) ch. 1; D. R. Coffin, 'Pirro Ligorio on the nobility of the arts', *JWarb* 27 (1964) 191–210, at 191–6; T. Ashby, 'The Bodleian MS. of Pirro Ligorio', *JRS* 9 (1919) 170–201, at 171–2.

[88] Only finally being produced in published form in recent years, in the series Edizione nazionale delle opere di Pirro Ligorio (Libri delle antichità): S. Orlandi, ed., *Pirro Ligorio, Libri delle iscrizioni latine e greche* (2008: De Luca: Rome).

[89] Calabi Limentani, 'Note su classificazione ed indici epigrafici' (above, n.80) 180.

[90] *CIL* VI 1377.

[91] G. Vagenheim, 'Les inscriptions Ligoriennes', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 30 (1987) 224.

Finally, the work of Jan Gruter (1560–1627), *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romanae* published in two volumes in 1602 and 1603, established itself as the dominant resource for the study of Latin inscriptions right down until the mid nineteenth century. He was supported in his endeavour by Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609). This work was in reality a forerunner of *CIL*, with the ambitious aim to collect all known Latin inscriptions, its title page declaring it to be *inscriptionum Romanarum corpus absolutissimum*. Offering 12 000 Inscriptions Divided Into Twenty Categories, With Extensive Seven-Part Indexes Compiled By Scaliger, the work failed, however, to respond to all of the advances in epigraphic method of the previous century, and encouraged the view that inscriptions were primarily to be regarded simply as texts; this remained dominant thereafter.[92] It provided the standard against which future antiquarians made their plans for epigraphic corpora, and right from the time of its publication, individuals and teams of scholars tried to improve upon Gruter's corpus by increasing its coverage, Indeed, a second edition of Gruter's corpus did appear in 1707 as a result of some of their efforts, but still in 1732 Scipione Maffei planned an even more ambitious corpus for both Greek and Latin inscriptions, which, however, remained merely a plan.[93]

This is not an exhaustive analysis of the contribution made by individuals to the development of epigraphy, but is designed to highlight some of the key figures whose names appear frequently in the stemmata in *CIL*, as a way of illustrating the variety of approaches adopted by these pioneers, and which need to be borne in mind when working on inscriptions derived from their manuscripts and books.[94] Even the authoritative voices of the editors of *CIL* need to be subject to scrutiny, given that they sometimes underestimate the potential for accuracy among earlier antiquarians: a squeeze now demonstrates, for example, that Raffaello Fabretti rather than the editors of *CIL* was correct about the archaizing orthography of a dedication to Isis and Serapis from the Claudian era.[95]

---

[92] M. G. Schmidt, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (2001: Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften) 5–8; Calabi Limentani, 'Note su classificazione ed indici epigrafici' (above, n.80) 188–96; Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History* (above, n.77) Epilogue. For subsequent epigraphic collections compiled during the seventeenth century, see Stenhouse, 'Classical inscriptions and antiquarian scholarship' (above, n.80).

[93] G. Vagenheim, 'L'épigraphie: un aspect méconnu de l'histoire de la philologie classique au XVII^{e} siècle', *Les cahiers de l'humanisme* 1 (2000) 89–115, at 89–99 on plans to supplement Gruter; for Maffei, see A. Buonopane, 'Il Prospectus universalis collectionis di Scipione Maffei e la nascita della scienza epigrafica', in *Scipione Maffei nell'Europa del settecento*, ed. G. P. Romagnani (1998: Consorzio Editori Veneti: Verona) 659–77.

[94] Further information in Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina* (above, n.55) 39–62; Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (above, n.64) ch. 11; Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History* (above, n.77).

3.3 Beyond the book: viewing and recording an inscription

3.3.1 On site and in museums

Despite the ever-improving quality of epigraphic publications, there can be no substitute for actually looking at an inscription yourself.[96] This is perhaps an obvious point in terms of checking the accuracy of a publication, but seeing an inscription face-to-face also makes it much more memorable. Furthermore, it allows you to see the inscribed monument as a whole – back, sides, top, as well as front – which is often revealing about the inscription's production, use, and reuse. Finding an inscription can pose certain challenges, especially in the case of inscriptions in museum storerooms. The fundamental preparatory work before a visit involves drawing up a list of inscriptions you wish to see, including their inventory numbers, and sending this to the museum in advance. *CIL* numbers sometimes suffice, but museums usually work from inventory numbers. It is worth checking catalogues for these, but if this is unsuccessful, another way of proceeding is to request access to museum archives in order to check through the museum's card indexes, which record inventory numbers. This may also turn up some unexpected results, including unpublished material, but permission to refer to such material should of course be obtained before publishing anything about such inscriptions. Some museums that have particularly large collections of inscriptions do not necessarily know exactly where a particular inscription is. In such circumstances you may have to resort to asking to see an inscription whose location is known, and then quickly checking the rest of the storeroom for others. Once you know their locations, you can then request to see these other inscriptions on further visits. Permission should be specifically requested for photography or squeezes (see below).

The following items form the essential toolkit needed for epigraphic exploration, whether on site or in a museum: a notebook, pencil, and rubber; tape measure; clearly printed scales of various sizes mounted on card to photograph with the inscription, and white tack for attaching them; a torch to create raking light to help read faded letters (or if the inscribed surface is curved, to illuminate it from above); a binocular for viewing inscriptions at a distance (either high up on a storeroom shelf or extant on tall buildings on site); feather-duster for cleaning inscriptions without damaging them; camera (plus spare batteries/memory card); heavy-duty leather gloves for moving small inscriptions (but beware of trying to shift larger ones).[97] It is probably not feasible to consider carrying around high-wattage lamps for illumination: the museum may be able to help with this, if you make the request in advance.

---

[95] Kragelund, 'Rostgaard, Fabretti and some paper impressions' (above, n.81) 165–6 on *CIL* VI 353.

[96] The following section is much indebted to Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista* (above, n.40) who offers detailed technical advice on how to edit inscriptions, specifically within a modern Italian framework, much of which provides helpful guidelines for anyone dealing at first hand with inscriptions.

It is of course desirable to have some physical record of the inscriptions studied in the form of drawings, photographs, and squeezes.[98] Making a quick sketch of an inscription can help put together multiple photographs of it later, and is also a useful way of keeping note of interesting letter-forms, but it is a subjective form of recording an inscription. Of the three methods, photography is the quickest and most portable and is most suitable if you have to study a sizeable number of inscriptions in a short space of time. It is often useful to photograph (with a scale) the sides, top, and rear of an inscription as well as its front. Museums can often supply excellent photographs of an inscription on request, sometimes free of charge or for a fee, but their photographs usually focus upon the inscription itself and artistic features: mundane things like clamp-marks or the rear-side of a monument do not tend to be recorded. One potential risk to beware of with photography is that the distorting effects of a raking light can make a blemish on the stone look like a letter-trace: careful examination of the stone itself should help to clarify such instances.

Squeezes – paper impressions of the surface of an inscription – have a number of advantages over photographs, but are much more time-consuming to create, and, in the case of worn inscriptions, museums may understandably be reluctant to permit the stones to be squeezed. If you have obtained permission to make a squeeze, your first task is to clean the stone with a sponge and water so that the dirt does not end up embedded upon the squeeze paper.[99] After that, you wet the inscription, and then dip a piece of squeeze paper (actually, chemical filter paper) in water, which you place over the inscription so that it slightly overlaps the area of which you wish to gain an impression. In the case of large stones, you can arrange several pieces of squeeze paper so that they overlap slightly. Then you firmly hit the stone with a squeeze brush (with a rectangular head similar to a scrubbing brush, but also with a handle)[100] at an angle of 90 degrees, so that the paper penetrates the lettering cut into the surface, starting from the centre and working outwards. You may extend your squeeze to the area surrounding the actual inscription, so as to preserve some sense of its monumental form. Furthermore, an impression of relief-work or mouldings may be preserved in this way. The paper is then left to dry: it should be lightly attached to the stone so that it does not come away from it as it dries. On removing the paper squeeze, you will find that you now have a 'negative' image of the inscription. The squeeze is then light and portable, but should not be folded, so as to avoid damaging it. It can, however, be lightly rolled up, if necessary. Letters are more prominent on the underside of the squeeze, where the paper has been in direct contact with the stone, and squeezes are best read held up to a source of light: in the past, scholars have had to develop the ability to read Latin backwards, but, now that squeezes can be digitally scanned and presented on the screen the right way around, this disadvantage of squeezes has been circumvented. Squeezes can also be made from latex (liquid rubber), a method that is even more sensitive in revealing surface marks, but is more time-consuming and expensive, since two layers of rubber need to be applied, allowing 24 hours for drying each one.

---

[97] Compare Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista* (above, n.40) ch. 2, whose toolkit is even more extensive.

[98] Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista* (above, n.40) chs. 3–4.

[99] For more detailed advice on the creation and use of squeezes, see A. G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions* (2nd edn, 1981: Cambridge University Press) 78–83; B. H. McLean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C.–A.D. 337)* (2002: University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor) 67–73.

Perhaps the greatest advantage of a squeeze over a photograph is that it preserves a 1 : 1 accurate copy of the inscription that can be consulted off-site. Potentially, squeezes of different fragments of a single monument can be physically placed together, reuniting fragments that may in reality be separated from each other. It may also be possible to consult an existing squeeze: the biggest collection of squeezes of Latin inscriptions is that generated in the course of compiling *CIL*, and is housed at the Berlin Academy. It is possible to search the online database (*Archivium Corporis Electronicum*) in order to retrieve details about the availability and inventory numbers of squeezes ('Abklatsche') in the collection.[101] Some of these have been digitized and are available online. Sometimes a squeeze of a whole text is still preserved in cases where inscriptions have since been damaged or even

---

[100] McLean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy* (above, n.99) 70 fig. 9.

[101] *Archivium Corporis Electronicum*: http://cil.bbaw.de/dateien/datenbank.php (last accessed Feb. 2011).

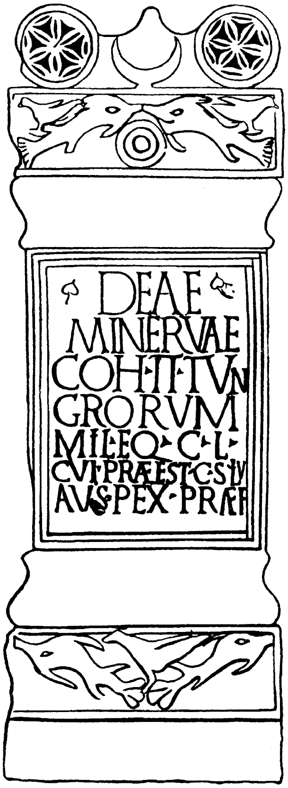


Fig. 3.6 An altar from Scotland, *RIB* I 2104: drawing (from *RIB* I 2104). Courtesy of the Administrators of the Haverfield Bequest.

lost entirely.[102] Squeezes can also preserve traces of a palimpsest of texts, where one text is inscribed on top of an earlier one.[103] Of course, the ideal scenario is to have access to the inscription itself, and then to be able to consult both squeezes and photographs of it since both media have different strengths and weaknesses, and since reliance upon either a single squeeze or photograph can distort the reading of an inscription.

67 An altar from Scotland: drawing – squeeze – photographs: Figs. 3.6–8

CIL VII 1071 = *EphEp* VII 1090 = *RIB* I 2104 = L. J. F. Keppie and B. J. Arnold, *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani: Great Britain,* vol. I, part 4 (1984: Oxford

---

[102] M. G. Schmidt, *Reflections of Roman Life and Living* (2003: De Gruyter: Berlin) 10–11 no. 2: *CIL* XIV 914: the left half of the stone is now missing; Schmidt, *Reflections of Roman Life* (above) 12–13, no. 3: *CIL* IX 5565, a bronze plaque, lost at Berlin during the Second World War.

[103] Schmidt, *Reflections of Roman Life* (above, n.102) 14–15 no. 4: *CIL* XIII 7448.

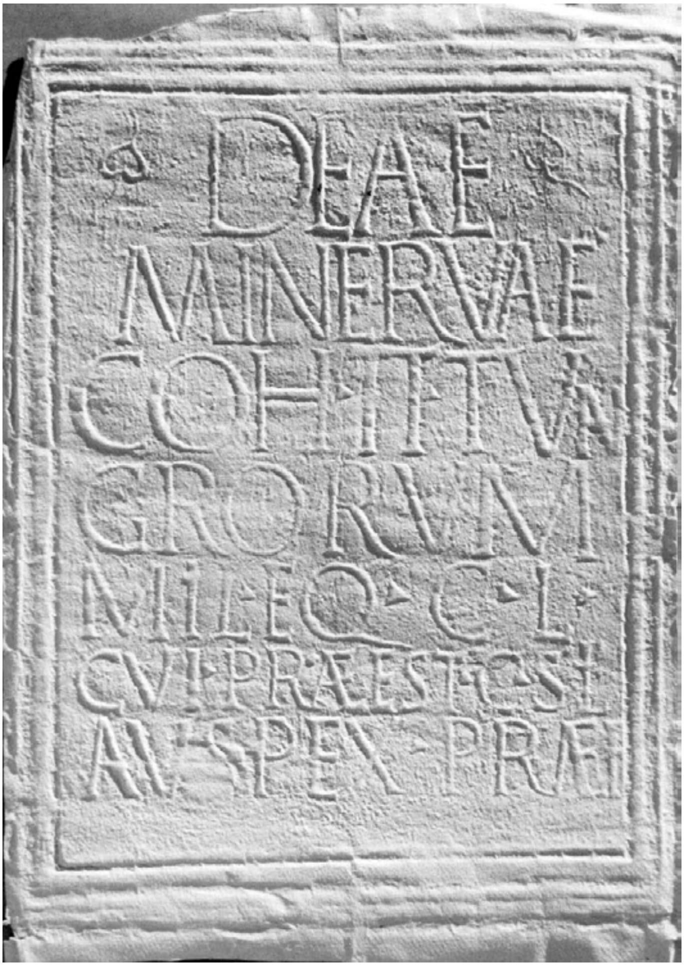

DEAE
MINERVAE
COH II TVN
GRORVM
MIL EQ C L
CVI PRAEEST C SIL
AVSPEX PRAEF

Fig. 3.7 An altar from Scotland, *RIB* I 2104: squeeze (from M. G. Schmidt, *Reflections of Roman Life and Living* (2003: De Gruyter: Berlin) 31 no. 14)

University Press/ British Academy: Oxford) no. 9 with pl 4; M. G. Schmidt, *Reflections of Roman Life and Living* (2003: De Gruyter: Berlin) 31 no 14.

deae / Minervae / coh(ors) II Tun/grorum /^{5} *mil(liaria) eq(uitata) c(ivium) L(atinorum) / cui prâeest C(aius) Sîl(vius) / Auspex prâef(ectus)*

'To the goddess Minerva, the second equestrian cohort of the Tungrians with one thousand men, citizens of Latin rights, under the command of the prefect Gaius Silvius Auspex (dedicated this altar).'

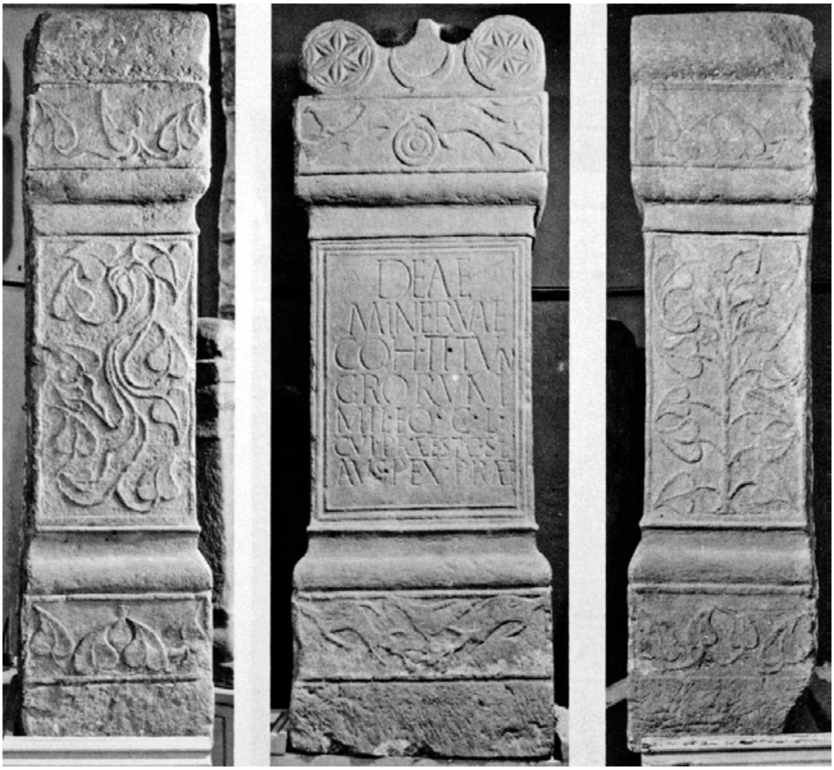


Fig. 3.8 An altar from Scotland, *RIB* I 2104: photographs (from L. J. F. Keppie and B. J. Arnold, *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*, vol. I, *Great Britain*, part 4, Scotland (1984: Oxford University Press/British Academy: Oxford) no. 9 with pl. 4). Courtesy of Dumfries Museum.

This altar of local yellow–grey sandstone was found near the fort at Blatobulgium (modern Birrens, Dumfriesshire, Scotland, UK); height 124.4 cm, width 43 cm, depth 30.5 cm; letters height 6.5 cm (l.1), 5 cm (ll.2–4), 4.5 cm (l.5), 3.5 cm (l.6), 4.5 cm (l.7). It can be dated to after AD 158 from its findspot, since the Second Cohort of Tungri was garrisoned here during the Antonine period. It is now in Dumfries Museum, inv. 1950/53/1. The paper squeeze in the *CIL* archive (EC0003396), made in the early twentieth century, has been digitized online (PH0004359); the drawing was made by R. G. Collingwood for *RIB* (1922); the photographs are reproduced from *CSIR*. Each format has different strengths and weaknesses. Although the squeeze offers an image only of the inscription itself and its moulding, it is clear and accurate in rendering the lettering and interpuncts. For example, it suggests that the final letter *V* at the end of l.6 is only very lightly incised, whereas this difference between the letters is not shown in the drawing. The drawing illustrates only the front of the monument, but gives a better impression of the altar's overall character than the squeeze, including its ornamentation of leaping dolphins accompanied by birds on the upper and lower mouldings, and rosettes flanking an inverted crescent above them. The advantage of the photographs is that they illustrate both sides of the altar as well as its front, showing that both sides of the altar are also highly decorated with entwined ivy-leaves on their capital, shaft, and base. According to the description in *RIB*, the rear is plain.

When faced with an inscription, it is worth having a checklist of the data you should record for future reference:[104]

- location – inventory number
- description of the monument (its material, general typology, and decorative features, from all angles – including, for example, whether its rear is smoothed or rough). The following lists some of the most common categories of inscribed monument (excluding non-monumental inscriptions),[105] and features to look out for on them:
    - plaque (see above, fig. 1.19) (plain; with moulded frame, and/or with decorative motifs); *tabula ansata* – a plaque with handles carved out in the centre at each side; *tabula pseudo-ansata* – a plaque where the handles are not fully carved out, but remain in relief; *mensa sepulcralis* – a plaque from the podium-level of a *columbarium*, with *infundibulum* pierced with hole(s) (in appearance rather like a sieve) for libations

68 *Columbarium* plaque: Fig. 3.9

CIL VI 23052; CSAD photograph

H. Prideaux, *Marmora Oxoniensia ex Arundellianis, Seldenianis aliisque conflata* (1676: Oxford) 102, no. 30; M. Maittaire, *Marmorum, Arundellianorum, Seldenianorum, Aliorumque Academiae Oxoniensi Donatorum* (2nd edn, 1732: William Bowyer: London) 43, no. 130; R. Chandler, *Marmora Oxoniensia* (1763: Clarendon Press: Oxford) 136, no. 72. Currently in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; autopsy.

---

[104] Cf. Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista* (above, n.40) chs. 5, 7. For guidelines on editing *instrumentum domesticum*, see V. Morizio, 'Proposta di uno schema-guida per la schedatura dell'instrumentum inscriptum', in *Epigrafia della produzione e della distribuzione* (1994: CÉFR 193: Rome) 227–33.

[105] Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista* (above, n.40) ch. 9 includes a much more detailed listing of types of monument, including rare as well as common ones.

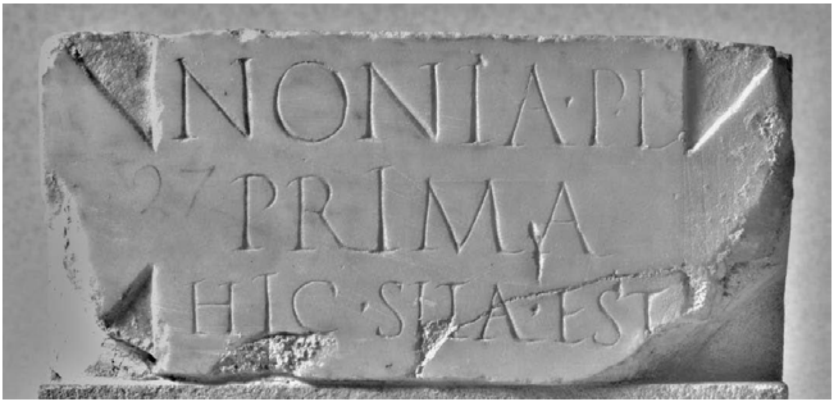


Fig. 3.9 *Columbarium* plaque – *CIL* VI 23052 (photo: C. V. Crowther/Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents)

Nonia P(ubli) l(iberta)/Prìma / hìc sita est

'Nonia Prima freedwoman of Publius is buried here.'

This epitaph is inscribed upon a plain rectangular slab of white marble (height 11.3 cm, width 24.5 cm, depth 2.5 cm) with a *tabula pseudo-ansata*. Triangular interpuncts occur sporadically. It is of unknown provenance; it was first recorded in Oxford, but probably originated from Rome.

69 ***Columbarium* plaque: *mensa sepulcralis:*** Fig. 3.10

CIL VI 21417; CSAD photograph

H. Prideaux, *Marmora Oxoniensia ex Arundellianis, Seldenianis aliisque conflata* (1676: Oxford) 83, no. 12; M. Maittaire, *Marmorum, Arundellianorum, Seldenianorum, Aliorumque Academiae Oxoniensi Donatorum* (2nd edn, 1732: William Bowyer: London) 36, no. 67; R. Chandler, *Marmora Oxoniensia* (1763: Clarendon Press: Oxford) 134, no. 45. Currently in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; autopsy.

d(is) m(anibus) / Liviae Castae coniugi / L(ucius) Valerius Aprilis fecit et sibi

'To the spirits of the dead. Lucius Valerius Aprilis did (this) for his wife Livia Casta and for himself.'

This epitaph is inscribed upon a squarish *mensa sepulchralis* of white marble (not a *tabula marmorea*, as *CIL*), with an *infundibulum* at its centre beneath the inscribed epitaph, with four perforations, and a channel 11 cm in diameter at

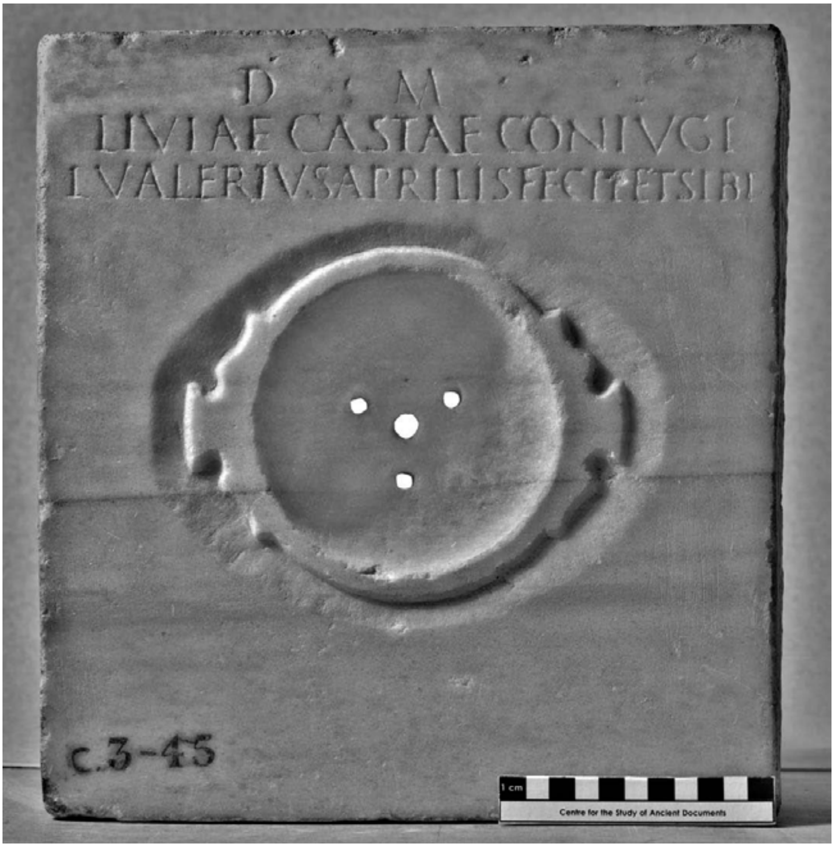

D M
LIVIAE CASTAE CONIVGI
L VALERIVS APRILIS FECIT ET SIBI
c.3-45
1 cm
Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents

Fig. 3.10 *Columbarium* plaque: *mensa sepulcralis* – *CIL* VI 21417 (photo: C. V. Crowther/Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents)

the rear, where a modern support has been added (height 31.8 cm, width 30 cm, depth 7 cm. It is probably from Rome, although no findspot is recorded for it.

- *stele* (upright slab, with rounded or rectangular top, sometimes with a pediment and acroteria); often decorated with reliefs

70 Funerary *stele* of a cavalryman: Fig. 3.11

CIL VII 67 = *RIB* I 121

Currently in Gloucester City Museum; autopsy August 2009.

Rufus Sita eques c(o)ho(rtis) VI / T(h)racum ann(orum) XL stip(endiorum) XXII / heredes exs(!) test(amento) f(aciendum) curave(runt) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)

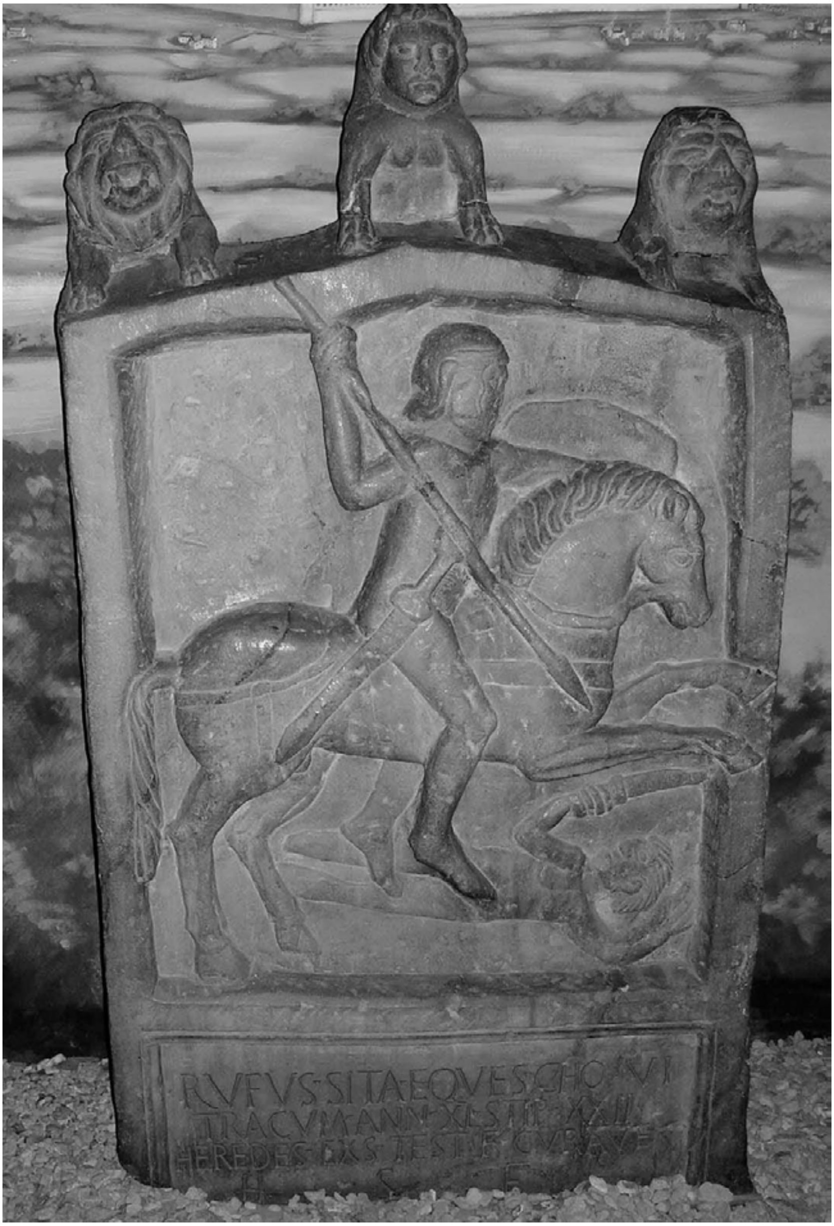

RVFVS·SITA·EQVES·CHO·VI
TRACVM·ANN·XL·STIP·XXII
HEREDES·EXS·TEST·F·CVRAVER
H S E

Fig. 3.11 Funerary *stele* of a cavalryman – *RIB* I 121 (photo: courtesy of Gloucester City Museum)

'Rufus Sita, cavalryman of the sixth cohort of Thracians, aged 40, 22 years in service, is buried here. His heirs saw to this being set up in accordance with his will.'

This large funerary *stele* of oolitic limestone from Glevum (modern Gloucester), in south-west Britain, commemorated an auxiliary cavalryman. The main relief depicts a cavalryman riding down a defeated opponent. As its inscription states, it marked the burial-place of the deceased. The red paint is modern.

- ○ *cippus* (see above, Figs. 1.5 and 1.18), often used vaguely as a catch-all category covering a whole variety of monuments (altar, base, milestone, boundary-marker, *stele*), but really a plain squat marker with rounded or rectangular top, fixed into the ground; may have a hole towards the bottom for securing it in the ground
- ○ base (see above, Figs. 1.2, 1.6–8): usually comprising base – dado – cornice, with mouldings at top and bottom; clamp marks for affixing statue on top (cavities for foot/hoofprints indicate a metal statue)
- ○ altar/small altar (with *focus*, a small hollowed depression, on top for offerings; pulvinars/cylindrical cushions or bolsters of evergreen leaves at the sides on the top, with a flower at their ends); often decorated in relief with sacrificial images, such as *bucrania* (ox-head skeletons) and garlands, *urceus* (one-handled jug) and *patera* (shallow libation-dish).

71. Funerary altar: Fig. 3.12

CIL VI 11617; CSAD photograph

J. Selden, *Marmora Arundelliana* (1629: London) 54 no. 9; H. Prideaux, *Marmora Oxoniensia ex Arundellianis, Seldenianis aliisque conflata* (1676: Oxford) 91, no. 19; M. Maittaire, *Marmorum, Arundellianorum, Seldenianorum, Aliorumque Academiae Oxoniensi Donatorum* (2nd edn, 1732: William Bowyer: London) 37, no. 75; R. Chandler, *Marmora Oxoniensia* (1763: Clarendon Press: Oxford) 134, no. 40. Currently in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; autopsy.

dis manibus / Anchariae Ampelidi / fecerunt / M(arcus) Antonius M(arci) /^{5} *Antoni M(arci) f(ili) Flori / liberti Aprilis libertus / Pothinus coniugi / suae carissimae bene / meritae de se et /*^{10} *M(arcus) Antonius Antoni / Pothini filius Claud(ia tribu) / Iustus matri suae / piissimae adque / indulgentissimae*

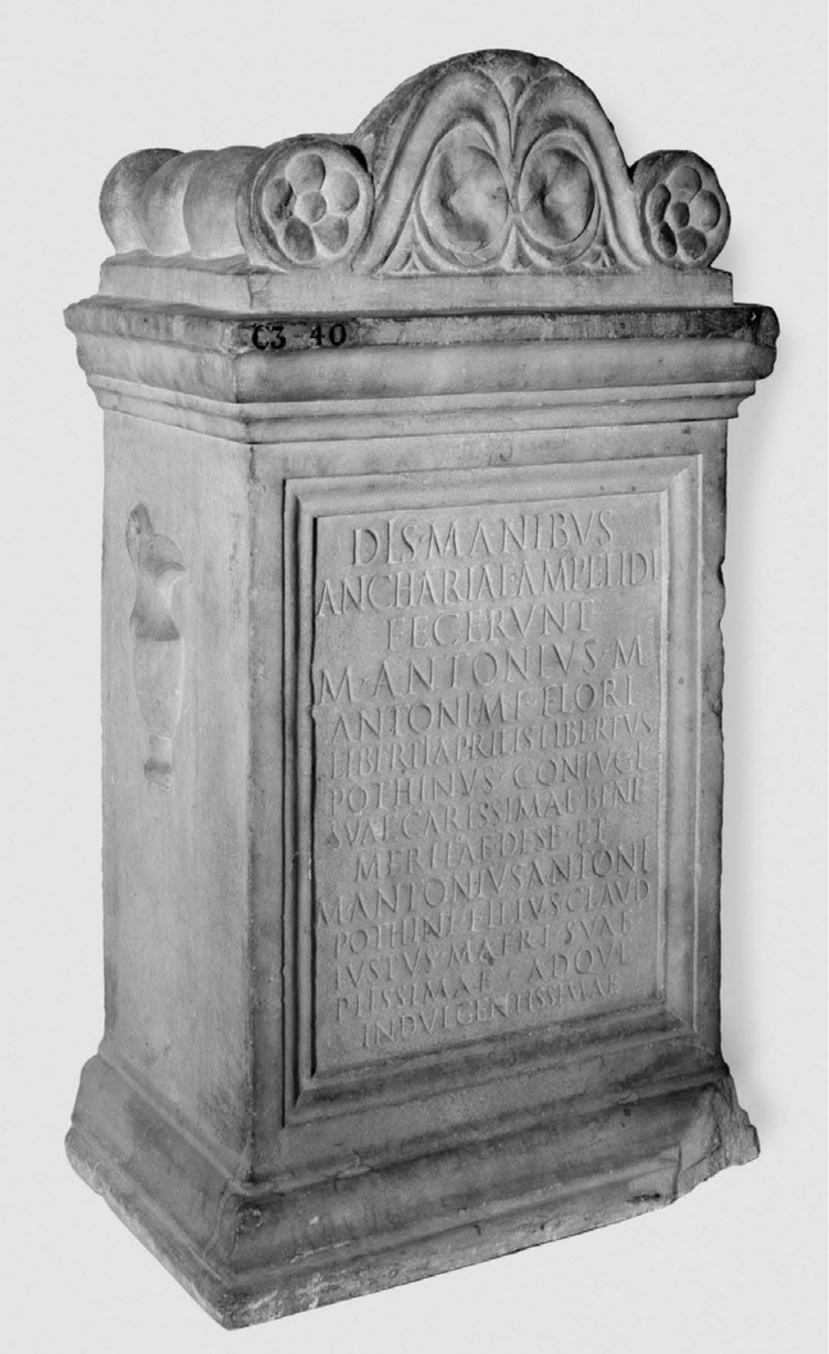

C3 40
DIS·MANIBVS
ANCHARIAE AMPELIDI
FECERVNT
M·ANTONIVS·M
ANTONI·M·F·FLORI
LIBERTI APRILIS LIBERTVS
POTHINVS·CONIVGI
SVAE CARISSIMAE BENE
MERITAE DE SE·ET
M·ANTONIVS ANTONI
POTHINI FILIVS CLAVD
IVSTVS MATRI SVAE
PIISSIMAE·ADQVE
INDVLGENTISSIMAE

Fig. 3.12 Funerary altar – *CIL* VI 11617 (photo: C. V. Crowther/Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents)

> 'To the spirits of the dead. Marcus Antonius Pothinus, freedman of Marcus Antonius Aprilis, freedman of Florus, son of Marcus, for his dearest wife well deserving of him and Marcus Antonius Iustus, son of Antonius Pothinus, of the Claudian voting-tribe, for his most dutiful and generous mother.'
>
> A white marble funerary altar, with a *patera* sculpted in relief on its right side, and an *urceus* on its left (height 74 cm, width 41 cm, depth 28.5 cm). On the top are pulvinars with flowers on each side, and in the middle on the upper surface is a dish with two handles, with twelve small holes around a big central hole. The inscription is within a moulded frame, the dimensions of its inscribed campus being height 33.7 cm, width 35.8 cm. The rear is smooth, with remains of a clamp in the centre of the top. There are triangular interpuncts throughout.

  - ash-chest (see above, Fig. 3.16)
  - sarcophagus
  - architectural element, such as architrave (see above, Fig. 1.13) or column
- state of preservation, including damage/signs of reuse or adaptation (for example the whole surface of the inscription having been cut back; recutting of the monument); signs of modern restoration work
- dimensions of the monument (height, width, depth)
- dimensions of the inscribed field or campus (height, width)
- height of the letters in each line
- palaeographical features:[106]
  - areas within the inscription left deliberately blank (= *vacat*)
  - letters that are taller than the rest.[107] These may exist for the sake of aesthetics (T and Y are often taller in order to save space) or to clarify meaning: a taller letter may mark out the beginning of a sequence of words, whilst a lengthened I sometimes marks a long vowel
  - letters that are shorter than the rest
  - apices marking long vowels
  - joined letters and ligatures (letters joined together with extra strokes)
  - abbreviation marks (see above 3.2.4)
  - interpuncts, dividing words (dot/comma/triangle/rectangular/ivy-leaf/palm-leaf/oblique slash)[108]

---

[106] Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista* (above, n.40) ch. 13.

[107] C. Ricci, *Lettere montanti nelle iscrizioni latine di Roma* (1992: Opuscula Epigraphica 3: Quasar: Rome).

[108] For a more extensive discussion of interpuncts during the Republic, see R. Zucca, 'Sui tipi di interpunzione nelle iscrizioni latine dall'età più antica alla fine della Repubblica', *Miscellanea greca e romana* 18 (1994) 123–50.

- punctuation: within sentences, separating out items in a list; marking end of sentences, separating paragraphs (blank space; oblique slash; ′next to an interpunct; > ∫ 3)[109]
- metrical divisions/indentation of lines for elegiac verses
- words or letters that appear to be later additions or corrections to the stone
- erasures/letters on top of an erasure
- presence of red paint
- traces of guiding lines

Of course, this is all in addition to the basic task of transcribing the actual text of the inscription (see above, for a guide to diacritic signs to be used in transcriptions).

3.3.2 Forgeries

Thousands of Latin inscriptions are not genuinely ancient. In *CIL* forgeries are generally gathered into a separate section at the beginning of each volume (together with *aliena*, inscriptions not belonging to their findspot), and are marked *, with the exception of *CIL* VI for the city of Rome, which provides enough material for a whole fascicle to be devoted to forgeries, *CIL* VI/V. Starting with Felix Felicianus of Verona in the mid fifteenth century, various individuals (notably Jean-Jacques Boissard (*c.*1528–1602); Pirro Ligorio (*c.*1513–83: see further below); one of Gruter's collaborators, Leonhard Gutenstein; Cándido María Trigueros (1736–98); Florentine Francisco Roselli (late eighteenth century); Michele Arcangelo Lupoli, bishop of Venusia in the late eighteenth century; and, during the nineteenth century, French engineer Chabassière) have been motivated in various ways to pass off inscriptions of their own creation as original ancient ones.[110] Some inscriptions were created to recall famous individuals and events from Roman history, such as Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon,[111] or to embody as inscriptions episodes mentioned in literary sources, such as the funerary eulogy for L. Caecilius Metellus derived from Pliny the Elder.[112] Others – most notoriously, the extensive epigraphic record fabricated by Dominican friar Giovanni Nanni (*c.*1432–1502), also commonly known as Annius of Viterbo, in support of his contention that his home town was in fact the cradle of western civilization – were intended to support scholarly endeavours, or to increase the market value of antiquities (see further below).[113]

---

[109] E. O. Wingo, *Latin Punctuation in the Classical Age* (1972: Mouton: The Hague).

[110] F. F. Abbott, 'Some spurious inscriptions and their authors', *CP* 3.1 (1908) 22–30, provides a brief overview of the characteristics of the creations and motivations of each individual.

[111] *CIL* XI 30*; Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina* (above, n.55) 77–8.

[112] *CIL* VI/V 1*f, based on Plin. *HN* 7.43.139–41.

To label such inscriptions simply as 'forgeries' is to oversimplify the problem, however, and perhaps hides the fact that no simple explanation can be offered for the origins of such inscriptions.[114] Attitudes to antiquities have changed considerably over the centuries: what might once have been encouraged as recovery, restoration, improvement, and embellishment would now be condemned as sharp practice.[115] Nostalgia for recreating the past in greater detail than was actually possible from new discoveries prompted a flood of imaginative reconstructions during the Renaissance. Supplying missing parts of inscriptions, or even whole inscriptions, was sometimes simply a form of restoration on a par with supplying missing limbs or heads to ancient statues found in a damaged state.[116] The renovation of an ash-chest, for instance, might involve adding missing components, whether a new lid, base, inscription, or decorative engravings.[117] Furthermore, during the eighteenth century, antiquities were often regarded primarily as ornaments rather than as historical sources, with the result that authentically ancient ash-chests which had originally remained uninscribed were enhanced by having inscriptions added to them, often based on other genuine inscriptions. This is a particular feature of the collection of ash-chests purchased by Henry Blundell as part of a wider collection of antiquities assembled between his first visit to Rome in 1776 and his death in 1810, which he displayed in his 'Garden Temple' and 'Pantheon' built for this purpose on his estate at Ince Blundell in Lancashire. In the case of other ash-chests in his collection, some included new inscriptions as part of extensive restoration work, or had new ones engraved over originals that had been badly worn away. Fewer than half of the inscriptions on his fifty or so ash-chests are definitely genuine.[118] Indeed, some at least are likely to have been created for the benefit of future customers – among whose number was Blundell – by Thomas Jenkins, a leading dealer in antiquities at Rome, who had inscriptions added to ash-chests which he bought as middleman from the vast Mattei collection in Rome, sold off to settle debts in the 1770s.[119] Although we do not know whether or not Blundell realized that his ash-chests had been 'enhanced', the fact that he also commissioned modern copies of ancient sculptures from contemporary sculptors such as Canova and an extensively recut antique vase from Piranesi – and was actually prepared to pay more for these than for real antiquities – suggests that he may have been perfectly happy to have bought ancient ash-chests that had been heavily restored.[120]

---

[113] Annius of Viterbo: A. Collins, 'Renaissance epigraphy and its legitimating potential: Annius of Viterbo, Etruscan inscriptions, and the origins of civilization', in *The Afterlife of Inscriptions*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2000: BICS Supplement 75: London) 57–76; A. Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (1990: Princeton University Press) 48–9, 54–5, 60–1; Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (above, n.64) 125–6.

[114] Overview of different types of forgery in Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina* (above, n.55) 76–80.

[115] M. P. Billanovich, 'Falsi epigrafici', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 10 (1967) 25–110; H. Burns, 'Pirro Ligorio's reconstruction of ancient Rome: the *Anteiquae Vrbis Imago* of 1561', in *Pirro Ligorio: Artist and Antiquarian*, ed. R. W. Gaston (1988: Villa I Tatti 10: Silvana: Florence) 19–92.

[116] Grafton, *Forgers and Critics* (above, n.113) 26–8.

[117] For example, *CIL* VI 29187 + A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (1882: Cambridge University Press) 408 no. 348, an ash-chest enhanced by G.B. Piranesi by adding a decorative base and lid, illustrated as fig. 9.16 by G. Davies, 'Enhancing by inscription in the late eighteenth century: the case of Henry Blundell's ash chests', in *The Afterlife of Inscriptions*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2000: BICS Supplement 75: London) 103–23 at 122–3; cf. G. Davies, 'The inscriptions on the ash chests of the Ince Blundell Hall collection: ancient and modern', in *The Epigraphy of Death: Studies in the History and Society of Greece and Rome*, ed. G. J. Oliver (2000: Liverpool University Press) 187–216, at 201–2.

Inauthentic inscriptions have not always been dismissed out of hand: Scipione Maffei chose to display forged inscriptions in his new museum at Verona, albeit in a section clearly separated from the authentic ones.[121] The eagerness of local communities and individual families to be able to prove their ancient origins created the right kind of atmosphere for inscriptions to be created to support their proud claims.[122] Fourteenth-century Padua was all too keen to lay claim to an inscription purportedly bearing the name of one of the town's most famous individuals, the historian Livy, even though it was in fact the epitaph of a T. Livius Halys, and its claim was supported by Petrarch.[123] Similarly, Cardinal Federico Cesi (1500–65) created the impression that he belonged to a family of great antiquity by displaying in his garden at Rome inscriptions bearing the names of Caesii, Caesonii, or Caesellii, an impression that was accepted by at least one contemporary viewer, Bolognese naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605), who referred in 1562 to the 'ancient epitaphs, which all mention the ancient

---

[118] Davies, 'The inscriptions on the ash chests of the Ince Blundell Hall collection' (above, n.117) 187–216, and 'Enhancing by inscription' (above, n.117) 103–23.

[119] L. Hautecoeur, 'La vente de la collection Mattei et les origines du Musée Pio-Clémentin', *MÉFRA* (1910) 57–75, at 63; Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles* (above, n.117) 334–5.

[120] G. Vaughan, 'Henry Blundell's sculpture collection at Ince Hall', in *Patronage and Practice: Sculpture on Merseyside*, ed. P. Curtis (1989: Tate Gallery: Liverpool) 13–21.

[121] I. Favaretto, 'Scipione Maffei e la cultura antiquaria veneta', in *Scipione Maffei nell'Europa del settecento*, ed. G. P. Romagnani (1998: Consorzio Editori Veneti: Verona) 621–36, at 630.

[122] Weiss, *Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (above, n.64) 120–2.

[123] *CIL* V 2865, with various reactions to the inscription outlined by Weiss, *Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (above, n.64) 20–1, 36, 44, 121.

Cesi family, which today we call di Cesis' ('antichi epitafi, che fanno tutti mentione dell'antica famiglia Cesi, che hoggi di Cesis diciamo').[124]

Having said all of this, it still remains crucial, of course, to be able to assess whether an inscription is genuinely ancient or not. Neapolitan artist/architect/antiquarian Pirro Ligorio presents particular problems of interpretation and has long divided opinion, having been both vilified and praised in the highest terms by his contemporaries.[125] The scale of his activities also makes assessing his work especially important, with almost 3000 spurious inscriptions being described as 'Ligorian' in *CIL* VI/V alone.[126] Ligorio poses especial difficulties since in many cases he actually offers invaluable information about inscriptions which he had seen at first hand. Although most of his work remained unpublished, substantial parts of it are preserved in manuscripts in Paris, Oxford, Naples, and Turin. Of these, the manuscript at Naples has been assessed as essentially trustworthy, so it may be useful to illustrate his method with the following example, in order to show how his drawings, even when executed in good faith, should not be interpreted as offering photographic accuracy.[127]

72 Ligorio's altar to the Syrian goddess: Figs. 3.13–14

CIL VI 115

CIL VI 115 + 30696; *ILS* 4276; E. Mandowsky and C. Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities: The Drawings in MS XIII.B.7 in the National Library in Naples* (1963: Warburg Institute: London) pl. 14b/c + catalogue no. 18.

P(ublius) Acilius Felix / d(onum) d(edit) dia<e> Suriae cum suis

Dessau in *ILS* interpreted l.2 as *Diasuriae.*

'Publius Acilius Felix gave as a gift to the Syrian goddess together with his associates.'

---

[124] H. Wrede, 'Römische Antikenprogramme des 16. Jahrhunderts', in *Il cortile delle statue*, eds. M. Winner *et al.* (1998: Philipp von Zabern: Mainz) 83–115, at 87–91, with n.26, quoting from Aldrovandi (1562); W. Stenhouse, 'Visitors, display, and reception in the antiquity collections of late-Renaissance Rome', *Renaissance Quarterly* 58.2 (2005) 400.

[125] Vagenheim, 'Les inscriptions Ligoriennes' (above, n.91) 253–61; D. R. Coffin, *Pirro Ligorio: The Renaissance Artist, Architect, and Antiquarian* (2004: Pennsylvania State University Press: University Park, Pa.) 21.

[126] *CIL* VI/V 101*–3093*. For his fabrication of Greek inscriptions, see T. Mommsen, 'Epigraphische Analekten n.23', in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. VIII, part 1, *Epigraphische und numismatische Schriften* (1913: Weidmann: Berlin) 168–75.

[127] Mandowsky and Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities* (above, n.87) 41–5, esp. 44.

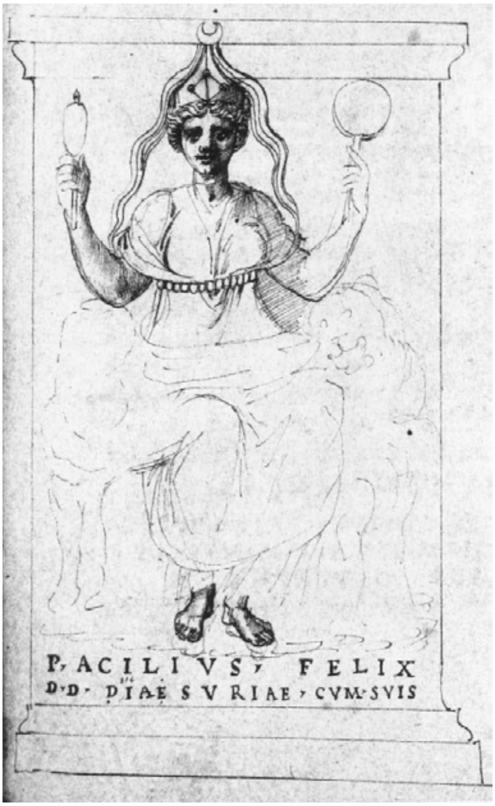


Fig. 3.13 Altar to the Syrian goddess, Ligorio's drawing – *CIL* VI 115 (from E. Mandowsky and C. Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities: The Drawings in MS XIII. B.7 in the National Library in Naples* (1963: Warburg Institute: London) pl. 14b)

This shows Ligorio's unfinished drawing in his Naples manuscript Bibl. Naz. XIII.B.1–10 p.47 of an altar perhaps from the Janiculum (cf. *CIL* VI p.3763), compared with the monument itself in the Capitoline Museum. Although the drawing is essentially accurate in its main features, Ligorio has changed the overall relationship of the relief to the inscription and the altar, has restored features to the goddess's face, has emended the inscription (noting that he has done so with the small superscript *sic*), and has made the inscription's lettering and style of engraving as a whole much more uniform.

Ligorio was, however, also very skilful at integrating his fabricated inscriptions among authentic ones. He varied his technique with regard to inscriptions, sometimes inventing them entirely (either only on manuscript or actually carving them), and at other times conjecturally restoring them or

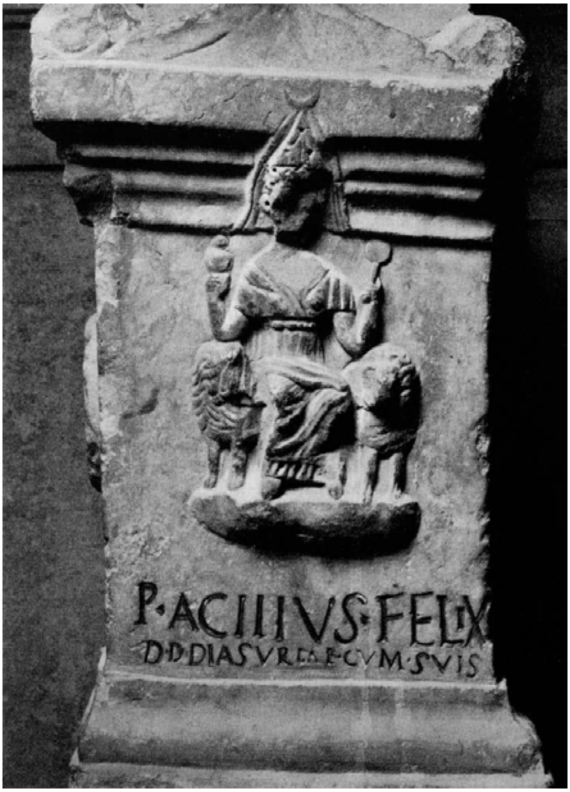


Fig. 3.14 Altar to the Syrian goddess – *CIL* VI 115 (from E. Mandowsky and C. Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities: The Drawings in MS XIII. B.7 in the National Library in Naples* (1963: Warburg Institute: London) pl. 14c)

faithfully recording them.[128] He also consistently provided precise locations where he claimed his inscriptions had been found, as well as vivid descriptions of their monumental appearance. Nevertheless, his lack of philological and linguistic expertise sometimes betrays inscriptions as his creations.[129]

---

[128] R. W. Gaston, 'Introduction', in *Pirro Ligorio: Artist and Antiquarian*, ed. R. W. Gaston (1988: Villa I Tatti 10: Silvana: Florence) 15; Abbott, 'Some spurious inscriptions' (above, n.110) 27–9; H. Solin, 'La raccolta epigrafica di Rodolfo Pio', in *Studi di antiquaria ed epigrafia per Ada Rita Gunnella*, eds. C. Bianca, G. Capecchi, and P. Desideri (2009: Libri, Carte, Immagini 2: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura: Rome) 117–52, at 138 for Ligorio's invention of inscriptions supposedly in Pio da Carpi's collection five years after the cardinal's death, when he was then based at Ferrara.

[129] W. Henzen, 'Zu den Fälschungen des Pirro Ligorio', in *Commentationes Philologae in honorem Theodori Mommseni* (1877: Weidmann: Berlin) 627–43; H. Solin, 'Ligoriana und Verwandtes: zur Problematik epigraphischer Fälschungen', in *E fontibus haurire: Beiträge zur römischen Geschichte und zu ihren Hilfswissenschaften*, eds. R. Günther and S. Rebenich (1994: Ferdinand

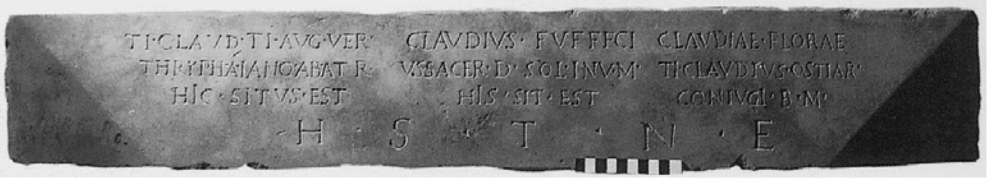


Fig. 3.15 A Ligorian fabrication – *CIL* VI 968* (from G. Camodeca and H. Solin, eds, *Le iscrizioni latine del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (*ILMN*), vol. I, *Roma e Latium* (2000: Loffredo: Naples) – *ILMN* no. 637)

Typical are his peculiar grammatical errors and turns of phrase (with, for example *domoi mortui* in place of *dis manibus*),[130] the use of arcane vocabulary (such as *myrobrecharius*),[131] inaccurate or fantastical onomastic formulae (such as confusing gentilician *nomina* with *cognomina* or attributing the *tria nomina* of a citizen to a slave),[132] and a tendency towards elaboration, inventing occupations on the pattern *a* + noun (but erroneously using an accusative rather than ablative case after the preposition), such as *a balnea custos* (a corrupt variant of *a balneo*).[133] He also adopted some idiosyncratic stylistic mannerisms, such as heart-shaped interpuncts,[134] ligatures, and a tendency to put an acute accent over the preposition *a*. Some of these tell-tale signs can be seen in the following example.

73 A Ligorian fabrication: Fig. 3.15

CIL VI 968*; *ILMN* 637

Ti(berius) Claud(ius) Ti(beri) Aug(usti) ver(na) / Thryph(o), á iano ab atr(iis) / hìc situs est. || *Claudius Fuffeci/us, sacerd(os) Sol(is) Inv(icti) M(ithrae) / hìs*(!) *sit(us) est* || *Claudiae Florae / Ti. Claudius ostiar(ius) / coniugi b(ene) m(erenti)* || *H. s. t. n. e.*

'Tiberius Claudius Thryphus, household slave of Tiberius Augustus, in charge of the door from the atrium, is buried here.
Claudius Fuffecius, priest of Unconquered Sun Mithras, is buried here.
Tiberius Claudius, door-keeper, to Claudia Flora his well-deserving wife.'
[The last line consists of a random sequence of abbreviated letters.]

Schöningh: Paderborn) 335–51, at 337–8; Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History* (above, n.77) ch. 3.

[130] *CIL* VI/V 883*. [131] *CIL* VI/V 2129*. [132] *CIL* VI/V 856*, 885*, 888*–9*.

[133] *CIL* VI/V 971*. Cf. *CIL* VI/V 893* for a *servus a sandalium*.

[134] *CIL* VI/V 924*, 2079*, 111*, 126*, 290*, 1657*.

This epitaph is shallowly inscribed upon a slab of white marble. In common with many Ligorian inscriptions, this epitaph found its way into the collection of antiquities of Cardinal Rodolfo Pio di Carpi. The nomenclature of the individuals is misconceived, with an imperial slave being given *tria nomina*, and the husband of Claudia Flora lacking a *cognomen*; the combination of Tiberius Augustus is also inaccurate for the emperor Claudius, whose freedmen should be named Tiberius Claudius. Furthermore, the *cognomina* Thryphus and Fuffecius are otherwise unattested. Allusions to members of the imperial household performing various occupations are a prominent feature of the inscriptions collected by the cardinal, many of them created for him by Ligorio. The second epitaph ends with an erroneous version of the standard formula *hic situs est*. The whole inscription ends with a random sequence of letters.

For Ligorio, fabricating an inscription offered a way in which he could resolve a scholarly argument, whether about topography or vocabulary.[135] This may be neatly illustrated by the case of the consular and triumphal *fasti*, newly unearthed in the Roman Forum in 1546, whose authorship the vast majority of scholars at the time wished to attribute to freedman and scholar Verrius Flaccus, tutor to Augustus' heirs, Gaius and Lucius. The key to this question was a passage about Verrius Flaccus in Suetonius, *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* 17.4: 'He has a statue at Praeneste, in the upper part of the Forum near the hemicycle in which he had published the *fasti* drawn up by him and inscribed on a marble wall' (*statuam habet Praeneste in superiore fori parte circa hemicyclium in quo fastos a se ordinatos et marmoreo parieti incisos publicarat*). On this basis, leading antiquarians such as Ottavio Pantagato and Antonio Agustìn claimed that the *fasti* belonged to a hemicycle in the Roman Forum. To do this, they had to emend the text of Suetonius, removing or emending the word 'Praeneste'. Pantagato, for example, corrected the text to fit the topography of the Forum, replacing *Praeneste* with *pro Vestae* ('in front of the temple of Vesta'), whilst Agustìn proposed emending the word to *pedestrem*, so as to allude to a pedestrian statue. Ligorio, however, went against scholarly consensus in counter-claiming that the *fasti* belonged instead to a *quadrifrons* arch in the Forum, and he falsified an honorific inscription on a statue base to Verrius Flaccus at Praeneste to support his view.

---

[135] Cf. Ligorio's creation of *CIL* X 1008* to resolve debate over a toponym: G. Vagenheim, 'Pirro Ligorio et la falsification: à propos du golfe de Santa Eufemia dans la Calabre antique et de CIL X 1008*', *Minima Epigraphica et Papyrologica* 4.5 (2001) 179–214.

74 Ligorio's Praenestine forgery

CIL XIV 278*

Q. Verrio Q. f. Pal. / Flacco / seviro Augustali / curatori muneris /^{5} *publici / decreto statuam et fas / ordo decurionum et Augustalium / et pleps universa s. p. p. p. d. d.*

'To Quintus Verrius Flaccus, son of Quintus, of the Palatina tribe, *sevir Augustalis*, curator of public shows, by decree a statue and *fasti* the town councillors and *Augustales* and whole people decided that a statue should be set up publicly by decree of the town councillors.'

The nomenclature does not fit freedman M. Verrius Flaccus. The last line is supposed to represent *s(tatuam) p(ublice) p(oni) p(lacuit) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*: Ligorio does not show awareness of the fact that this formula sits uneasily here, since mention has already been made earlier in the inscription to the decree of a statue.

This inscription was widely accepted as genuine, not least because it sounded authentic, being broadly imitative of a genuine honorific inscription at Praeneste.[136] Despite the fact that this is one inscription that only ever existed as a marginal note by Ligorio in his chapter on the antiquities of Praeneste, and was never actually given a real existence (unlike other inscriptions falsified by Ligorio), it spread into major epigraphic publications thereafter. The other salutary observation to make is that once he had invented the honorific text for Verrius Flaccus, Ligorio then modified other inscriptions from Praeneste in order to prop up his invention further: he thus added the abbreviation *s.p.p.p.d.d* to the end of the genuine, but fragmentary *CIL* XIV 3011, in order to lend credence to the abbreviation which he had earlier invented.[137] The upshot of all of this is, however, that we still do not know for sure where the *fasti* were really displayed originally in the Roman Forum, given that the contemporary accounts of their discovery were so infected by scholarly polemic.[138] The irony of the situation is that Ligorio was actually correct not to emend Suetonius, since *fasti* were later found at Praeneste in 1770.[139]

---

[136] *CIL* XIV 3014: *Cn. Voesio / Cn. fil. Apro / quaestori aedili (duo)viro / flamini divi Aug(usti) (sex)viro / Augustali curatori annon(ae) / triennio continuo curat(ori) / muneris publici gladiatori (ter) / quot is tempore honorum cu/rarumque suarum plenissimo / munificentiae studio voluptatib(us) / et utilitatibus populi plurima / contulerit ludum etiam gladi/atorium et spoliar(ium) solo empto / sua pecunia exstructum publice op/tulerit cuius meritis postulante populo / statuam publice poni placuit d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)* ('To Gnaeus Voesius Aper, son of Gnaeus, quaestor, aedile, *duovir*, priest of deified Augustus, *sevir Augustalis*, curator of the grain-supply for a continuous three-year period, curator of a public gladiatorial show three times; because at the time of his offices and responsibilities he bestowed very many things for the delight and use of the people as a result of his superabundant enthusiasm for generosity, and he also provided a gladiatorial show and *spoliarium* publicly constructed at his own expense once he had purchased the ground; in recognition of his merits, at the people's demand, it was decided that a statue be set up publicly by decree of the town councillors').

In this way, Ligorio's response to a philological argument, with which he could not engage, given his lack of classical scholarship, was to disprove it with an 'objective' physical monument, showing that he appreciated the value attributed to inscriptions as primary historical evidence, and exploited this as a way of resolving philological debates. This attitude should be set into the intellectual context of the times, when polemical treatises were the norm.[140] His contemporaries were aware of his activities, but could not always distinguish his fabrications, given that his techniques mixed up old and new, adapting an authentic original inscription for his own purposes.

Furthermore, the Ligorian origin of some inscriptions is not always immediately evident, since he was successful in disseminating his inscriptions among other scholars, notably Onofrio Panvinio, who rated him as 'easily the prince of all antiquarians' (*omnium antiquariorum facile princeps*), and who has consequently been criticized for a lack of critical acumen.[141] Many epigraphic manuscripts include material derived from Ligorio, even though the original manuscript of his *liber inscriptionum* no longer exists. The 'schedae Barberinianae', produced during the seventeenth century under the patronage of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, transmitted inscriptions originating in a manuscript by Ligorio at Naples. These inscriptions then proceeded to infiltrate later influential epigraphic works by the likes of Reinesius, Langermann, Spon, Mabasia, Fabretti, and Marini.[142] Similarly with the inscriptions created on stone by Ligorio, some made their way into the collections of Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi

---

[137] G. Vagenheim, 'La falsification chez Pirro Ligorio à la lumière des *Fasti Capitolini* et des inscriptions de Préneste', *Eutopia* 3 (1994) 67–113; Mandowsky and Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities* (above, n.87) 33–4; Coffin, *Pirro Ligorio* (above n.125) 21.

[138] E. M. Steinby, 'Il lato orientale del Foro Romano: proposte di lettura', *Arctos* 21 (1987) 139–84, at 156–65; C. J. Simpson, 'The original site of the *fasti Capitolini*', *Historia* 42.1 (1993) 61–81; E. Nedergaard, 'Facts and fiction about the Fasti Capitolini', *AnalRom* 27 (2001) 107–27; C. B. Rose, 'The Parthians in Augustan Rome', *AJA* 109 (2005) 21–75, at 30–3.

[139] Vagenheim, 'Inscriptions Ligoriennes' (above, n.91) 255.

[140] Gaston, 'Introduction' (above, n.128) 15.

[141] *Commentarii* XI, 403: J.-L. Ferrary, *Onofrio Panvinio et les antiquités romaines* (1996: CÉFR 214: Rome) 167.

[142] Vagenheim, 'Les inscriptions Ligoriennes' (above, n.91) 199–309, 'L'épigraphie' (above, n.93) 99–111.

(1500–64).[143] On the death of the cardinal in 1564, these inscriptions were bought by other collectors such as Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600), passing then into the Farnese collection, and ending up towards the end of the eighteenth century in Naples Museum.[144] In this way, some inscriptions have made journeys of several stages before ending up in their present locations. It is important, therefore, to look carefully at stemmata offered in *CIL* in order to assess whether or not Ligorio may ultimately be the source for a particular inscription (even if not explicitly listed as such in *CIL*), and then to assess whether it is genuine or fabricated. Another factor worth considering in making such an assessment is that it appears that Ligorio indulged in more falsifying as time passed, so inscriptions from later Ligorian manuscripts may perhaps be fairly regarded with more suspicion than those recorded earlier on in his career.[145] There are, moreover, two particular problems posed by using *CIL* in relation to Ligorio: firstly, the editors were overcautious, labelling anything that was derived from Ligorio alone as a definite forgery (choosing to judge the veracity of individual authors rather than of individual inscriptions),[146] and there have been several recent studies illustrating how inscriptions once thought to be of dubious origin are in fact genuine;[147] secondly, the similarity in the handwriting of Ligorio and Panvinio has produced further confusion.[148] It is especially crucial in the case of Ligorian inscriptions, therefore, to assess each individual example on its own merits, and not rely on the general tendency in *CIL* to strike out anything attributable to Ligorio alone.[149]

---

[143] For an attempt to reconstruct the content of the cardinal's two collections (in his palace on the Campus Martius and in his villa on the Quirinal), see Solin, 'La raccolta epigrafica di Rodolfo Pio', (above, n.128).

[144] H. Solin, 'Collezione epigrafica di Rodolfo Pio', in *Le iscrizioni latine del Museo Nazionale di Napoli (ILMN)*, vol. I, *Roma e Latium*, eds. G. Camodeca and H. Solin (2000: Loffredo: Naples) 24–30; G. Vagenheim, 'Pirro Ligorio e le false iscrizioni della collezione di antichità del cardinale Rodolfo Pio di Carpi', in *Alberto III e Rodolfo Pio da Carpi: collezionisti e mecenati*, ed. M. Rossi (2004: Comune di Carpi, Museo Civico) 109–21.

[145] G. Vagenheim, 'Appunti sulla tradizione manoscritta delle epigrafi: esempi bresciani di Pirro Ligorio', *Epigraphica* 53 (1991) 175–213.

[146] *CIL* X p.xi (Mommsen), with Coffin, *Pirro Ligorio* (above, n.125) 21–2. Cf. criticism of Hübner's similar method in *CIL* II by G. Fabre and M. Mayer, '"Falsae et alienae": quelques aspects de l'application des critères d'E. Hübner à l'épigraphie romaine de Catalogne', in *Epigraphie hispanique: problèmes de méthode et d'édition* (1984: Publications du Centre Pierre Paris 10/ Collection de la maison des pays Ibériques 15: De Boccard: Paris) 181–93.

[147] Specific examples vindicating Ligorio's work: C. Huelsen, 'I lavori archeologici di Giovannantonio Dosio', *Ausonia* 7 (1912) 34 on *CIL* VI 710* and 37–8 on *CIL* VI 1869*; P. Merlat, *Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus* (1951: P. Geuthner: Paris) 235 no. 241, on *CIL* VI 423* = 30947; G. Vagenheim, 'Pirro Ligorio et la découverte d'un plan ichnographique gravé sur marbre (*CIL* VI 9015 = 29847b)', *MÉFRA* 103 (1991) 575–87; G. Filippi, 'Un' iscrizione ligoriana da Otricoli secondo esemplare di *CIL* XI 4090', *BMonMusPont* 14 (1994) 93–104; Solin, 'Ligoriana und Verwandtes' (above, n.129) 340–51 for a reassessment of Ligorian inscriptions included in *CIL* VI/V.

[148] Vagenheim, 'Les inscriptions Ligoriennes' (above, n.91) 206–9, 216 on *CIL* VI 9346, which is to be attributed to Ligorio, not Panvinio.

The act of forging an inscription did not necessarily entail creating an entirely new monument. It was common practice especially in the mid eighteenth century to add a modern inscription to an authentic ancient monument. Close scrutiny of the inscribed object and its inscription can sometimes reveal that the inscription is a modern addition.[150] Suspicions may also be raised by the content of an inscription or by the way it has been cut: an inscription is clearly a later addition if it is engraved on a monument that has been damaged, but the inscription itself is intact. Furthermore, the lettering of an inscription sometimes does not resemble ancient forms or is too shallowly cut.[151]

75 Ash-chest for Euphrosyne: Figs. 3.16–17

A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (1882: Cambridge University Press) 404 no. 315; G. Davies, 'Enhancing by inscription in the late eighteenth century: the case of Henry Blundell's ash chests', in *The Afterlife of Inscriptions*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2000: BICS Supplement 75: London) 107–8, with figs. 9.4/5; G. Davies, 'The inscriptions on the ash chests of the Ince Blundell Hall collection: ancient and modern', in *The Epigraphy of Death: Studies in the History and Society of Greece and Rome*, ed. G. J. Oliver (2000: Liverpool University Press) 194, with fig. 7.5.

d(is) m(anibus) / have Euphrosyne / et vale / Aemilia Cantria /⁵ filiae dulcissimae / posuit infelix

'To the departed spirits. Hail, Euphrosyne, and farewell. Aemilia Cantria to her sweetest daughter set this up, unhappy one.'

This is one of the ash-chests in the Ince Blundell collection. The inscription appears on the heavily restored upper part of the front of the chest, where a break is clearly visible.[152] Both the style and sentiment of the inscription are also

---

[149] Ashby, 'The Bodleian MS. of Pirro Ligorio' (above, n.87) 170-201, at 170–1.

[150] Billanovich, 'Falsi epigrafici' (above, n.115) 32. Ince Blundell ash-chests: Davies, 'Enhancing by inscription' (above, n.117) and 'The inscriptions on the ash chests of the Ince Blundell Hall collection' (above, n.117).

[151] Ligorian examples: *CIL* VI 966* = *ILMN* 636 and *CIL* VI 964* = *ILMN* 635 discussed by Henzen, 'Zu den Fälschungen des Pirro Ligorio' (above, n.129).

[152] Cf. the ash-chest of Severina Procilla: Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (above, n.117) 408 no. 352; Davies, 'The inscriptions on the ash chests' (above, n.117) 198.

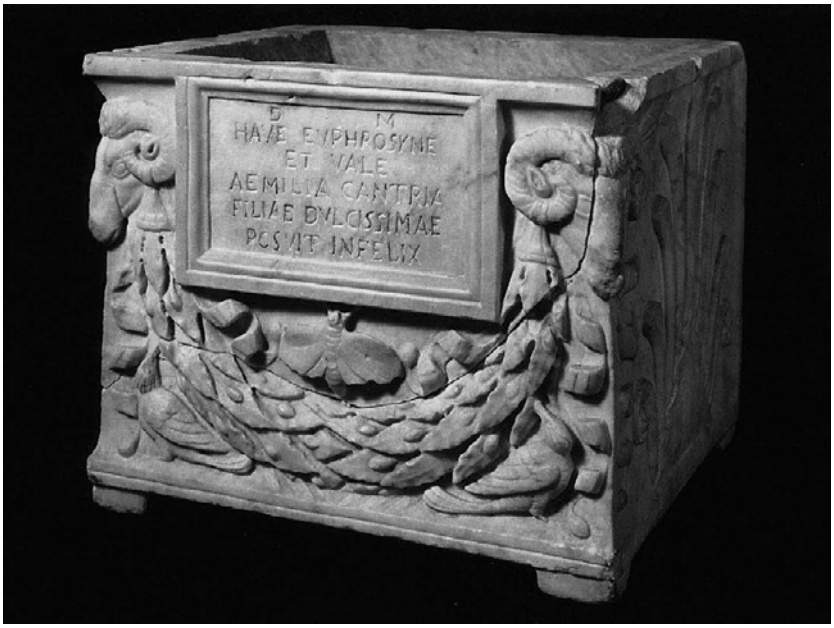

D M
HAVE EVPHROSYNE
ET VALE
AEMILIA CANTRIA
FILIAE DVLCISSIMAE
POSVIT INFELIX

Fig. 3.16 Ash-chest for Euphrosyne – Michaelis (1882) 404 no. 315 (from G. Davies, 'Enhancing by inscription in the late eighteenth century: the case of Henry Blundell's ash chests', in A. E. Cooley, ed., *The Afterlife of Inscriptions* (2000: BICS Supplement 75: London) 107–8, fig. 9.4)

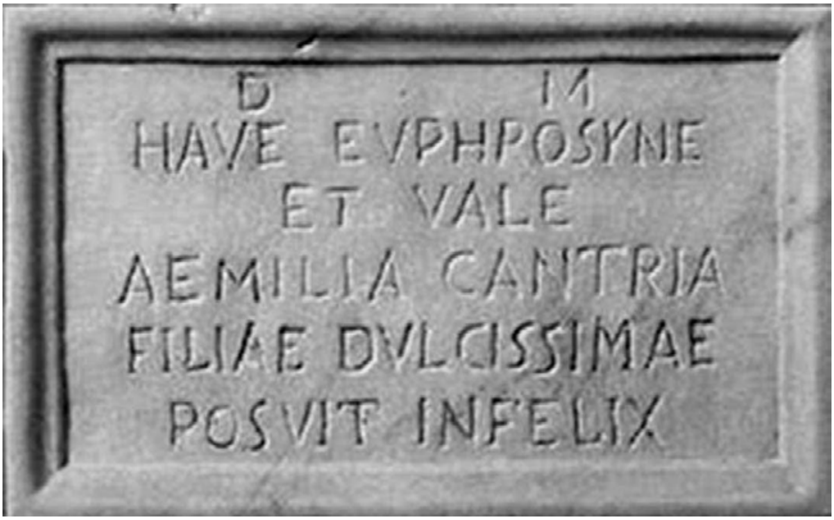

D M
HAVE EVPHPOSYNE
ET VALE
AEMILIA CANTRIA
FILIAE DVLCISSIMAE
POSVIT INFELIX

Fig. 3.17 Ash-chest for Euphrosyne, close-up of inscription – Michaelis (1882) 404 no. 315 (from G. Davies, 'Enhancing by inscription in the late eighteenth century: the case of Henry Blundell's ash chests', in A. E. Cooley, ed., *The Afterlife of Inscriptions* (2000: BICS Supplement 75: London) 107–8, fig. 9.5)

suspect, as Davies has observed. Ash-chests do not usually indulge in sentimental lamentation, rarely providing anything more than factual information about the deceased. Furthermore, she has drawn attention to the idiosyncratic shallowly cut lettering, which it shares with other suspect ash-chests in Blundell's collection, especially the A with its low crossbar, and the M with its centre strokes only reaching halfway down the letter. Finally, the *cognomen* Cantria is otherwise unattested.

Sometimes, the text of an inscription on its own betrays that it is a later addition: a forgery may be detected where a copy of an original authentic inscription is implanted somewhere new, and in some cases mistakes in copying the original can help indicate which of the inscriptions is the authentic one.[153] Nor is this only a problem for inscriptions from Italy. A bronze tablet bearing a funeral inscription of Hlodericus, which emerged in a private collection in Vienna in 1999, in fact copies an authentic epitaph on marble found in 1817 in Trier: in this case the motivation for the forgery seems a simple desire to make money by selling antiquities.[154]

Even this technique for spotting forgeries is not without its problems, however: an inscribed base dedicated to Iulia Lucilia preserved in the Vatican's Museo Chiaramonti has upon it a text which Ligorio claimed he had seen on two separate monuments. Long thought to be a typical piece of Ligorian inventiveness, five fragments of a base recovered at Otricoli now demonstrate that Ligorio was not in fact inventing the existence of the second inscription.[155] Elsewhere, an authentic inscription may have extra text added to it. For example, the same dedicatee, C. Attius Apronianus, soldier of the eleventh cohort, is named on two inscriptions, both published as authentic in two different volumes of *CIL*.[156] One of them – *CIL* XI 6119 – includes the tomb's dimensions right at the start of its text, which is not the standard place for this information. This suggests that the name of the deceased has been added on to *CIL* XI 6119, which originally simply bore the tomb measurements, presumably to make it more interesting. The inscription itself, however, no longer survives, so that it is not possible to inspect the consistency of the lettering used on the stone.[157] In this respect, this inscription is illustrative of the general problem that arises in cases where an inscription survives only in manuscript form, since scholars today cannot subject such inscriptions to detailed analysis that might reveal something anomalous in their physical appearance.[158] In some cases, however, the author of an invented inscription changed his mind about a text over time, a flexibility which consequently throws doubt upon its authenticity. For example, Francisco Roselli invented an honorific inscription, in which the people of Grumentum were designated as Bruttii, but he later omitted this line from the inscription on discovering that they were in fact Lucanians.[159]

---

[153] *CIL* XI 27*, 1–21; *CIL* VI 15484–5, with Billanovich, 'Falsi epigrafici' (above, n.115) 52–3. *CIL* VI 20681 and *CIL* II 294, with Billanovich, 'Falsi epigrafici' (above, n.115) 56. *CIL* VI/V 930a* (deemed authentic) = *CIL* VI 5886 = *ILS* 8178, inaccurately copied as *CIL* VI/V 930b*, with Henzen, 'Zu den Fälschungen des Pirro Ligorio' (above, n.129) 640 no. 21. One ash-chest in the Ince Blundell collection reproduces on its badly eroded panel the text from a marble plaque in the Vatican, *CIL* VI 25679; another copies its inscription from a *columbarium* plaque, *CIL* VI 25548: Davies, 'Enhancing by inscription' (above, n.117) 109, 119; cf. Davies 'The inscriptions on the ash chests of the Ince Blundell Hall collection' (above, n.117) 200, 203–5. See too the section 'Copie moderne di epigrafi antiche' in *ILMN* (above, n.144) 179–82.

[154] W. Hameter, 'The afterlife of some inscriptions from Noricum: modifications and falsifications', in *The Afterlife of Inscriptions*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2000: BICS Supplement 75: London) 37–46, at 44–5.

[155] Filippi, 'Un'iscrizione ligoriana da Otricoli secondo esemplare di *CIL* XI 4090' (above, n.147).

[156] *CIL* XI 6119 and *CIL* VI 2889.

Another factor worth exploring is the way in which some epigraphic collections have been more prone than others to include modern forgeries. The collection of Henry Blundell has already been considered; Ligorio's intervention in the collection of Cardinal Pio da Carpi resulted in an even more striking scale of modern interpolation, with roughly two-thirds of the inscriptions in the Palazzo da Carpi being suspect.[160] In particular, it appears to have been a characteristic of Benedictine monasteries to acquire copies of ancient inscriptions, via their brothers based at S. Paulo fuori le mure and S. Callisto in Rome, with the result that many forgeries insinuated themselves into the Passionei collection at Fossombrone and that based in Ravenna at S. Vitale.[161] Although most work has focused upon monumental stone inscriptions, brick-stamps too were sometimes modern creations.[162]

Finally, it is worth remembering that the editors of *CIL* have not identified all forgeries, as illustrated by recent analysis of the ash-chests collected by Henry Blundell, whilst their approach to anything connected with Ligorio

---

[157] Billanovich, 'Falsi epigrafici' (above, n.115) 48–50.

[158] For a case-study of the problems in assessing such inscriptions, see H. Solin, 'Iscrizioni antiche, rinascimentali o falsi? Possibilità e limiti di giudizio: il caso di CIL, VI 3623*', in *Epigrafia 2006*, eds. M. L. Caldelli, G. L. Gregori, and S. Orlandi (2008: *Tituli* 9: Quasar: Rome) 1341–54.

[159] *CIL* X 43*, with Abbott, 'Some spurious inscriptions' (above, n.110) 26.

[160] Wrede, 'Ein imaginierter Besuch' (above, n.85) 22; Gaston, 'Introduction' (above, n.128) 16; Coffin, *Pirro Ligorio* (above, n.125) 22. Compare the epigraphical collection in the Museo Civico at Catania, where 193 copies of inscriptions from the eighteenth century coexist with 364 genuine ones: K. Korhonen, *Le iscrizioni del Museo Civico di Catania: storia delle collezioni – cultura epigrafica – edizione* (2004: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 121: Societas Scientiarum Fennica: Tammisaari).

[161] Billanovich, 'Falsi epigrafici' (above, n.115).

[162] Billanovich, 'Falsi epigrafici' (above, n.115) 99.

(and others convicted of even a single forgery) has ended up excluding some authentic material.[163] Nor is the problem of forgery necessarily only of relevance in examining inscriptions published long ago.[164] In recent years there has been a lively debate over the authenticity of the bronze tablet bearing Augustus' edicts concerning the Paemeiobrigenses, which came to light only in 1999.[165]

3.4 Dating inscriptions

A few inscriptions date themselves precisely, sometimes pinpointing not just a particular year, but even a specific day. In many of these cases it is possible to divine the reason why the specific date was included: for example, dates may be given to commemorate the fulfilment of a vow, the performance of rituals, or the moment of burial when a Christian entered upon his rebirth. In other cases, the reason for providing a date is no longer evident, and the vast majority of inscriptions do not do so in any case. There are, however, many other ways of narrowing down the chronological period to which an inscription belongs.[166] Chronological indicators differ in character: some may point to a specific year or period of months, a span covering a number of years, or simply a date post or ante quem. Useful dating criteria may be derived from an inscription's archaeological findspot, the actual content of its text, and its physical appearance. In the case of non-dated inscriptions, it is necessary for the most part to consider a whole range of criteria in order to arrive at an assessment of the possible chronological range for any individual inscription; over-reliance upon a single element in an inscription, whether palaeographic, formulaic, or onomastic, may undermine the validity of any chronological deduction. Furthermore, attempts to date inscriptions work best when an inscription is considered within the context of as many other inscriptions as possible of the same genre from the same location. Dating an individual inscription in isolation is much less reliable.

---

[163] Solin, 'Ligoriana und Verwandtes' (above, n.129) 336–7. Some Blundell ash-chests apparently accepted as authentic by the editors of *CIL* have now been shown to be modern fabrications by Davies, 'Enhancing by inscription' (above, n.117) 111–15 (on *CIL* VI 12048, 20567, 24271); cf. Davies, 'The inscriptions on the ash chests of the Blundell Hall collection' (above, n.117) 199. See also the list of addenda et corrigenda in *CIL* VI/V, pp.252*–5*, which accepts the authenticity of many inscriptions previously condemned as forgeries. Korhonen, *Le iscrizioni del Museo Civico di Catania* (above, n.160) nos. 256–7 rehabilitates two inscriptions designated as forgeries in *CIL* X.

[164] Cf. the Praenestine *fibula* bearing an archaic Latin inscription forged by Wolfgang Helbig in the late nineteenth century: Grafton, *Forgers and Critics* (above, n.113) 34–5, 38.

[165] G. Alföldy, 'Das neue Edikt des Augustus aus El Bierzo in Hispanien', *ZPE* 131 (2000) 177–205, at 178–9; P. Le Roux, 'L'*edictum de Paemeiobrigensibus*: un document fabriqué?', *Minima Epigraphica et Papyrologica* 4.6 (2001) 331–63; F. Costabile, 'Addendum alla tessera Paemeiobrigensis', *Minima Epigraphica et Papyrologica* 4.6 (2001) 419–31, at 430 asserts that chemical analysis of the bronze has established the antiquity both of the bronze itself and of the engraving; J. S. Richardson, 'The new Augustan edicts from northwest Spain', *JRA* 15 (2002) 411–15, at 414–15.

[166] General discussion of issues around dating inscriptions can be found in Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista* (above, n.40) ch. 20 and Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia Latina* (above, n.55) 171–8; H. Thylander, *Étude sur l'épigraphie latine* (1952: Gleerup: Lund) 1–53 presents a case-study of funerary inscriptions at Isola Sacra to illustrate methodological issues raised by dating epitaphs; cf. R. Duncan-Jones, 'An epigraphic survey of costs in Roman Italy', *PBSR* 33 (1965) 189–306, with Appendix 'Dating criteria' at 303–6.

Analysing the archaeological context of an inscription is a useful starting point for beginning to assess its chronological parameters, working from stratigraphy, building techniques, and associated small finds, whether pottery fragments or coins. In this way, archaeological context can suggest a broad absolute or relative chronological framework, or a date post or ante quem. The eruption of Vesuvius offers an extreme example of the possibility of dating all the inscriptions found beneath its volcanic debris to a period before AD 79, whilst the foundation of the *colonia* of Timgad on a virgin site in AD 100 offers a point after which all inscriptions there must be dated, but archaeology can usually offer some guidance for other inscriptions discovered in situ as well. At Isola Sacra (between Ostia and Portus), for example, the building sequence indicated by the alignment and structural relationship between individual tombs indicates their relative chronology, whilst brick-stamps incorporated into their fabric offer a date post quem for the commemorative inscriptions on some them.[167] Of course, in the case of inscriptions that have been reused or shifted from their original locations already during antiquity, their archaeological context does not reveal much about the original date of their production beyond indicating a period before which they must have been produced. Nor should their place of reuse be considered to offer any clue as to their original location, since inscriptions commonly moved considerable distances both within a single site and even between places far removed from each other: for example, epigraphical and architectural material from Rome and Ostia was carried off to Pisa, where it was reused in building the cathedral during the eleventh and twelfth centuries (from 1064) as part of a decorative programme whose aim was to create the impression that Pisa was somehow to be regarded as the successor to Rome. This visual programme reinforced the message of a poem composed to celebrate the Pisans' defeat of Saracens in North Africa in 1087, which began by comparing their achievements with ancient Rome's defeat of Carthage.[168] This was just one of a number of poems of the time (some of them inscribed epitaphs that were also incorporated into the external wall of the cathedral) that represented Pisa as heir to Rome.[169] Many inscriptions, however, lack a reliable archaeological context or even any record of their findspot, especially those entering major private collections from the Renaissance onwards.

---

[167] Thylander, *Étude sur l'épigraphie latine* (above, n.166) 17–27.

An inscribed text itself may explicitly provide a specific date, which may be given in a number of different formats. The most common of these is a consular date. As a general rule during the Republic, two consuls were elected annually and held office for a year. The names of these eponymous magistrates, the *consules ordinarii* ('ordinary consuls'), were used to designate a particular year. A *consul suffectus* ('suffect consul') would be appointed to replace an ordinary consul who died in office, whilst the consuls might be replaced by a temporary dictator in times of crisis. This simple system gradually became more complicated, as Augustus considered it prudent to spread consular prestige and experience among more individuals, and suffects became an increasingly regular feature of his reign, especially from 5 BC onwards. By the middle of the first century AD, it was unexceptional for several pairs of suffect consuls to hold office for two-, three-, four-, or six-month periods (see Appendix 1). There is no consistent pattern in inscriptions as to whether they refer to ordinary or suffect consuls, but there is an understandable tendency for private inscriptions to stick to naming ordinary consuls (using information that must have been routinely sent out from the capital), even for dating months of the year when the ordinary consuls were no longer actually in office, whilst it is inscriptions created by public bodies at Rome that were most likely to use the more accurate system of dating by suffects. A combination of ordinary and suffect consuls was occasionally used too. The frequency with which suffect consuls changed made it increasingly difficult to keep track of who was consul at any moment, especially outside Rome. As a result, suffect consuls became less frequently used in dating formulae during the second century AD, and more or less disappeared after about AD 190.[170] From the fourth century

---

[168] 'Inclitorum Pisanorum scripturus istoriam, antiquorum Romanorum renovo memoriam: nam extendit modo Pisa laudem admirabilem, quam recepit olim Roma vincendo Cartaginem.'

[169] G. Scalia, '"Romanitas" pisana tra XI e XII secolo', *Studi medievali* ser. 3.13 (1972) 791–843, poem at 802; S. Settis, 'Continuità, distanza, conoscenza: tre usi dell'antico', in *Memoria dell'antica nell'arte italiana*, vol. III, *Dalla tradizione all'archeologica*, ed. S. Settis (1986: Biblioteca di storia dell'arte n.s. 3: Einaudi: Turin) 373–486, at 395–8.

[170] W. Eck, 'Consules ordinarii und consules suffecti als eponyme Amtsträger', in *Epigrafia: actes du colloque international d'épigraphie latine en mémoire de Attilio Degrassi* (1991: *CÉFR* 143: Rome) 15–44.

AD, dates tended to take the form *p(ost) c(onsulatum)* ('after the consulship of . . . '), with reference to the consuls of the previous year, and the regular appointment of consuls ceased altogether in AD 541.[171] It is important to observe, however, that the listing of consuls is not as rigidly defined as one might expect, and that variations in the order of consuls' names and in the combinations of their personal names may be found.[172] Appendix 1 includes a list of consuls whose names are most likely to appear in inscriptions and other documents, starting in 298 BC, given the survival of the epitaph of Cornelius Scipio Barbatus,[173] and ending in AD 541. It includes suffects down to AD 190, after which they rarely appear on inscriptions.

Alongside the ubiquitous consular years, dates from the foundation of the city of Rome (*ab urbe condita*, or *auc*) were used for special effect in a couple of inscriptions from the capital. A dedication by the Senate and People of Rome on the Capitol in commemoration of the restoration of liberty by Nerva used this form of date, as did the record of the celebration of the *ludi saeculares* ('centennial games') by Septimius Severus.[174] In both cases, use of an *auc* date rather than a consular date instantly evoked a wider historical context, emphasizing the historical significance of these particular events within the changing fortunes of the city.

Beyond Rome, dating formulae might be calculated according to local eras, based upon the foundation date of a town or province or upon other local circumstances.

76 A local dating system at Interamna Nahars

CIL XI 4170; *ILS* 157. G. Bradley, *Ancient Umbria: State, Culture, and Identity in Central Italy from the Iron Age to the Augustan Era* (2000: Oxford University Press) 47–8, and 'The colonization of Interamna Nahars', in *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2000: BICS Supplement 73: London) 3–18, at 12–14.

Saluti Perpetuae Augustae / Libertatique Publicae / populi Romani ‖ Genio municipi anno post / Interamnam conditam / DCCIIII ad Cn(aeum) Domitium / Ahenobarbum [[L(ucium) Arruntium /^{5} *Camillum Scribonianum]] co(n)s(ulibus) ‖ Providentiae Ti(beri) Caesaris Augusti nati ad aeternitatem / Romani nominis, sublato hoste perniciosissimo p(opuli) R(omani) / Faustus Titius Liberalis VIvir Aug(ustalis) iter(um) / p(ecunia) s(ua) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

---

[171] Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista* (above, n.40) 224. See Chapter 1, no. 15.

[172] O. Salomies, 'Consular fasti and consular dating during the Empire', *Ktema* 18 (1993) 103–12.

[173] *ILLRP* 309 = *ILS* 1 = *CIL* I^{2} 7.

[174] *CIL* VI 472 = *ILS* 274; *CIL* VI 32326.

'To the everlasting Augustan safety and to the public freedom of the Roman people. To the divine spirit of the town in the 704th year after the foundation of Interamna down to the consulship of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and [[L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus]]. To the foresight of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, born for the eternity of the Roman name, on the occasion of the removal of the most dangerous enemy of the Roman people. Faustus Titius Liberalis, *sevir Augustalis* for the second time, saw to the setting up (of this) at his own expense.'

This dedication, inscribed in three parts upon a substantial marble plaque (height 1.2 m, width 2.13 m) in large lettering, was set up in AD 32 at Interamna Nahars (modern Terni, Umbria) to celebrate the downfall of Sejanus, Tiberius' praetorian prefect. The inscription illustrates the use of a local era as a means of dating, in this case inserting the cataclysmic events at Rome into a local context and creating the impression that the fortunes of the Italian town were intimately bound up with those of Rome itself. At the same time, it asserts the antiquity of Interamna by dating the city's foundation to 673 BC, centuries before Roman intervention in the settlement; this makes it almost as old as Rome itself. Although foundation dates are often unreliable, such a date does actually fit with the earliest burials found in the S. Pietro in Campo area to the north of the town and may reflect a genuine collective memory of the town's foundation. The dedicator of the inscription identifies himself as a *sevir Augustalis*, in virtue of which he may have regarded himself as particularly well qualified to celebrate the emperor's successful suppression of Sejanus, who is carefully not actually named in the inscription. Ironically, perhaps, the name of the consul Scribonianus was erased at a later date, after he led an unsuccessful revolt against Claudius in AD 42.

Although sometimes the decision to employ an unusual dating formula seems calculated for specific effect, therefore, in other cases, it is unclear why a particular format has been chosen, or indeed why the inscriptions have been dated at all. This is the case for a series of honorific and funerary inscriptions in Mauretania Caesariensis, starting from the second half of the second century AD, which were dated according to the provincial era that began on 1st January AD 40.[175] Alternative dating systems were also adopted by professional groups within the civic community. At Ostia and Rome (and elsewhere in Italy), various professional associations, such as the *fabri tignarii* ('carpenters'), developed their own dating system by *lustra*, five-year periods numbered consecutively from the year in which the association had been officially founded. The association of the *fabri tignarii* of Rome, for instance, was established in 7 BC, and was still using this foundation date in calculating dates over 200 years later, in AD 229.[176] In this way, such groups fostered a sense of their collective identity through the use of their own individual dating system.

---

[175] P.-A. Février, 'Remarques sur les inscriptions funéraires datées de Maurétanie Césarienne orientale (II^{e}–V^{e} siècle)', *MÉFRA* 76 (1964) 105–72; N. Duval, 'Les systèmes de datation dans l'Est de l'Afrique du nord à la fin de l'antiquité et à l'époque byzantine', *Ktema* 18 (1993) 189–211, at 190.

Finally, dating systems in late antiquity took on a new appearance in two respects. Firstly, a striking novelty in dating formulae was the introduction of fifteen-year indiction cycles (*indictiones*) for the purposes of dating inscriptions and other types of documentary and literary material, both private and official. Indictional dating originated as a system for calculating the census period of fifteen years imposed by the taxation system developed in the Eastern Roman Empire during the early fourth century, probably as a means of coping with a multiplicity of local calendars.[177] The first fifteen-year cycle started in AD 312, but the system did not spread to the West until the fifth century, and was imposed by law in AD 537.[178] Indictional dates were not generally used on their own for dating, but played a supporting role alongside other systems, such as consular or regnal (on which see below).[179] It is unclear exactly when indictional dating was introduced into the western provinces but the surviving evidence suggests that it was not adopted everywhere simultaneously.[180] Indictional dating is first attested in the West during the early fifth century, in the Adriatic regions of the Balkans and northern Italy (AD 418? and 423 respectively), spreading along a natural pathway for anything travelling from the East. It is then found in Spain in AD 468/71, Gaul in AD 491, and finally the rest of Italy and Rome.[181] Indictional dating was first used in documents circulating within ecclesiastical milieux, and it then spread onto epigraphic monuments.[182] It became commonplace in those regions from the 530s. In North Africa, the earliest definite case of an indictional date occurs only in AD 543, suggesting that it was only after the Byzantine reconquest of the area following Vandal rule (AD 439–533) during which regnal years were the usual dating system, that the indictional system became established.[183] The system became the norm from the seventh century, and continued into the mediaeval period in many regions.[184]

---

[176] *Collegium fabrum tignariorum Ostiensium*, founded in AD 60, with *CIL* XIV 418 showing *lustrum* 36 (AD 235–9): H. L. Royden, *The Magistrates of the Roman Professional Collegia in Italy from the First to the Third Century AD* (1988: Giardini: Pisa) 25–30, 63–74; *Collegium fabrum tignariorum* at Rome, founded in 7 BC: Royden, *Magistrates* 127–36, 145–84, with S. Panciera, 'Fasti fabrum tignariorum urbis Romae', *ZPE* 43 (1981) 271–80 showing *lustrum* 48 (AD 229–33). Cf. use of *lustra* by *collegium centonariorum* and *collegium aromatariorum* at Rome, and *collegium fabrum tignariorum* at Praeneste (*CIL* XIV 3009): Royden, *Magistrates* 184, 188, 209. Cf. *CIL* X 5671, Rocca d'Arce; *CIL* XIV 2630, Tusculum.

[177] E. Marin, 'La datation indictionelle en Dalmatie', in *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'antiquité au moyen âge* (1984: CNRS: Paris) 149–62, at 149–50; F. Descombes, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule*, vol. XV, *Viennoise du Nord* (1985: CNRS: Paris) 58.

[178] E. H. Kase, 'The dating of the first fifteen year indiction cycle', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 62 (1931) xli; *Novellae* 47: D. Feissel, 'La réforme chronologique de 537 et son application dans l'épigraphie grecque: années de règne et dates consulaires de Justinien à Héraclius', *Ktema* 18 (1993) 171–88, at 171–4.

[179] E. Diehl, 'Zur Datierung lateinischer altchristlicher Inschriften', in *Festschrift Walther Judeich zum 70. Geburtstag* (1929: Hermann Böhlaus: Weimar) 109–30.

[180] Useful synopsis of evidence for the origins and spread of indictional dating in E. Fossile, 'Le indizioni nell'epigrafia cristiana', *RACrist* 76 (2000) 589–99; Duval, 'Les systèmes de datation' (above, n.175) 205–8; M. A. Handley, *Death, Society and Culture: Inscriptions and Epitaphs in Gaul and Spain, AD 300–750* (2003: British Archaeological Reports International Series 1135: Oxford) 126–9.

In cases where an inscription is partially preserved, an indictional date can be useful if it specifies the date within the month and day of the week, since this may help to pinpoint a particular year. There is a major problem with this system of dating, however: in cases where indictional dating occurs alongside other forms of dating, the calculations are not always consistent, showing a discrepancy of one or two years. This problem becomes evident from around AD 540, but intensifies by AD 560/5. One possibility is that the starting day for indictional cycles shifted from 1st September to 1st January at some point, but it has not been possible to extract any coherent pattern from the evidence.[185] Indictional dating on its own, therefore, remains really only of limited use for dating inscriptions.

---

[181] Earliest evidence for indictional dating on Latin inscriptions:

- Italy: J. B. Brusin, *Inscriptiones Aquileiae*, vol. III (1993: Pubblicazioni della Deputazione di Storia Patria per il Friuli 20: Udine) no. 2904, AD 423
- Dalmatia: E. Marin, 'La datation indictionelle en Dalmatie' (above, n.177) AD 437, or possibly AD 418: R. Egger, *Forschungen in Salona*, vol. II, *Der altchristliche Friedhof Manastirine* (1926: Druck und Verlag der Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei: Vienna) nos. 166, 172
- Spain: J. Vives, *Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda* (2nd edn, 1969: A. G. Ponsa: Barcelona) no. 68
- Gaul: E. Le Blant, *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII^e siècle* (1865: L'Imprimerie Impériale: Paris) II no. 388 (Veséronce), AD 491. The suggestion that no. 481A dates from AD 487 is insecure: see Mommsen's comment at *CIL* XII 933.
- Rome: *ICUR* I 979, 984, AD 522.

[182] Descombes, *Recueil* (above, n.177) 58.

[183] N. Duval, 'Nouvelles recherches d'archéologie et d'épigraphie chrétiennes à Sufetula (Byzacène)', *MÉFRA* 68 (1956) 247–98, at 277–83 and 287–94, 'Les systèmes de datation' (above, n.175), at 192–4.

[184] A. Silvagni, 'L'indizione nell'epigrafia medievale di Roma e l'origine dell'indizione romana', in *Scritti di paleografia e diplomatica in onore di Vincenzo Federici* (1944: Leo S. Olschki: Florence) 1–18.

The other distinctive feature of late antiquity is the desire among the successor kingdoms to move away from dating systems associated with allegiance to Rome. With the establishment of the kingdoms of the Vandals in North Africa, the Franks and Visigoths in Gaul and Spain, and finally the Ostrogoths and Lombards in Italy, we find regnal years on Latin inscriptions.[186] This is not always as useful as it might sound given the propensity of the various dynasties towards homonymity and since the chronology of their reigns is not always known.[187] Spain also adopted a dating system based on continuous reckoning by *aera*, first found epigraphically in AD 278,[188] but also used in other types of contexts, such as chronicles and legal documents. The choice to date an epitaph by *aera* appears to have been a statement of Catholic identity on the part of those who wished to distinguish themselves from their Gothic neighbours.[189] By contrast, the decision by the inhabitants and rulers of the kingdom of Burgundy to use consular dates in a whole variety of contexts, including epitaphs, particularly from the 480s to the 530s, appears to have been a way of forging a distinctive identity for their community, shared by individuals whether they themselves bore Latinate or Germanic names.[190] What is clear, therefore, is that there was a variety of dating systems available in the late antique and early mediaeval periods, and that the decision to choose one particular system rather than another might reflect political, religious, regional, and cultural identities.

77 Dating systems in late antiquity: Fig. 3.18

ILCV I 1761; *ICERV* 268

F. Fita, 'Nuevas inscripciones de Itálica y Manacor', *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia* 64 (1914) 534–42, at 537–40 (with photograph); J. Vives,

---

[185] Descombes, *Recueil* (above, n.177) 58–65; cf. Duval, 'Nouvelles recherches' (above, n.183) 293 and 'Les systèmes de datation' (above, n.175) 206.

[186] Handley, *Death, Society and Culture* (above, n.180) 122–6.

[187] Descombes, *Recueil* (above, n.177) 66–9.

[188] J. Vives, *Inscripciones Latinas de la España Romana. Antología de 6,800 textos* (1971: Universidad de Barcelona) no. 5847.

[189] Handley, *Death, Society and Culture* (above, n.180) 135–8.

[190] Handley, *Death, Society and Culture* (above, n.180) 129–35, and 'Inscribing time and identity in the kingdom of Burgundy', in *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity*, eds. S. Mitchell and G. Greatrex (2000: Duckworth/Classical Press of Wales: London) 83–102.

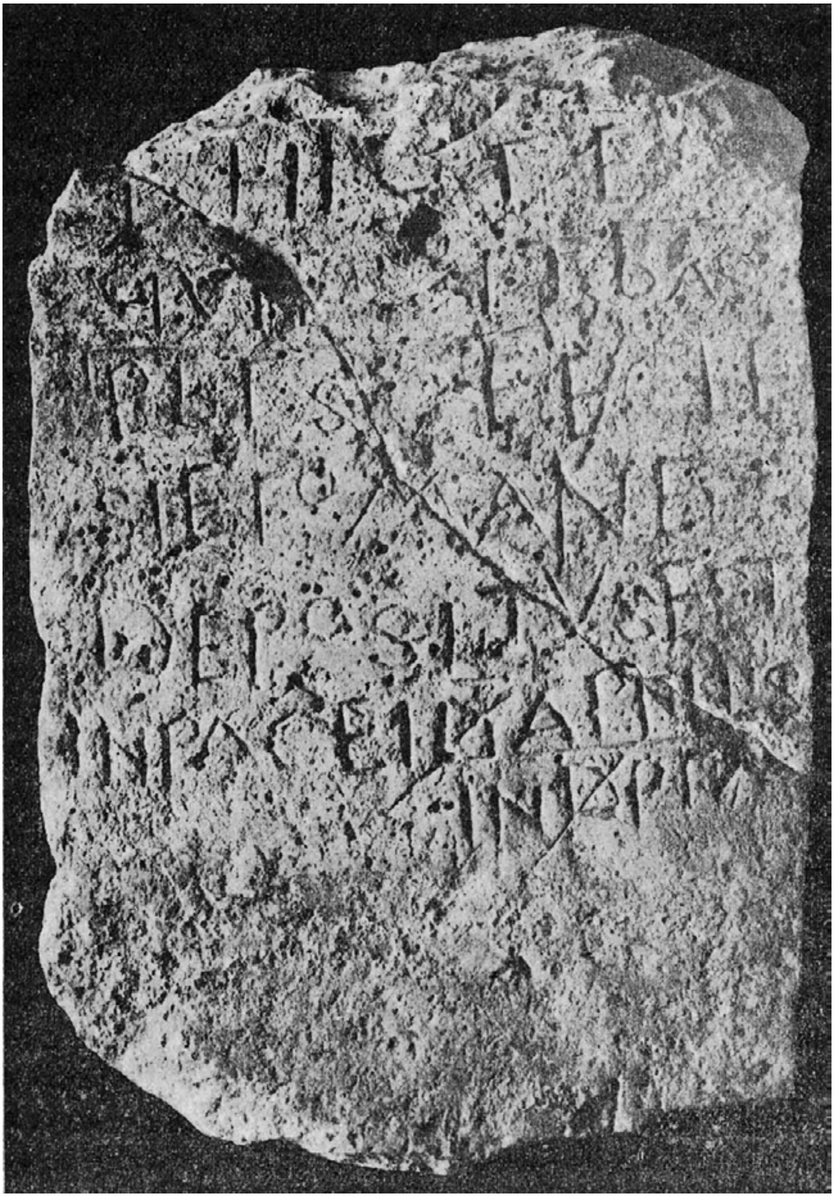


Fig. 3.18 Dating systems in late antiquity – *ILCV* I 1761 (from F. Fita, 'Nuevas inscripciones de Itálica y Manacor', *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia* 64 (1914) 539)

Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda (2nd edn, 1969: A. G. Ponsa: Barcelona) no. 268.

⊂ chi–rho ⊃ *hic re/quiescit Sab(b)as / p(res)b(yte)r s(an)c(ta)e ec(c)le/si(a)e Roman(a)e /⁵ depositus est / in pace I id(us) Apriles / a(nno) [CCCC]LIIII ind(ictione) pr(ima) / [p(ost) c(onsulatum) Anastas]i c(larissimi) v(iri)*

‘Here rests Sabbas, presbyter of the holy Roman church. He was buried in peace on 13th April in the 454th year, in the first indiction, after the consulship of most distinguished Anastasius.’

This epitaph from Manacor on the south-east coast of the island of Mallorca (Majorca) illustrates the variety of dating systems in use during late antiquity – in this case, provincial (Africa), indictional, and consular years indicating 13th April AD 493. The abbreviations in the form of supralineate barred contractions are typical of the fifth and sixth centuries. The style of *R* (Γ) copies the minuscule version of the letter (*r*), and is typical of African inscriptions of this period. In this way, the inscription’s formal characteristics point to influence from North Africa at a time when the Vandals had extended their control to the island.

In short, dating formulae do not exist in inscriptions solely for the convenience of modern scholars: it is always worth questioning why a particular inscription has included a date, and why it has used a particular dating formula, especially in cases that do not use the ‘default setting’ of a consular date.

Other inscriptions may inadvertently provide data that we can use for the purpose of dating. Imperial titulature is particularly helpful in this respect: during the course of his reign, each emperor was granted powers (notably tribunician power and the consulship), honorific titles (for example commemorating military victories), and imperatorial salutations. In addition, some emperors also modified their names (starting with the transformation of C. Iulius Caesar into Imp. Caesar divi f. Augustus), or were promoted from the junior level of Caesar to become Augustus (such as Geta). Of course, often imperial titles are only partially preserved, but, even so, many inscriptions can be dated within a relatively limited period. It would be misleading to give the impression, though, that imperial titulature rigidly obeyed a set format in terms of either content or order, as can be seen from the analysis of specific case-studies (see no. 87 below). Titles were sometimes assigned erroneously, particularly on milestones and dedications, and even some coins minted at Rome are inconsistent with titles found elsewhere. Furthermore, there is some confusion over the date on which some emperors renewed their tribunician power. It has even been claimed that 'no inscription can be trusted prima facie as reproducing accurately the chronological elements of the titulature'.[191] Given the inconsistency in imperial titulature found on inscriptions, it is particularly crucial to compare them with other types of evidence, notably coins and papyri.[192] Appendix 2 provides a list of datable imperial titles: it does not include all imperial titles, but only those helpful for dating purposes.

In other inscriptions, references to provincial governors, local magistrates, or institutions and public offices whose historical development can be traced also help with dating. For example, the titles of equestrian procuratorships changed during the first to third centuries, whilst other types of official position emerged only at certain times, such as the *iudex sacrarum cognitionis/vice sacra iudicans* ('judge of the imperial court') from the Severan period.[193] Similarly, the titles of administrative posts held by imperial freedmen and slaves changed over time.[194] In military contexts, studies of the changing titulature of individual army units and of their movement around the empire can be indicative of an inscription's date. Imperial epithets awarded to individual units were automatically dropped on the death of the emperor, and so may be used to date an inscription to a particular reign. Only Domitian and Commodus made such awards in the first two centuries AD, but imperial honorific titles became much more widespread during the third century AD.[195]

Finally, in a small number of cases, reference to historical events known from independent sources may provide a date post quem. This technique may, however, risk resulting in a circular argument, since it can be tempting to identify a historical event from oblique epigraphic references. This may be illustrated in relation to the great plague under Marcus Aurelius: a number of inscriptions have been thought to allude to its impact, but no inscription can actually be securely connected with it.[196] Furthermore, the disappearance of military diplomas between AD 167/8 and 177 has been explained by disruption caused by the plague. During this period, the practice of issuing diplomas on bronze seems to have been temporarily suspended, although the significant extent of continuity among the witnesses to surviving diplomas issued in AD 167/8 and then after AD 178 suggests that the procedures for issuing constitutions and the diplomas associated with them were not themselves interrupted; instead, diplomas were probably issued in a cheaper format, such as a wax tablet.[197] Nevertheless, the neatness of explaining this solely in terms of the disruption caused by the plague potentially neglects other factors likely to have been just as important, such as the disruption caused by warfare.[198]

---

[191] M. Peachin, *Roman Imperial Titulature and Chronology, A.D. 235–284* (1990: J. C. Gieben: Amsterdam) 19.

[192] The methodological problems with inscriptions are summarised by Peachin, *Roman Imperial Titulature* (above, n.191) 14–19.

[193] H.-G. Pflaum, *Les procurateurs équestres sous le haut-empire romain* (1950: Maisonneuve: Paris) 29–107; summarized and updated in *Abrégé des procurateurs équestres*, trans. S. Ducroux from Pflaum's article in Pauly-Wissowa (1974: De Boccard: Paris), esp. 9–45; new judicial posts of temporary, regional significance emerge from the Severan period: A. Chastagnol, 'Le formulaire de l'épigraphie latine officielle dans l'antiquité tardive', in *La terza età dell'epigrafia*, ed. A. Donati (1988: Fratelli Lega: Faenza), 11–64, at 49–51.

[194] P. R. C. Weaver, 'Family dating criteria, *proximi* and "*provincia*" in the Familia Caesaris', *JRS* 58 (1968) 110–23, at 112–23.

[195] J. Fitz, *Honorific Titles of Roman Military Units in the Third Century* (1983: Akadémiai Kiadó/ Dr. Rudolf Habelt: Budapest/Bonn) includes all types of military units (such as praetorians, fleet, *vigiles*, legions) down to Diocletian and Maximian. For a list of imperial honorific titles given to auxiliary units from Commodus to Aurelian, see G. M. Bersanetti, 'I soprannomi imperiali variabili degli *auxilia* dell'esercito romano', *Athenaeum* 18.3 (1940) 105–35.

The vast majority of inscriptions contain no obvious allusions to a particular date. Even in these cases, however, their content may still offer clues as to a possible time-frame for an inscription, since onomastic patterns and linguistic formulae changed over time. These clues need to be set alongside the physical appearance of the inscribed monument – its monumental type and artistic style, the type of stone used, its orthography and style of script – in order to arrive at possible chronological parameters. In these cases, precise dates are not achievable, but it may still be useful if an inscription can be dated to a period of a few decades.

The fact that the structure of Roman naming patterns developed over time can be helpful when considering the date of an inscription.[199] What we tend to think of as the typical Roman onomastic pattern consisting of the *tria nomina* was actually typical only of the first and second centuries AD, whilst the inclusion of filiation and tribe generally occurred only during the early imperial period.[200] *Cognomina* regularly appeared first in epitaphs (cf. the Scipiones in the third century BC),[201] then in votive and honorific inscriptions, next in milestones from the 120s BC, and finally in official documents such as edicts during the Sullan era.[202] We can also trace a fundamental transformation in the naming patterns of freedmen. A shift occurred from a freedman typically having two names (*praenomen* and *nomen*), with the *praenomen* being different from that of his patron, to having three names (*praenomen, nomen, cognomen*), and sharing his patron's *praenomen.*[203] Freedmen appear to have adopted *cognomina* in Latin inscriptions towards the end of the second century BC (the earliest known example being from Capua in 112/11 BC), with this being regular practice from *c.*90–85 BC.[204] By the mid first century AD, *cognomina* were a standard element in all names, and the practice of giving only the *praenomen* and *nomen* ceased by the end of the century.[205] In addition to this transformation in the structure of Roman names, the actual choice of *cognomina* themselves shifted radically from the Republic to late antiquity. The main differences are a tendency during the Republic to use pejorative *cognomina*, the emergence of names ending in -ianus derived from imperial gentilician names during the imperial period, the use of gentilician names as equivalent to *cognomina* in late antiquity, and finally the adoption of theophoric names.[206]

---

[196] *CIL* III 5567 and *AÉpigr* (1994) 1334, both viewed sceptically by Hameter, 'The afterlife of some inscriptions from Noricum' (above, n.154) 42–4. Cf. J. F. Gilliam, 'The plague under Marcus Aurelius', *AJP* 82.3 (1961) 225–51 on sources relating to the plague, esp. 234–9 on inscriptions; C. P. Jones, 'Ten dedications "To the gods and goddesses" and the Antonine Plague', *JRA* 18 (2005) 293–301 argues that a series of inscriptions prompted by the oracle at Claros are to be viewed as a measure taken in response to the plague, but this is not the only possible explanation: A. E. Cooley, S. Mitchell, and B. Salway, 'Roman Inscriptions 2001–2005', *JRS* 97 (2007) 176–264, at 225–6.

[197] W. Eck, D. MacDonald, and A. Pangerl, 'Die Krise des römischen Reiches unter Marc Aurel und ein Militärdiplom aus dem Jahr 177 (?)', *Chiron* 33 (2003) 365–77.

[198] J. Greenberg, 'Plagued by doubt: reconsidering the impact of a mortality crisis in the second century AD', *JRA* 16.2 (2003) 413–25; Cooley, Mitchell, and Salway, 'Roman Inscriptions' (above, n.196) 216. Cf. remarks by C. Bruun, 'The Antonine plague in Rome and Ostia', *JRA* 16.2 (2003) 426–34 on the limitations of judging the impact of the plague from epigraphic evidence.

[199] Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine* (above, n.42) 79–113; B. Salway, 'What's in a name? A survey of Roman onomastic practice from *c.*700 B.C. to A.D. 700', *JRS* 84 (1994) 124–45.

The advent of the Principate heralded the appearance of imperial freedmen and slaves, a sub-category of named individuals that is particularly useful for dating purposes, given that freedmen's names often included the gentilician name of their patron.[207] It should be emphasized, however, that even in these cases the potential for dating such inscriptions is not quite as precise as one might suppose. Identifying a freedman's imperial patron does not mean that the freedman's inscription belongs to the reign of that emperor (by contrast, this *is* true of imperial slaves); the emperor's accession simply acts as a date post quem. It was entirely possible for imperial freedmen to live long beyond their patron's demise: one of Claudius' freedmen, Ti. Claudius Aug. lib. Fortunatus, for example, set up a dedication to Silvanus in AD 108.[208] In extreme cases, therefore, imperial names may indicate as much as a seventy-year span, although they are more likely to belong to a forty- or fifty-year period. It is also crucial to note that in cases where the imperial freedman's *nomen* is not stated, the gentilician names of other family members do not proffer a secure basis to link him with a particular emperor.[209] Another potential pitfall is that freedmen bearing names that resemble those of imperial freedmen, such as M. Aurelius Nicepor (along with M. Aurelii Apollonius, Alexsander, Rufio, and Acastus) are found already in Republican inscriptions, so that a first step is to be sure that the freedman is indeed imperial.[210] There are also changing patterns in the formulae used to refer to imperial masters and patrons: for imperial freedmen, the variety in their status indications characteristic of the Julio-Claudian period disappeared by the time of the Flavians, and tended to be replaced by *Augusti libertus* ('freedman of Augustus – i.e., the emperor'). The addition of *n(ostri)* ('our') into freedman status indications occurred from the second century AD, but did not become a regular feature of their nomenclature.[211] In the case of imperial slaves it was less common than for freedmen for the emperor's name to appear specifically in their status indication, but some general features of slave nomenclature can still be useful, such as the possibility of dating slaves of triple *Augusti* to the third century AD. Similarly, the status indicator *Caesaris Augusti* ('slave of Caesar Augustus') appears not to have been used after the Flavians, when the formula *n(ostri)* ('our') also first emerges.[212]

---

[200] H. Solin, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Personennamen in Rom*, vol. I (1971: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 48: Helsinki) 36.

[201] *ILLRP* 309–11; F. Coarelli, *Il sepolcro degli Scipioni a Roma* (1988: Fratelli Palombi: Rome).

[202] I. Kajanto, 'On the chronology of the cognomen in the Republican period', in *L'onomastique latine*, ed. N. Duval (1977: CNRS: Paris) 63–70, at 66–7.

[203] Thylander, *Etude sur l'épigraphie latine* (above, n.166) 57–60.

[204] *ILLRP* 706 = *CIL* I^2 673 = X 3774; Kajanto, 'On the chronology of the cognomen' (above, n.202) 67; S. Panciera, 'Saggi d'indagine sull'onomastica romana', in *L'onomastique latine*, ed. N. Duval (1977: CNRS: Paris) 191–203, at 192–8; A. E. Gordon, 'Epigraphica I: on the first appearance of the *cognomen* in Latin inscriptions of freedmen', *CPCA* 1.4 (1935) 151–58; Thylander, *Étude sur l'épigraphie latine* (above, n.166) 101–2.

[205] M. Le Glay, *Saturne Africain: Histoire* (1966: De Boccard: Paris) 26–27; Duncan-Jones, 'An epigraphic survey' (above, n.166) 304–5.

[206] H. Solin, 'Die innere Chronologie des römischen Cognomens', in *L'onomastique latine*, ed. N. Duval (1977: CNRS: Paris) 103–46.

---

[207] P. R. C. Weaver, Familia Caesaris: *A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves* (1972: Cambridge University Press) 24–34.

[208] *CIL* VI 630 = *ILS* 1699. Cf. the following data for the latest known imperial freedmen for other emperors, as listed by P. R. C. Weaver, 'The status nomenclature of the imperial freedmen', *CQ* 13.2 (1963) 272–8, at 272 n.7: *Cad[m]us Atimetus Marti[alis(?)] C. Iuli [A]ugusti liberti*, AD 78 (*AÉpigr* (1935) 47); *T. Flavius Aug. l. Onesimus*, AD 136 (*CIL* VI 975); cf. Weaver, Familia Caesaris (above, n.207) 30–4.

[209] Weaver, 'Family dating criteria' (above, n.194) at 110–12.

[210] Several freedmen and freedwomen of a M. Aurelius appear all together on a funerary inscription from Rome, *CIL* I^2 1256–7 = VI 13163–4; cf. *CIL* VI 38076 (Augustan); *CIL* XIV 2298 (Tiberian): Solin, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Personennamen*, vol. I (above, n.200) 36.

[211] Weaver, 'The status nomenclature of the imperial freedmen' (above, n.208) and Familia Caesaris (above, n.207) 48–57.

The second century AD witnessed several other changes in naming patterns. Some members of the elite started to add a second *praenomen* to their names, whilst upper-class female *praenomina* tended to appear in the late second and third centuries.[213] Furthermore, the *praenomen* began to disappear from all but the highest social strata during the second century AD, becoming rare during the third century and disappearing completely even from the senatorial elite by the second half of the fourth century, along with indicators of filiation and freed status.[214] Filiation instead came to be indicated via the *cognomen*.[215] The earliest example of polyonomous nomenclature, the piling-up of gentilician *nomina* and *cognomina* as a result of testamentary adoptions and also of a new fashion for inheriting names from one's mother and other relations as well as from one's father, is found with the consul of AD 13 (C. Silius A. Caecina Largus), but the habit became widespread among the elite from the end of the first/second centuries AD.[216] Finally, *agnomina* – extra 'nicknames' given to someone later in life – are found from the second century onwards at Rome,[217] introduced by the formula *qui et* or *quae et* ('who is also known as') and continued into late antiquity, with the latest known example in AD 570.[218]

In provincial epigraphy, the spread of citizenship via grants by emperors or provincial governors can indicate a date post quem, since the new citizen took his gentilician name from the person from whom he had received his grant of citizenship.[219] There is also a tendency for distinctive local names to disappear as the spread of Roman culture became entrenched in inscriptions. In North Africa, for example, Punic and Berber names tended to disappear by the mid second century AD.[220] The bestowal of citizenship upon all freeborn inhabitants of the empire in the Antonine Constitution of AD 212 resulted in citizen status no longer being a mark of prestige, with the result that reference to voting-tribes began to disappear from inscriptions. This was not a sudden empire-wide change in epigraphic practice after AD 212, however, since regional epigraphic cultures changed at different paces: in North Africa, for example, the voting-tribe appears to have disappeared only by AD 270.[221] There is even an exceptional fourth-century AD inscription from Hispellum, where mention of a voting-tribe is perhaps a deliberate archaism.[222] At the same time, the Constitution also appears to have brought about a decline in the use of gentilician names, at least among the newly enfranchised Marci Aurelii for whom their name designated social status rather than family relationship.[223]

---

[212] P. R. C. Weaver, 'The status nomenclature of the imperial slaves', *CQ* 14.1 (1964) 134–9.

[213] M. Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina: Studies in the Nomenclature of Roman Women* (1994: Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 14: Rome) 222.

[214] Thylander, *Étude sur l'épigraphie latine* (above, n.166) 77–81; I. Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage* (1963: Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae II.1: Helsinki) 3.

[215] Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies* (above, n.214) 5.

[216] Panciera, 'Saggi d'indagine sull'onomastica romana' (above, n.204) 198; O. Salomies, *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature in the Roman Empire* (1992: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 97: Helsinki).

[217] *CIL* VI 975a, col. 1, l.45: AD 136, *C. Iulius C. l. Ephesius qui et Mascutius*; an earlier case is attested at early imperial Brundisium, also for someone from the eastern Mediterranean: *CIL* IX 41 = *ILS* 2819, *Iulia Cleopatra quae et Lezbia*. Panciera, 'Saggi d'indagine sull'onomastica romana' (above, n.204) 199–201.

[218] I. Kajanto, *Supernomina: A Study in Latin Epigraphy* (1966: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 40.1: Helsinki) 5–8. *CIL* XI 941, *Gundeberga qui(!) et Nonnica*, AD 570.

[219] Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine* (above, n.42) 172–5.

Also typical of the third and fourth centuries was the appearance of the *signum*, a name physically detached from the others, for example separated from the rest of the inscription on the upper cornice of a statue base or above the main text of an epitaph. Such names tended to be new coinages ending in -ius, expressive nicknames such as Amantius or Honorius. The earliest known example of a detached *signum* belongs to AD 202, whilst the latest is dated to AD 484.[224] A further major shift in naming patterns occurred from the Constantinian period, when gentilician names began to disappear (except in a part of Mauretania Caesariensis where they continued into the seventh century), perhaps because they had ceased to be distinctive, amid the inundation of imperial gentilician names. By the early fifth century, gentilician names had virtually disappeared except among the senatorial elite. The result of this trend, together with the earlier disappearance of the *praenomen*, resulted in a simple naming system consisting of a *cognomen* or double *cognomina* being adopted among the majority of the population.[225]

---

[220] Le Glay, *Saturne Africain* (above, n.205) 20.

[221] Le Glay, *Saturne Africain* (above, n.205) 27.

[222] Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine* (above, n.42) 116–17; *CIL* XI 5283.

[223] Salway, 'Survey of Roman onomastic practice' (above, n.199) 133–6.

[224] Kajanto, *Supernomina* (above, n.218) 53 and *Onomastic Studies* (above, n.214) 31–49; Salway, 'Survey of Roman onomastic practice' (above, n.199) 136–7; Chastagnol, 'Le formulaire de l'épigraphie latine officielle' (above, n.193) 38–41; *CIL* VI 180, AD 202; *CIL* VI 32094, probably AD 484, but possibly AD 508: S. Orlandi, *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano*, vol. VI, *Roma: anfiteatri e strutture annesse con una nuova edizione e commento delle iscrizioni del Colosseo* (2004: Vetera 15: Quasar: Rome) 51–6 no. 5.

[225] I. Kajanto, 'The emergence of the late single name system', in *L'onomastique latine*, ed. N. Duval (1977: CNRS: Paris) 421–30 and *Onomastic Studies* (above, n.214) 11–23.

Finally, from AD *c.*500 a new form of polyonymy emerged, with the inclusion of Christian baptismal names at the start of an individual's name, before his secular ones, resulting in names such as Fl(avius) Mar(ianus) M(ic)hael(ius) Gabriel(ius) Ioannes (E)utropi(u)s.[226] These devotional names observed a hierarchical order, according to theological principles as follows: aspects of the Godhead – the Virgin – archangels – apostles – saints and martyrs. Sharing such names did not entail any family relationship.[227]

A genealogical approach towards names may also be helpful in identifying and dating an individual, although the propensity of families towards homonymous individuals in different generations can also present problems, and the identification of a single individual from two or more occurrences of the same name is by no means guaranteed. The case of the P. Lucilii Gamalae at Ostia may illustrate the complexities of this method. Four different generations of the family are securely identifiable, from the late Republic down to the late second century AD. Their inscriptions reveal pride in their ancestry, with several of them tracing their family back for a number of generations (as far as their great-great-grandfather). It may well be the case that this insistence upon the generations was at first the result of a desire to prove the family's Roman citizen-status, despite its foreign-sounding *cognomen*, Gamala, and the likelihood that the family was not originally native to Italy. Some of them can be precisely dated from their inclusion as local magistrates in the *fasti Ostienses*, whilst others can be dated approximately, but sometimes there are few clues as to an individual's place within the generations of the family. The following lists our evidence for different generations, all of them sharing the same names.

78–85 The Publii Lucilii Gamalae at Ostia

78 P. Lucilius Gamala no. 1: late Republic *duovir* (*PIR*^{2} L384) – inscription upon a marble herm shaft

CIL XIV 375 = *CIL* I^2 3031a = *EphEp* IX p.335 = *ILS* 6147 = H. Thylander, *Inscriptions du port d'Ostie* (1952: CWK Gleerup: Lund) 397–99 B335 = M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni, M.-L. Caldelli, and F. Zevi, *Épigraphie latine* (2006: Armand Colin: Paris) 95–101 no. 11 (with fig. 11); F. Zevi, 'P. Lucilio Gamala *senior*: un riepilogo trent'anni dopo', in *Ostia, Cicero, Gamala, Feasts, and the Economy: Papers in Memory of John H. D'Arms*, eds. A. Gallina

---

[226] *AÉpigr* 2004, 1410, from AD 533: inscription from Didyma.

[227] Salway, 'Survey of Roman onomastic practice' (above, n.199) 142–3.

Zevi and J. H. Humphrey (2004: *JRA* Supplement 57: Portsmouth, R.I.) 47–67, at 48 fig. 1a = reproduction of Ligorio's drawing of the inscription.

P(ublio) Lucilio / P(ubli) f(ilio) P(ubli) n(epoti) P(ubli) pro/nep(oti) Gamalae / aed(ili) sacr(is) Volk(ani) /^{5} *[a]edili d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) allecto / [g]ratis decurioni / [p]ontifici IIvir(o) censo/riae pot(estatis) quinquennal(i) / in comiti(i)s facto cura/[tor]i pecuniae publicae exigen/*^{10} *[d]ae et adtribuendae / [i]n ludos cum accepisset public(um) / lucar remisit et de suo erogati/onem fecit / [id]em sua pecunia viam silice stravit / [q]uae est iuncta foro ab arcu ad arcum /*^{15} *[id]em epulum trichilinis CCXVII / colonis dedit / [id]em prandium sua pecunia coloni[s] / Ostie(n)sibus bis dedit / [i]dem aedem Volcani sua pecu/*^{20} *nia restituit / [i]dem aedem Veneris sua pecu/nia constituit / [id]em aed(em) Fortunae sua pec/unia constituit /*^{25} *[id]em aed(em) Cereris sua pecunia / constituit / [id]em pondera ad macellum / cum M(arco) Turranio sua pecu/nia fecit /*^{30} *[idem] aedem Spei sua pecunia / [cons]tituit / [id]em tribunal in foro mar/moreum fecit / [h]uic statua inaurata d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) /*^{35} *p(ecunia) p(ublica) posita est / [i]tem ahenea d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) p(ecunia) p(ublica) posita / [p]roxume tribunal quaes(toris) / [propt]erea quod cum res publica / [p]raedia sua venderet ob pol/*^{40} *[l]icitationem belli navalis / ~~HS~~* $\overline{XV}$ *CC rei publicae donav[it] / [hu]nc decuriones funere pu/[b]lico effer[endum] cen[s]uerunt*

'To Publius Lucius Gamala, son of Publius, grandson of Publius, great-grandson of Publius, aedile of the rites of Vulcan, aedile, adlected by decree of the town councillors free of charge as town councillor, *pontifex*, *duovir quinquennalis* with censorial power, elected as curator for the levying and assigning of public money; when he had received a sum of public money for the games he sent it back, and on his own initiative he made the expenditure, and also with his own funds he paved with stone the street which is connected with the Forum from arch to arch, and he also gave a feast at 217 couches to the townsfolk, and he also gave a dinner at his own expense to the townsfolk of Ostia twice, and he also restored the temple of Vulcan at his own expense, and also he built the temple of Venus at his own expense, and also he built the temple of Fortune at his own expense, and also he built the temple of Ceres at his own expense, and also provided weights at the market with Marcus Turranius at his own expense, and he also built the temple of Hope at his own expense, and he made the tribunal in the Forum of marble. To him a gilded statue was set up with public money by decree of the town councillors and also one of bronze next to the quaestor's tribunal; and also because when the state was selling its lands on account of its promise for the naval war he gave to the state 15 200 sesterces. The town councillors decreed that he should be buried with a public funeral.'

This inscription is no longer extant, but was reputedly found at Portus in the sixteenth century. Our main source of information for it is Ligorio (see above, Subsection, 3.3.2), and so has been mistrusted in the past, but his testimony has been gaining more credence in recent years. Its date has been the source of seemingly endless debate, with some considering it to be commemorating the same Gamala as no. 8 below, and with dates ranging from the mid first century BC to mid second century AD.[228] Recent debate has focused upon the inscription's palaeographic and monumental character, the nature of the euergetic activities listed in the inscription, its choice of phraseology in referring to his magistracies, and its mention of a naval war. Consensus at the moment is that it commemorates a Gamala active in the late Republic (*c.*50s–37 BC) (a generation later than previously seemed agreed upon). The inscription itself, however, appears to have been set up in the late Antonine period, as corollary to the herm of one of his descendants (see below on *CIL* XIV 376), perhaps as part of a family mausoleum.[229] This theory would explain a findspot at Portus, which would imply a date after the Claudian period (although it is also possible that the stone simply migrated at some point from Ostia to Portus for reuse). It is probably this Gamala who is married to Octavia, as revealed by a building-inscription for the temple of Bona Dea, probably constructed in the period 80–50 BC.[230]

---

[228] A critique of previous views can be found in R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (2nd edn, 1973: Clarendon Press: Oxford) 493–502 and O. Salomies, 'A study of *CIL* XIV 375, an interesting inscription from Ostia', *Arctos* 37 (2003) 133–57.

[229] Most recently, forceful arguments have been advanced that it was inscribed in the late Antonine period but referred to a Gamala of the late Republic: F. Zevi, 'P. Lucilio Gamala *senior*: un riepilogo trent'anni dopo', and E. Lo Cascio, 'Considerazioni sulla datazione di *CIL* XIV 375 e sulla cronologia di Gamala *senior*', both in *Ostia, Cicero, Gamala, Feasts, and the Economy: Papers in Memory of John H. D'Arms*, eds. A. Gallina Zevi and J. H. Humphrey (2004: *JRA* Supplement 57: Portsmouth, R.I.) 47–67 and 83–8; cf. J. H. D'Arms, 'P. Lucilius Gamala's feasts for the Ostians and their Roman models', *JRA* 13 (2000) 192–200; P. Pensabene, 'Marmi e classi dirigenti a Ostia', in *Ostia, Cicero, Gamala* (above) 99–107, favouring a Caesarian date. The consensus is not absolute, however: S. Panciera, 'Considerazioni intorno a *CIL* XIV 375' prefers an Augustan date for the inscription, which F. Coarelli, 'Per una "topografia gamaliana" di Ostia', also believes possible, if set up at the end of a long life – both also in the same volume, 69–74, 89–98; cf. J. H. D'Arms, 'P. Lucilius Gamala of Ostia: a new approach to the dating of his career', *AJA* 103 (1999) 325.

[230] *CIL* I^2 3025 = *AÉpigr* (1973) 127 = *AÉpigr* (2004) 361 = M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni, M.-L. Caldelli, and F. Zevi, *Épigraphie latine* (2006: Armand Colin: Paris) 110–12 no. 17, with fig. 17. For this dating, see M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni, 'La dedica a Bona Dea a parte di Ottavia, moglie di Gamala', in *Ostia, Cicero, Gamala, Feasts, and the Economy: Papers in Memory of John H. D'Arms*, eds. A. Gallina Zevi and J. H. Humphrey (2004: *JRA* Supplement 57: Portsmouth, R.I.) 75–81.

79 P. Lucilius Gamala no. 2?: *duovir* – ?funerary inscription

AÉpigr (1959) 254 = F. Grosso, 'Nuova epigrafe ostiense dei Gamala', in *Atti del terzo congresso internazionale di epigrafia greca e latina* (1959: Bretschneider: Rome) 133–42, with tav. XXII; F. Coarelli, 'Per una "topografia gamaliana" di Ostia', in *Ostia, Cicero, Gamala, Feasts, and the Economy: Papers in Memory of John H. D'Arms*, eds. A. Gallina Zevi and J. H. Humphrey (2004: *JRA* Supplement 57: Portsmouth, R.I.) 89–98, at 95–7, with fig. 4.

P(ublio) Lucilio P(ubli) f(ilio) P(ubli) nep(oti) P(ubli) pro/n(epoti) P(ubli) abnep(oti) Gamalae / aedili trib(uno) milit(um) dec(urioni) adlec(to) / ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) grateis IIviro IIII / dec(urionum) decr(eto) publice / quod is causam coloniae / publicam egit in senatu

'To Publius Lucilius Gamala, son of Publius, grandson of Publius, great-grandson of Publius, great-great-grandson of Publius, aedile, military tribune, town councillor adlected by decree of the town councillors free of charge, *duovir* four times by decree of the town councillors publicly, because he pleaded the colony's case publicly in the senate.'

Given that this Gamala is now *abnepos* ('great-great-grandson') and *tribunus militum* ('military tribune') but not *pontifex Volcanis* ('priest of Vulcan'), it seems unlikely that he is the same as no. 1, who was described only as *pronepos* ('great-grandson') and whose career is described in different terms. The inscription on a slab of Luna marble (height 36 cm, width 65.5 cm) was found reused as a drain cover in warehouses near the theatre. Coarelli suggests that it is to be associated with what appears to be a publicly granted tomb on the *decumanus* near the theatre, within the town wall, but the tomb itself is probably earlier than the inscription and, given the secondary context in which the slab was found, there is no real reason to make this connection, tempting though it is.[231] The orthography (*grateis*) and style of script suggest a date from the late Republic/early Augustan era, making him earlier than no. 3 (contra Grosso, who dates this inscription to after AD 33), but of course such elements are far from secure as a basis for dating an inscription.

80 P. Lucilius Gamala no. 3: Tiberian *duovir* (*PIR*² L385) – *fasti Ostienses*, AD 19 + AD 33

CIL XIV 244 = 4534 = *Fasti Ostienses* frag. Ce + *Fasti Ostienses* frag. Cg.[232]

---

[231] L. Sole, 'Monumenti repubblicani di Ostia Antica', *ArchCl* 53 (2002) 137–86, at 137–64.

[232] B. Bargagli and C. Grosso, *I fasti Ostienses: documento della storia di Ostia* (1997: Itinerari Ostiensi 7: Soprintendenza archeologica di Ostia: Rome).

M(arcus) Iunius Silanus L(ucius) Norbanus Balbus / K(alendis) Iul(iis) P(ublius) Petronius / VI Idus Dec(embres) iustitium ob / excessum G[er]manici / IIvir(i) P(ublius) Lucilius G[amal]a II / M(arcus) Suellius M[3]s II

L(ucius) Livius Ocella Sulpicius Galb[a] / [L(ucius) C]ornelius Sulla / [K(alendis) Iul(iis)] Salvius Otho, C. Octaviu[s] / [– – – A]ug. coniur(atio) Seian[i] / [exstincta e]t compl[ures] / [in s]calis [Gemoniis iacuer(unt)] / [– – – D]ec. Lami[a praef(ectus) urb(is) exc(essit)] IIvir(i) P. Lucilius [Gamala IIII?] / C. Naevius [– – –]

'Marcus Iunius Silanus, Lucius Norbanus Balbus (consuls). 1st July: Publius Petronius (consul). 8th December: public mourning on account of the death of Germanicus. *Duoviri* Publius Lucilius Gamala for the second time, Marcus Suellius M[?] for the second time.'

'Lucius Livius Ocella Sulpicius Galba, Lucius Cornelius Sulla (consuls). 1st July: Salvius Otho, Gaius Octavius (consuls). [?] August: conspiracy of Sejanus suppressed and many lay on the Gemonian steps. [?] December: Lamia prefect of the city died. *Duoviri* Publius Lucilius Gamala for the 4th? time and Gaius Naevius (?).'

81 Lucilius Gamala *filius* no. 4? – fragmentary dedication

AÉpigr (1911) 212 = *CIL* XIV 4657; F. Coarelli, 'Per una "topografia gamaliana" di Ostia', in *Ostia, Cicero, Gamala, Feasts, and the Economy: Papers in Memory of John H. D'Arms*, eds. A. Gallina Zevi and J. H. Humphrey (2004: *JRA* Supplement 57: Portsmouth, R.I.) 89–98, at 93–4.

] paren[tib(us)] / Lucil[i]us G[ama]la / filius f(ecit) / [

'. . . To his parents. Lucilius Gamala, their son made (this) . . . '

This fragmentary dedication on a marble tablet 'to his parents' (*paren[tib](us)*) by *Lucilius Gamala filius*, was found in front of the building with three apses (so-called *nymphaeum*) in the enclosure of the 'quattro tempietti'. Coarelli assigns it to the Claudian period, and suggests that the structure was in fact a *lararium* to the Gamala family (cf. *parent[ib](us)*), and that their home was the nearby 'House of Apuleius', next to the 'quattro tempietti', generally believed to be the temples listed as benefactions of Gamala in *CIL* XIV 375.[233] He suggests that the two herms (*CIL* XIV 375–6) would have been part of this ensemble (although *CIL* XIV 375 was purportedly found in Portus, not Ostia; no findspot is recorded for *CIL* XIV 376). Coarelli further identifies this Gamala with the Gamala involved in building the temple of Bellona, and dates him to the Claudian era, even though the building-inscription of Bellona is more likely to date from the Antonine period (see below, no. 7?).

---

[233] F. Zevi, 'P. Lucilio Gamala *senior* e i "quattro tempietti" di Ostia', *MÉFRA* 85 (1973) 555–81.

82 P. Lucilius Gamala no. 5: Flavian *duovir* – *fasti Ostienses*, AD 71

AÉpigr (1975) 130 = *Fasti Ostienses* frag. Ebcd.

[IIvir(i) c(ensoria) p(otestate) q(uinquennales)] Q(uintus) Sallinius [———]I P(ublius) Luci[lius Ga]mala f(ilius) / [Imp(erator) Caesar V]espasian[us Aug(ustus) IIII Titus Caesar i]mp(erator) II

'Quinquennial *duoviri* with censorial power: Quintus Sallinius [–] for the 2nd time(?), Publius Lucilius Gamala, junior. Imperator Caesar Vespasian Augustus for the 4th time, Titus Caesar Imperator for the 2nd time (consuls).'

This Gamala is omitted in *PIR*, but his duovirate can be dated to AD 71 on the basis of the consular dating for AD 72 that follows in the next entry to the *fasti* after mention of his magistracy.

83 P. Lucilius Gamala no. 6?: first half of second century AD? (*PIR*^{2} L386) – funerary altar

CIL XIV 377 = *ILS* 6146a.

Memoriae / P(ubli) Lucili Gamalae / Cn(aeus) Sentius / Lucilius Gamala / Clodianus / patri

'To the memory of Publius Lucilius Gamala. Gnaeus Sentius Lucilius Gamala Clodianus to his father.'

This funerary inscription was set up by his son Cn. Sentius Lucilius Gamala Clodianus to Pub. Lucilius Gamala, perhaps during the first half of the second century AD, and so perhaps to be identified with no. 5? Cn. Sentius Lucilius Gamala Clodianus also set up a funerary altar to his adoptive father Cn. Sentius Felix some time after AD 135.[234]

---

[234] *CIL* XIV 409 = *ILS* 6146 = Cébeillac-Gervasoni *et al.*, *Épigraphie latine* (above, n.230) 243–7 no. 64, with fig. 64, with whom he also appeared, both named as patrons of a corporation in AD *c.*135: *CIL* XIV 5374.

84 P. Lucilius Gamala no. 7? *filius* – building-inscription for the Temple of Bellona

AÉpigr (1948) 26 = *AÉpigr* (1987) 203 = M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni, *et al.*, *Épigraphie latine* (2006: Armand Colin: Paris) 157–60 no. 42.1, with fig. 42.1.

A(ulus) Livius Proculus P(ublius) Lucilius / Gamala f(ilius) IIvir(i) praef(ecti) Caesar(is) / locum quod aedes Bellonae fieret / impensa lictorum et servorum publicorum / qui in corpore sunt adsignaverunt d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) / cur(antibus) / M(arco) Naevio Fructo et M(arco) [[– – –]]

'Aulus Livius Proculus and Publius Lucilius Gamala, junior, *duoviri* and prefects of Caesar, by decree of the town councillors assigned the place which became the temple of Bellona at the expense of the lictors and public slaves who are in the association, Marcus Naevius Fructus and Marcus {erased name} supervised the work'.

This Gamala is prefect of Caesar, i.e., L. Aelius, AD 136; he is possibly to be identified with no. 6 or with no. 8.

85 P. Lucilius Gamala no. 8: late Antonine *duovir* (*PIR*^{2} L387) – inscription upon herm shaft

CIL XIV 376 = *EphEp* IX, p.335 = M. Fora, *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente Romano*, vol. IV, *Regio Italiae I: Latium* (1996: Vetera 11: Quasar: Rome) no. 28.

P(ublio) Lucilio P(ubli) [f(ilio)] / P(ubli) n(epoti) P(ubli) pron(epoti) Gamala[e] / aed(ili) sacr(is) Volcani / eiusdem pr(aetori) tert(io) dec(urioni) /[5] adlecto d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) infanti / IIvir(o) praefecto L(uci) Caesar(is) / Aug(usti) f(ilii) cens(oria) q(uaestori) a(erarii) pontif(icis) / tabular(um) et librorum / curatori primo constitut(o) /[10] hic ludos omnes quos fecit / amplificavit impensa sua / idem munus gladiatorium ded(it) / idem aedem Castoris et Pollucis rest(ituit) / idem curator pecuniae publicae exi/[15]gendae et attribuendae in comi/tiis factus cellam patri Tiberino / restituit / idem thermas quas divus Pius aedifi/caverat vi ignis consumptas refecit /[20] porticum reparavit / idem aedem Veneris impensa sua / restituit / idem pondera ad macellum et mensuras / ad forum vinar(ium) s(ua) p(ecunia) fecit /[25] idem navale a L(ucio) Coilo aedificatum / extru[e]ntibus fere collapsum / restituit / huic statua aena peq(unia) pub(lica) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) posit(a) / est /[30] [3]HSXVI[3]MLVI[

‘Publius Lucilius Gamala, son of Publius, grandson of Publius, great-grandson of Publius, aedile of the rites of Vulcan, praetor of the same for the third time, town councillor, adlected by decree of the town councillors whilst an infant, *duovir* prefect of Lucius Caesar son of Augustus with censorial power, quaestor of the treasury of the *pontifex*, first to be appointed as curator of the accounts and records; all the games which he presented he elaborated at his own expense, and he also gave a gladiatorial show; he also restored the temple of Castor and Pollux, also when elected as curator for the levying and assigning of public money he restored the *cella* for father Tiber, and also he rebuilt the baths which deified Pius had built and had been damaged by fire, he repaired the portico, also he restored the temple of Venus at his own expense, also he paid for the weights at the market and measures at the wine-forum, also he restored the dockyard built by Lucius Coilus which almost collapsed as they were building it; to him a bronze statue with public money by decree of the town councillors was set up . . . ? . . . ’

This Gamala is dated to the late Antonine period from the reference to *divus Pius* (i.e., after AD 161) and from his post as *praefectus* in place of Lucius Caesar (arguably Commodus, between AD 166 and 180).[235]

There is also another fragmentary inscription mentioning a Lucilius Gamala as *duovir*, whose date is unclear (identified tentatively with no. 3 in *PIR*^{2} L385).[236]

Another feature of epigraphic texts that can be diagnostic of a date is the shifting use of linguistic formulae. The emergence of a distinctively Christian epigraphic style has already been discussed earlier (see above, Subsection 2.3.2). For the earlier period, the chronological patterns of a few formulae are valid on an empire-wide stage. Broadly speaking, for example, the ubiquitous formula *dis manibus* (‘to the departed spirits’) emerged at Rome during the mid first century AD, and then began to be used in the provinces from the second half of the first century AD, becoming commonplace from the end of that century. Nevertheless, even this is only a broad pattern, not a fixed distribution, since it is possible that some inscriptions bearing that phrase may have been set up before the Claudian era at Rome.[237]

Otherwise, the emergence of new formulae may be linked to wider historical developments, such as changing perceptions of the imperial family, which were expressed through the emergence of new formulae: for example, the phrase *in h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae)* ('in honour of the divine household') is attested first in AD 135 and last in AD 325, whilst *devotus numini maiestatique eius* ('devoted to his divine spirit and majesty') appears first under the Severans.[238] Indeed, imperial titles experienced a whole series of changes through the centuries that can be broadly mapped, with the result that an emperor's titles may offer a clue as to the inscription's rough date even where his name itself has not been preserved.[239] Such changes were not always abrupt and absolute, and it is always important to look for geographical variations in practice: for example, from the early fourth century the introductory formula *Imp(erator) Caes(ar)* began to be replaced by *d(ominus) n(oster)* ('our lord'), but is last attested alongside *d.n* in AD 369, after which it disappears.[240]

---

[235] Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (above, n.228) 496 argued that Gamalae 7 and 8 are the same individual, and that both were prefects for Lucius Aelius.

[236] *CIL* XIV 340 = *ILS* 6134: *duovir*.

[237] Solin, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Personennamen*, vol. I (above, n.200) 35–6; possible pre-Claudian example – *CIL* VI 2489 (praetorian discharged in AD 29).

In addition to these imperial formulae, there was also a tendency from the Hadrianic period onwards for inscriptions to allude to the rank of senators and equestrians. Senators started to appear as *vir clarissimus* ('most distinguished'), with their wives and children also bearing corresponding titles. By the time of Caracalla, however, this distinction was apparently regarded as insufficient, with a further refinement being introduced to distinguish a *consularis vir* ('consular') from other run-of-the-mill senators. In the case of equestrians (but not their wives or children), by the time of Septimius Severus, they were divided by rank into the categories of *vir eminentissimus* ('most eminent') for praetorian prefects, *vir perfectissimus* ('most perfect') for high-ranking procurators, and *vir egregius* ('outstanding') for other officials and lower-ranking procurators. A new system was established in AD 361 that persisted down to the late sixth century, dividing the elite into three groups, comprising individuals who were *clarissimus* ('most distinguished'), *spectabilis* ('honourable'), and *illustris* ('illustrious'). Finally, during the fifth century outstanding individuals might be labelled as *magnificus vir* ('magnificent') and during the sixth century as *gloriosissimus vir* ('most glorious') or *vir excellentissimus* ('most excellent').[241]

---

[238] Raepsaet-Charlier, 'La datation des inscriptions latines' (above, n.54); W. Eck, 'Die Inschrift: Fragment einer Kultur', in *XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae: Provinciae Imperii Romani Inscriptionibus Descriptae*, eds. M. Mayer i Olívé, G. Baratta, and A. Guzmán Almagro (2007: Monografies de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica X: Barcelona) 449–60, at 454, with Chastagnol, 'Le formulaire de l'épigraphie latine officielle' (above, n.193) 36.

[239] Chastagnol, 'Le formulaire de l'épigraphie latine officielle' (above, n.193) 12–38; A. Magioncalda, *Lo sviluppo della titolatura imperiale da Augusto a Guistiniano attraverso le testimonianze epigrafiche* (1991: G. Giappichelli: Turin).

[240] *CIL* VI 1175 = *ILS* 771, starting with *domini nostri imperatores Caesares.*

[241] Chastagnol, 'Le formulaire de l'épigraphie latine officielle' (above, n.193) 41–7.

It should be emphasized, however, that the vast majority of linguistic formulae need to be examined in a local context, and it is only when they are examined in the shifting sequence of a regional epigraphic culture along with all the other factors mentioned above that they may help with dating. It is also not generally acceptable to apply the evidence for the dating of the use of one formula in one province to its use in another province.

The most important thing that is shared by absolutely all inscriptions, of course, is their lettering. The use of the style of script (*ductus*) to determine dating is an imprecise science, however, and is insufficient on its own, with a few exceptions, such as the reintroduction of three archaic letters under Claudius (two of which are found in inscriptions),[242] and the distinctive style of lettering designed by stonecutter Furius Dionysius Filocalus for the verse epigrams composed by Pope Damasus in his attempt to promote the cult of the martyrs at Rome from AD 366.[243] In general, however, the style of lettering on an inscription was affected not just by the period in which the inscription was carved, but also by the material being used, the skill of the stonecutter, and (a related factor) the amount of money being paid for the monument. Lettering styles also show regional variations.

86 Ornamental ligatures at Lugdunum: Fig. 3.19

AÉpigr (1976) 430

M. Le Glay and A. Audin, 'Récentes découvertes épigraphiques à Lyon', in *Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie lyonnaises* (1976: Lyon) 25 no. 9, with photograph at fig. 10; M.-P. Darblade-Audoin, *Recueil général des sculptures sur pierre de la Gaule: Nouvel Espérandieu*, vol. II, *Lyon* (2006: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: Paris) 100 no. 281, with photograph pl. 109.

d(is) m(anibus) / T(ito) Orbio Câr/poforo Ôr/bia Nice con/iugi karissîm/o

'To the departed spirits. To Titus Orbius Carpoforus. Orbia Nice to her dearest husband.'

This rectangular *stele* of white marble (height 36.5 cm, width 26.8 cm, depth 4.5 cm) has a pediment marked out upon it by a moulded border, decorated with

---

[242] Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista* (above, n.40) 152.

[243] A. Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana* (1942: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana: Vatican City), esp. 21–35 on Filocalus, and photographs; J. Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century* (2000: Clarendon Press: Oxford) 148–55.

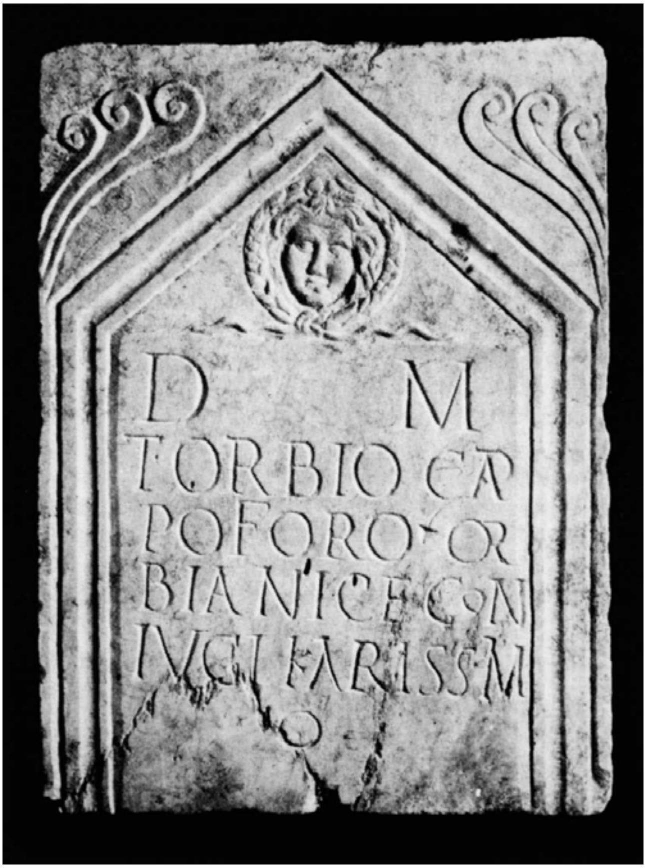
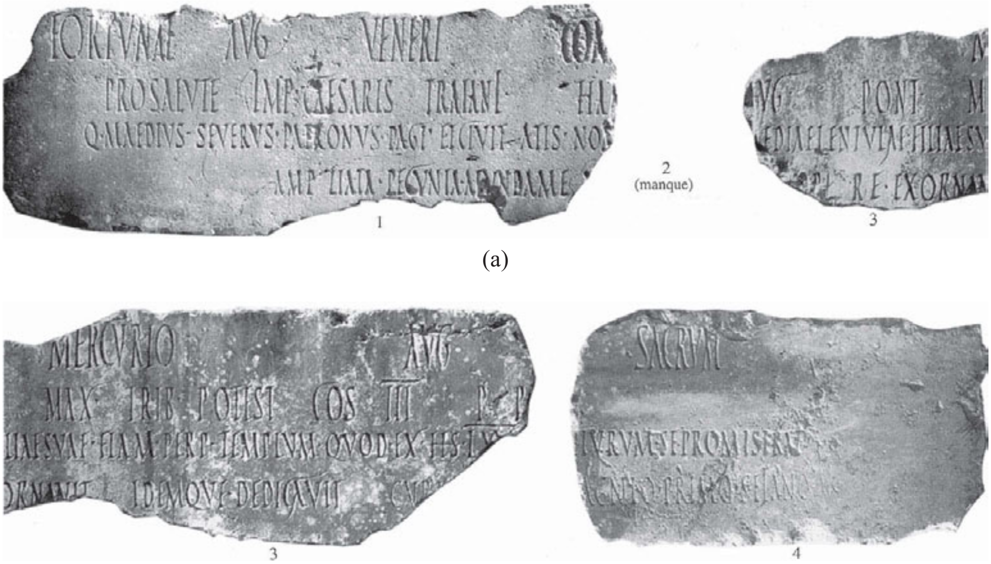


Fig. 3.19 Ornamental ligatures at Lugdunum – *AÉpigr* (1976) 430 (from M. Le Glay and A. Audin, ‘Récentes découvertes épigraphiques à Lyon’, in *Notes d’épigraphie et d’archéologie lyonnaises* (1976: Lyon) 26 fig. 10)

the head of a gorgon encircled by a wreath. It is further decorated at its upper corners. It was found with four other epitaphs along the right bank of the Saône, presumably originally situated beside a road leading from the lower districts of the town along the riverbank. Its style of lettering (heights 3.3–1.7 cm) is typical of the local engraving style which emerged at Lugdunum (modern Lyon) during the Julio-Claudian period, and is perhaps to be dated to AD *c*.60–70. This style may be characterized by a high proportion of ligatures, intertwining letters, and smaller letters tucked within taller ones. Although similar features appear elsewhere, ligatures are commonly a sign of a lack of planning on the part of the stonecutter, forcing him to squeeze letters into a confined space. At Lyon, however, the lettering appears to have been a deliberate artistic device, for



(a)

(b)

Fig. 3.20 ‘African’ lettering at Dougga – *CIL* VIII 26471 (from M. Khanoussi and L. Maurin, *Dougga, fragments d’histoire: choix d’inscriptions latines éditées, traduites et commentées (I^er^–IV^e^ siècles)* (2000: Ausonius Publications Mémoires 3: Bordeaux) 266–7 fig. 204)

ornamental effect. A similar, but less elaborate style of lettering is also found at nearby Vienna (modern Vienne) during the same period.[244]

87. ‘African’ lettering at Dougga: Fig. 3.20

CIL VIII 26471; *ILTun* 1392

M. Khanoussi and L. Maurin, *Dougga, fragments d’histoire: choix d’inscriptions latines éditées, traduites et commentées (I^er^–IV^e^ siècles)* (2000: Ausonius Publications Mémoires 3: Bordeaux) no. 136 + fig. 204.

Fortunae (vac.) *Aug(ustae)* (vac.) *Veneri* (vac.) *Con[cordiae]* (vac.) *Mercurio* (vac.) *Aug(usto)* (vac.) *sacrum / prosalute* (vac.) *Ìmp(eratoris) Caesaris* (vac.) *Traianì* (vac.) *Had[riani* (vac.)*] Aug(usti)* (vac.) *pont(ificis)* (vac.) *max(imi)* (vac.) *trib(unicia) potest(ate)* (vac.) *co(n)s(ulis) III* (vac.) *p(atris) p(atriae) / Q(uintus) Maedius Severus patronus pagi et civit*(vac.)*atis nom[ine suo et*

---

[244] A. Audin and Y. Burnand, ‘Chronologie des épitaphes romaines de Lyon’, *RÉA* 61 (1959) 320–2; Y. Burnand, ‘Chronologie des épitaphes romaines de Vienne (Isère)’, *RÉA* 63 (1961) 291–313, at 293–6.

M]aediae Lentulae filiae suae flam(inicae) perp(etuae) templum quod ex (sestertium) LXX [m(ilibus) n(ummum) fa]cturum se promiserat / amp(vac.)*liata pecunia a fundame*(vac.)*n[tis exstruxit ———] opere exornavit* (vac.) *idemque dedicavit* (vac.) *cura[tore M]agnio Primo Seìano*

'Sacred to Augustan Fortune, Venus, Concord, Augustan Mercury, on behalf of the welfare of Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, supreme pontiff, with tribunician power, consul for the third time, father of his country. Quintus Maedius Severus, patron of the village and town in his own name and in that of Maedia Lentula his daughter, perpetual priestess, built from its foundations the temple which he had promised he would build out of 70 000 sesterces, having increased the sum, decorated it with [?] work and also dedicated it, under the direction of Magnius Primus Seianus.'

Three blocks of this monolithic limestone architrave were found, having been broken up and reused in the Byzantine fortress, but a remaining significant chunk of it has still not been found, together with a smaller piece joining the third and fourth fragments. It bears an inscription recording the dedication of the temple of Augustan Fortune, Venus, Concordia, and Augustan Mercury in the Hadrianic period. The imperial titles of Hadrian listed here present problems that obscure the exact date of the dedication: Hadrian became consul for the third time on 1st January 119, by which time he also held tribunician power for the third time, but the inscription does not specify an iteration number for this power. The inscription does, however, name him as *pater patriae*, a title which he did not receive until AD 128, but which is anticipated in other provincial inscriptions too. The preserved fragments total 414 cm in width, and the original piece must have been roughly 460 cm in total; the architrave is 55 cm high. The lettering (9.5–5.5 cm) is a good example of the distinctive form of lettering found at Dougga (modern Thugga) in Africa Proconsularis, known as 'African capitals', particularly during the second and third centuries AD. It consists of lightly engraved lettering with long spidery flourishes, apparently imitating lettering more commonly associated with ink writing on papyrus or parchment.[245]

Parallels for particular letter-forms are only potentially helpful in dating if they originated from the same geographical area.[246] Even so, the same monument may bear two contemporary inscriptions in different styles, as can be seen on an altar to the *Lares Augusti* at Rome (no. 88 below), or where 'African' lettering coexisted with squared capitals in different contexts on the arch of Septimius Severus dedicated at Dougga in AD 205.[247] Furthermore, a single inscription may contain a specific letter in more than one form.[248]

---

[245] V. Bouard, N. Demaison, and L. Maurin, '*CIL* VIII, 26580 et l'écriture "africaine"', in *Dougga (Thugga): études épigraphiques*, eds. M. Khanoussi and L. Maurin (1997: Ausonius Publications/De Boccard: Paris) 209–33.

[246] A. E. Gordon and J. S. Gordon, *Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions*, vol. I (1958: University of California Press: Berkeley) 3.

88. Variations in lettering: Figs. 3.21–2

CIL VI 36809a–b = *ILS* 9250

M. Hano, 'A l'origine du culte impérial: les autels des Lares Augusti: recherches sur les thèmes iconographiques et leur signification', *ANRW* II.16.3 (1986) 2333–81 at 2341, with pl. IX, 19; J. B. Lott, *The Neighborhoods of Augustan Rome* (2004: Cambridge University Press) 137–9, 197 no. 23, with photographs fig. 11a–b; A. E. Gordon and J. S. Gordon, *Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions,* vol. I (1958: University of California Press: Berkeley) no. 33, pl. 20, a–b.

(front) *Laribus Augustìs* (sic) / *ministri* (vac.) *annì VI* || (inside an oak wreath) *Felix L(uci) Crautanì / Florus Sex(ti) Avienì / Eudoxsus C(ai) Caesì / Polyclitus Sex(ti) Anchari* || (below) *L(ucio) Caninio Gallo C(aio) Fufio Gemino co(n)s(ulibus) XIIII k(alendas) Octobr(es)* || (rear) *[La]ribus Aug(ustis) / vicei*(!) *Statae / Matris / ministri anni VI* || (libation-dish) *L(ucius) êt N(umerius) Savonn̂i / Felix L(uci) Craûtani Ptolom̂âei* / (vac. line) / *Eudoxus C(ai) Caêsi L(uci) f(ili) Nigri / Polyclitûs Sex(ti) Ân̂ĉhari Fâust̂i / L(ucio) Caninio Gallo C(aio) Fufio c[o(n)s(ulibus)] / Gemino XIV k(alendas) Oct(obres)*

(front) 'To the Augustan *Lares.* The officials of Year Six: Felix slave of Lucius Crautanus; Florus slave of Sextus Avienus; Eudoxsus slave of Gaius Caesius; Polyclitus slave of Sextus Ancharius. In the consulship of Lucius Caninius Gallus and Gaius Fufius Geminus, 18th September.' (rear) 'To the Augustan *Lares.* The officials of the *vicus Statae Matris* of Year Six: Lucius and Numerius Savonus; Felix, slave of Lucius Crautanus Ptolomaeus; Eudoxus slave of Gaius

---

[247] Squared capitals: *CIL* VIII 26539–40, dedicatory inscriptions on front and rear façades; 'African' lettering: *CIL* VIII 26541–2, architraves. Illustrated in M. Khanoussi and L. Maurin, *Dougga, fragments d'histoire: choix d'inscriptions latines éditées, traduites et commentées (I^er^–IV^e^ siècles)*(2000: Ausonius Publications Mémoires 3: Bordeaux) nos. 10–11; cf. Bouard *et al.*, '*CIL* VIII, 26580 et l'écriture "africaine"' (above, n.245) 216.

[248] Compare G in ll.2 and 4 of the epitaph at Isola Sacra for P. Betilienus Synegdemus: H. Thylander, *Inscriptions du port d'Ostie* (1952: Gleerup: Lund) A45 = *Le iscrizioni sepolcrali latine nell'Isola Sacra*, ed. A. Helttula (2007: Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 30: Rome) no. 72 with photograph.

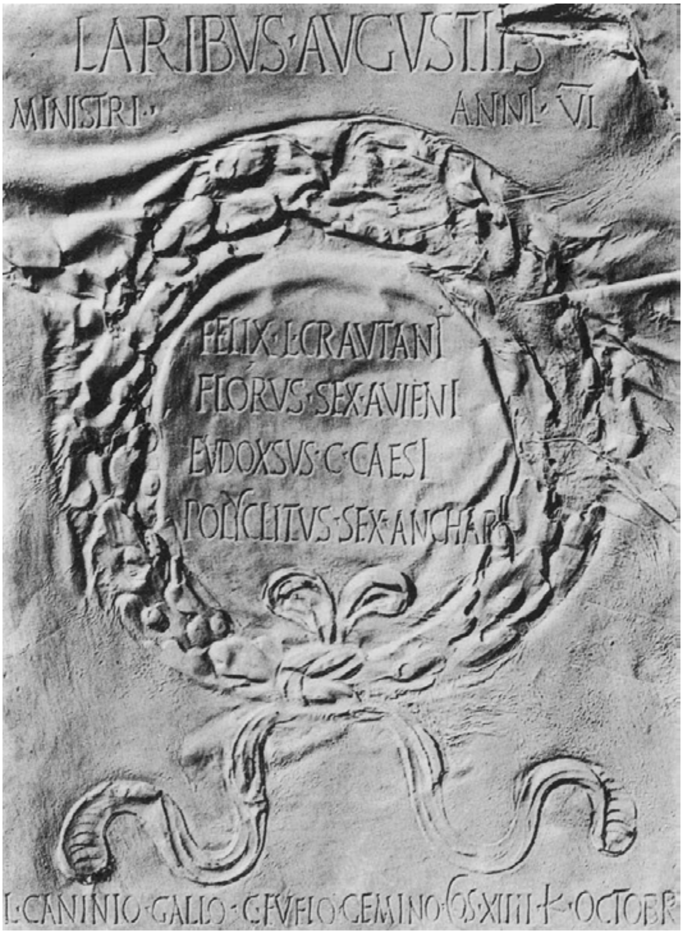

LARIBVS·AVGVSTIS
MINISTRI· ANNI· VI
FELIX·L·CRAVTANI
FLORVS·SEX·AVIENI
EVDOXSVS·C·CAESI
POLYCLITVS·SEX·ANCHARI
L·CANINIO·GALLO·C·FVFIO·GEMINO·COS·XIIII·K·OCTOBR

Fig. 3.21 Variations in lettering – *CIL* VI 36809a (front) (from A. E. Gordon and J. S. Gordon, *Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions* (1958: University of California Press: Berkeley) I no. 33, pl. 20a)

Caesius Niger son of Lucius; Polyclitus slave of Sextus Ancharius Faustus. In the consulship of Lucius Caninius Gallus and Gaius Fufius Geminus, 18th September.'

These two inscriptions are inscribed upon the front and rear of a marble altar to the Augustan *Lares* set up by the officials of one of Rome's neighbourhood districts in 2 BC. It was found on the Caelian. The two texts essentially record the same dedication, but differ from each other slightly in content, and are inscribed in different styles of lettering. The names of the officials on the front of the altar are inscribed within an oak wreath. The sides of the altar are decorated with

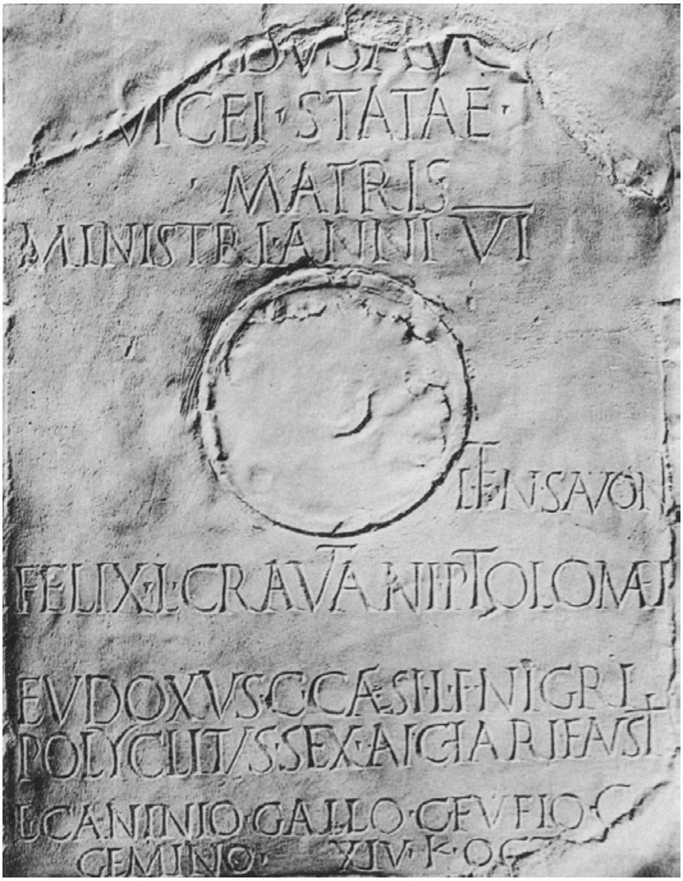

VICEI·STATAE·
MATRIS
MINISTRI ANNI VI
L·F·N·SAVONI
FELIX·L·CRAVANI·PTOLOM
EVDOXVS·C·CASILI·F·NIGRI L
POLYCLITVS·SEX·AICIARI·FAVST
L·CANINIO·GALLO·C·FVFIO·C
GEMINO· XIV·K·OCT

Fig. 3.22 Variations in lettering – *CIL* VI 36809b (rear) (from A. E. Gordon and J. S. Gordon, *Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions* (1958: University of California Press: Berkeley) I no. 33, pl. 20b)

large laurel boughs. The inscription on the rear is placed around a libation-dish (*patera*) and offers a more detailed dedicatory text, both identifying the district in question, and also giving fuller onomastic details in listing the names of the officials. At the same time, however, this text omits the name of Florus, leaving a blank line where his name had appeared on the front inscription. It is possible that he has now been replaced for some reason by L. and N. Savoni, whose names are inscribed in smaller letters above the names of the rest of the officials. This inscription fits badly on the rear of the monument, and the stonecutter has had to use plenty of ligatures to squeeze in the lettering. It is likely therefore that both of these texts are to be dated to 2 BC, and that the rear inscription was inscribed to reflect the change in personnel among the cult's officials. What is striking is that the same monument can in this way bear two texts which are very similar to each other, but which differ from each other in orthography, use of abbreviations, and style of lettering, presumably the result of a change in stonecutter.

Inscriptions mentioning the same individual may also be inscribed in quite different styles, as is the case with three inscriptions from Isola Sacra that include the name of P. Betilienus Synegdemus.[249] Different styles of script may be the result of variation in quality, not chronology, and different stonecutters may have been commissioned to execute inscriptions of different types for the same individual. Non-engraved inscriptions executed in media other than stone, such as mosaic inscriptions, present similar problems.[250] Furthermore, public inscriptions tended to be more homogeneous than private ones. Orthography may be of some use alongside lettering style in supporting an impressionistic analysis of the date of an inscription. For example, the following features are regarded as 'archaic' but are not to be relied upon for clear chronological guidance: '*ei*' for '*i*' (*grateis/gratis*); '*ai*' for '*ae*' (*causai/causae*); '*o*' for '*u*' (*vivos* for *vivus*); '*xs*' for '*x*' (*haruspexs/haruspex*); '*-und*' for '*-end*' in gerundive formations (such as *faciundum/faciendum*); '*q*' for '*c*' (e.g., *pequnia/pecunia*).[251] In the provinces, however, 'archaic' features may still be found well into the imperial period (such as AD 70–125 at Vienne).[252] In short, lettering style and orthography are of limited use in dating inscriptions on their own, but may play a role in building up a broader picture of an inscription's chronological context when studied alongside other factors.

Many inscriptions survive simply as disembodied unadorned slabs, and in these cases we have to depend largely upon onomastics, linguistic formulae, lettering style, and orthography for clues as to their possible date. The physical appearance of inscriptions may also be helpful, however, since the type of stone used for inscriptions within a particular geographical region may gradually change over time. Broadly speaking, for example, the stone used for inscriptions in Latium starts with various tufas, and then mostly shifts to travertine during the mid second century BC (with occasional use of Greek marble), to Luna marble after Caesar, and then to a wider variety of marbles from the Augustan era onwards.[253] Once again, however, it is essential to consider local variations in overall practice. Although Luna marble, for example, is occasionally used in Italy from around 90–80 BC, it is used at Luna itself by 155–3 BC, soon after the foundation of the *colonia.*[254] Nevertheless, in Italy as a whole, it is fair to say that Luna marble tended to be exploited for inscriptions increasingly from the Caesarian period onwards, with polychrome marbles starting to be imported from abroad during the Augustan period. Outside Italy this pattern is less clear since in the provinces we see a tendency simply to use whatever stone was most readily available in the locality: variation in material is then more likely to reflect relative financial means rather than chronology.[255] Nevertheless, some localized patterns are discernible, as at Emerita in Lusitania (modern Mérida in Portugal), where granite is the stone that is first available to the town's colonists after its foundation in 25 BC, with marble only becoming available from the late Augustan/Tiberian periods, once the quarries at Estremoz and Borba had been opened, 100 km to the west of the *colonia.*[256]

---

[249] Thylander, *Inscriptions du port d'Ostie* (above, n.248) A45, A46, A232 + Pl. XVII.2–3, Pl. LXVII.1, with Thylander, *Étude sur l'épigraphie latine* (above, n.166) 43–4 for this and other examples of the problems of analysing lettering style; cf. new edition of the inscriptions in *Le iscrizioni sepolcrali latine nell'Isola Sacra* (above, n.248) nos. 68, 72, 73, with photographs.

[250] Cf. D. Mazzoleni, 'Le iscrizioni musive cristiane della "*Venetia et Histria*"', in *Epigrafi del mondo cristiano antico* (2002: Lateran University Press: Rome) 187–203, at 201 for a brief summary of the problems in dating mosaic inscriptions in *Regio X (*repr. from *Antichità Altoadriatiche* 28 (1986) 311–29).

[251] G. Barbieri, 'Le iscrizioni delle necropoli', in *Scavi di Ostia*, vol. III, *Le necropoli*, ed. M. F. Squarciapino (1958: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato: Rome) 134–5; Audin and Burnand, 'Chronologie des épitaphes romaines de Lyon' (above, n.244) 321.

[252] Burnand, 'Chronologie des épitaphes romaines de Vienne' (above, n.244) 298.

In the case of the many inscribed monuments which include decorative elements, however, their monumental typology and artistic style may independently suggest chronological patterns. Workshops active in particular periods can sometimes be identified for sarcophagi, for example, on the basis of marble analysis, style, and iconography.[257] It is also possible to track the changing popularity of different types of funerary monument within a particular location: praetorian soldiers at Rome, for example, first of all favoured *cippi* of Tiburtine stone from AD 23, then marble *cippi*,

[253] Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina* (above, n.55) 174; S. Panciera, 'La produzione epigrafica di Roma in età repubblicana: le officine lapidarie', in *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3–6 sept. 1991 habiti*, eds. H. Solin, O. Salomies, and U.-M. Liertz (1995: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 104: Helsinki) 319–42, at 323–5.

[254] *CIL* I^2 623, Luna; with A. E. Gordon, 'Epigraphica II: on marble as a criterion for dating Republican Latin inscriptions', *CPCA* 1.5 (1936) 159–68.

[255] Le Glay, *Saturne Africain* (above, n.205) 15.

[256] J. Edmondson, *Granite Funerary Stelae from Augusta Emerita* (2006: Monografías Emeritenses 9: Mérida) 23, 78.

[257] See for example V. Gaggadis-Robin, *Les sarcophages païens du Musée de l'Arles Antique* (2005: Éditions du Musée de l'Arles et de la Provence Antique: Cahors) for an analysis of sarcophagi from the second to fourth centuries AD, only sixteen of which bear inscriptions.

and finally marble tablets.[258] Cinerary urns from the city of Rome have also been ordered chronologically; alongside epigraphic factors such as onomastic patterns, their stylistic development also offers chronological pointers based on trends such as changing fashions in hairstyle.[259] Chronological patterns emerge even from the simple decorative borders used around otherwise plain inscribed plaques from *columbaria*. Careful analysis of the pattern and style of borders on *columbaria* plaques from Rome has pinpointed the possibility of identifying a workshop or group of related workshops on the *via Appia* active during the Julio-Claudian era.[260] It has also been argued that the use of ivy-leaves as interpuncts (*hederae distinguentes*) at Rome had its origins in the Trajanic period (although found elsewhere in the empire before this time), becoming common during the second half of the second century AD.[261] Admittedly, the problem with this approach is that it tends to homogenize our monuments, and cannot identify artistic features that are atypical of their period of production.[262] The success of such studies also depends on being able to assemble a sizeable sample of inscribed monuments from a particular geographical context.

Finally, another factor worth bearing in mind in terms of the presentation of epigraphic texts is whether or not they use abbreviations, and, if they do, of what type. During the Republic, for example, horizontal supralineate bars were used only to designate numerals, and were not used for abbreviations.[263] Furthermore, some types of abbreviation emerged in epigraphic use over relatively limited periods. For example, the unit of currency (*sestertius*) tended to be expressed in Italian inscriptions by the abbreviation HS up until the end of the second century AD, after which this was contracted to the form ~~IS~~ from around AD 180, and this changed again to the form ~~SS~~ after roughly AD 200.[264] A distinctive new form of abbreviation whereby a word was contracted usually by omitting the vowels and was marked with a bar across the top was a common feature by the fifth/sixth centuries AD.[265]

---

[258] M. Clauss, ‘Zur Datierung stadtrömischer Inschriften: *tituli militum praetorianorum*’, *Epigraphica* 35 (1973) 55–95.

[259] F. Sinn, *Stadtrömische Marmorurnen* (1987: Beiträge zur Erschliessung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur 8/Philipp von Zabern: Mainz).

[260] D. Manacorda, ‘Tremelius Scrofa e la cronologia delle iscrizioni sepocrali urbane della prima età imperiale’, *BullCom* 86 (1978/9) 89–107, and *Un’officina lapidaria sulla via Appia* (1980: Bretschneider: Rome).

[261] H. Hommel, ‘Das Datum der Munatier-Grabstätte in Portus Traiani und die Hederae distinguentes’, *ZPE* 5 (1970) 293–303, at 300–3.

[262] A. Sadurska, ‘Quelques remarques sur la datation des épitaphes romaines fondée sur la décoration en relief’, in *Atti del terzo congresso internazionale di epigrafia greca e latina* (1959: Bretschneider: Rome) 71–6.

[263] Gordon, ‘Supralineate abbreviations’ (above, n.61) 111.

[264] Duncan-Jones, ‘An epigraphic survey’ (above, n.166) 305.

In conclusion, none of these elements suffices to date an inscription on its own, but in cases where an inscription can be analysed from several perspectives (linguistic, archaeological, onomastic, palaeographical, and artistic), within the context of a wider group of inscriptions (especially a sample of several hundred examples), a plausible case may be made for a chronological framework for that inscription.[266] Regional factors always need to be borne in mind when diagnosing the date of an inscription. In all cases, the most convincing chronological sequences are arrived at when an inscription can be inserted into a large sample of similar inscriptions from the same location. For example, the study of praetorian epitaphs at Rome is perhaps one of the most convincing attempts to date a sequence of epitaphs for the following reasons: it has a defined overall chronological framework (AD 23–312); it consists of a fairly large sample of inscriptions (*c.*500) produced for a well-defined group of individuals, found at three main locations in Rome; changes in nomenclature and origin can be mapped onto recruitment patterns known from historical studies of the evolution of the praetorian cohorts; and finally, honorific adjectives for cohorts offer dates post quem.[267] By contrast, although a model for the changing use of formulae in epitaphs on Gallo-Roman tombs has been proposed (extending also to the German provinces, Cisalpina, and Illyria), this wide-ranging model requires further refinement on the scale of individual towns for it to take due cognizance of local epigraphic cultures.[268] It is not possible, therefore, to draw up a chart of empire-wide characteristics belonging to inscriptions of particular periods; dating has to be undertaken in the light of regional epigraphic culture.[269] In the end, it is important not to try to be more precise in dating an inscription than is justifiable: some inscriptions simply lack any useful criteria by which they can be dated. This is perhaps particularly a problem with funerary inscriptions from late antiquity, many of which can only be described as 'late antique/early mediaeval': a good impression of the problems posed in dating Christian funerary inscriptions in Gaul emerges from the comment 'Cette épitaphe est trop banale pour qu'on puisse l'attribuer à un siècle plutôt qu'à un autre' in a collection of Christian inscriptions of which only two can be dated.[270]

---

[265] Gordon, 'Supralineate abbreviations' (above, n.61) 109. See Chapter 1, no. 15.

[266] The following is a selection of studies illustrating this methodology for various clusters of funerary inscriptions in different parts of the empire: Audin and Burnand, 'Chronologie des épitaphes romaines de Lyon' (above, n.244); Burnand, 'Chronologie des épitaphes romaines de Vienne' (above, n.244), cf. *ILN* V.1 pp.53–4; J.-M. Lassère, 'Recherches sur la chronologie des épitaphes païennes de l'Africa', *AntAfr* 7 (1973) 7–151; Edmondson, *Granite Funerary Stelae from Augusta Emerita* (above, n.256) 77–89.

[267] Clauss, 'Zur Datierung stadtrömischer Inschriften: *tituli militum praetorianorum*' (above, n.258).

[268] J.-J. Hatt, *La tombe gallo-romaine* (1951: Presses Universitaires de France: Paris) 12–19.

[269] For charts of letter-forms as guides to chronology, see R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine* (4th edn, 1914: Fontemoing: Paris) 3–23.

3.5 Putting the pieces together

Although many inscriptions are discovered or handed down through the centuries all in one piece, the need to be able to interpret partial inscriptions is all too commonplace.[271] Inscriptions can experience different types of damage: the letters of an inscription may be damaged, whilst the monument itself is intact; a monument may be fractured, with all or just some of its pieces preserved; or there may exist an isolated fragment of an inscription of lesser or greater extent. A variety of methods can be adopted when trying to reconstruct the original text of an inscribed fragment, as well as cautions to be borne in mind when using a fragmentary inscription that has already been edited. A golden rule applies to both situations: no reconstruction can ever be considered certain. Nevertheless, it is true that many inscriptions can be largely or even wholly restored in a plausible fashion because of the formulaic character of epigraphic language. The inscription once restored should make sense on three levels, namely in terms of its grammatical structure, its meaning, and its visual appearance. In cases where a fragment appears to belong with another, it is important not just to examine the surface (for example from a squeeze or photograph), but to see if the fragments do indeed join together below the surface too. Lines of fracture may offer some guidance as to the possible relationship between fragments. Another crucial factor to check is that the fragments share the same material, again something which is not verifiable from images of the inscription alone.

---

[270] N. Gauthier, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la Renaissance carolingienne*, vol. I, *Première Belgique* (1975: CNRS: Paris), comment at 463 on I.186, with discussion of the problems of dating inscriptions on 95–104.

[271] Salutary words of wisdom about reconstructing partial texts may be found in Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions* (above, n.99) 67–71, 74–6; L. Robert, 'Les épigraphies et l'épigraphie grecque et romaine', in *Opera Minora Selecta* (1989: Hakkert: Amsterdam) V 65–109, esp. 89–100 (repr. from *L'histoire et ses méthodes, Encyclopédie de la Pléiade* (1961) 453–97); cf. R. Bagnall, 'Restoring the text of documents', *Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship* 4 (1988) 109–19 even though primarily dealing with restoration of papyri. On the practicalities, see Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista* (above, n.40) chs. 15–16; Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine* (above, n.42) 66–9. Cf. R. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (1995: Routledge: London) 29–31.

Some inscriptions lend themselves more readily to restoration than others.[272] A first step towards reconstruction consists of calculating, if possible, both the overall dimensions of the inscribed monument and the parameters of line length for its text. Judging the latter presents a number of problems since some letters are fatter or thinner than others, letter sizes may differ in different lines of an inscription, and the spacing left between letters may also vary within a single inscription. Although Latin inscriptions did not use the *stoichedon* layout that allows for a grid to be overlaid upon the epigraphic text with confidence, doing so can still roughly indicate what might be plausible in terms of reconstructing a text.

In seeking to fill in gaps within the text, it is important to refer to other inscriptions of the same subject and genre, chronology, and location. Occasionally, multiple copies of a single text turn up, so that restorations may be made of overlapping sections: an outstanding example is the case of the senatorial decree and *lex* concerning honours for Germanicus in AD 19. The ending of the *Tabula Siarensis*, found at the site of Siarum in the area of modern Seville (Spain) in 1982, overlaps with the start of the *Tabula Hebana*, found at Heba (Etruria), modern Magliano in the Tiber Valley, in 1947 and 1951. By combining both inscriptions, we now have a much more extensive version of the whole original text.[273] Such inscriptions are not necessarily absolutely identical, and may differ in orthography, layout, expansion of abbreviations, or errors of craftsmanship, as illustrated by the various fragments of the *senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre* found in Baetica.[274] As earlier sections of this handbook have illustrated, the regionality of epigraphic culture is a strong characteristic of the Roman world, and so inscriptions need to be analysed within their original context whenever possible. Consideration should be given to the way in which linguistic formulae varied from place to place, and also changed over time. The task of searching for epigraphic parallels is now greatly enhanced by the extensive databases of inscriptions available online. More traditional tools include reverse-word dictionaries.[275] Literary, numismatic, and papyrological texts may also be employed in the search for parallels. Adducing parallels to support editorial restoration is usually regarded as a fundamental basis for work. The problem with this, of course, is that this process constantly reinforces the impression of the formulaic character of inscriptions. Sometimes new fragments of an inscription emerge after it has already been edited showing that its text is in reality much less predictable than had been suggested. Even so, editors of new inscriptions are not encouraged to suggest unparalleled restorations. It is important to be prepared both to rein in the temptation to push interpreting and restoring an inscription beyond the realms of probability, and also to leave blank gaps where an inscription simply cannot be restored. The following observation about editing papyri is equally valid for epigraphy: 'restorations are mainly a device for presenting an analysis and interpretation of a text in a readily usable fashion; a continuous text is, after all, far more readable than a block of discontinuous words and a mass of notes. A translation of such a restored text is similarly a device of presentation, a means of clarifying an interpretation.'[276]

---

[272] Two examples of how to arrive at successful restorations may be found in Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine* (above, n.269) 379–87.

[273] M. H. Crawford, ed., *Roman Statutes*, vol. I (1996: BICS supplement 64: London) no. 37.

[274] Compare the diplomatic transcripts of copies A and B: W. Eck, A. Caballos, and F. Fernández, *Das senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre* (1996: Vestigia 48: Beck: Munich) 10–30.

[275] O. Gradenwitz, *Laterculi Vocum Latinarum* (1904: Hirzel: Leipzig).

In restoring the text of an inscription it is crucial to distinguish clearly between different levels of editing (see also above, Subsection 3.2.2):[277]

- letters that can be securely read
- letters of which only traces are extant, but whose identification is possible from their context: these are marked with a dot underneath the letter in a transcription
- traces of letters which are so damaged that they cannot be recognized: these are marked with a cross (+++), each cross representing one letter
- letters of which no trace survives, but which appear certain from their context: these are enclosed within [square brackets]
- letters restored with a high level of probability, but not certainty: these are enclosed within [square brackets], with the addition of a small superscript question-mark above
- letters that are entirely conjectural: these should be confined to the commentary, and should not appear in the transcription.

Square brackets should not, however, be used for any conjecture, only for a restoration that is virtually certain. In cases where a restoration is proposed simply by way of illustrating the possibilities, this restoration should remain in the notes and not appear in the actual transcription so as to avoid the risk that an editor's reconstructions take on an appearance of finality: epigraphic restorations presented within square brackets can appear far more certain than is perhaps justified (see above, Subsection 3.2.3), and can then in turn be used as parallels in restoring other texts. Readers of epigraphic texts should be aware that there is in practice considerable variation in deciding which restorations can appear in square brackets; consequently, they may find it necessary to assess for themselves the varying degree of probability belonging to an editor's restorations, since it is not uncommon for conjectural material to be included in square brackets.[278] In the end, restoring a text can only demonstrate that a particular interpretation of it is possible within the constraints of space and surviving letters, but cannot demonstrate that it is inevitable. The other crucial part of editing a text is the apparatus criticus, in which the readings of earlier editors of the inscription are presented in chronological order. In some cases, earlier readings of a text may be more reliable, having taken place before the inscription was further damaged.

---

[276] Bagnall, *Reading Papyri* (above, n.271) 31.

[277] S. Dow, *Conventions in Editing* (1969: Duke University: Durham, N.C.).

Some prominent monumental inscriptions originally consisted of metal letters kept in place by dowels. Once the metal letters themselves have disappeared, the outline of the letters may still be visible, or only dowel-holes may remain. A first step is to discern in how many lines the inscription was laid out. After this, the pattern of holes may be used to reconstruct letters and interpuncts. The pattern of holes for particular letters varies from inscription to inscription, but can also vary within a single inscription, as has emerged from a study of the dedicatory inscription of the 'Porte d'Auguste' at Nîmes, where the outlines of the lettering as well as dowel-holes have been preserved.[279] Reconstructing such texts requires a certain leap of faith, and even more so in reconstructing inscriptions from a palimpsest, as has been done with the Flavian dedicatory inscription of the 'Colosseum', of which only traces of the dowel-holes for affixing its metal letters remain on the stone architrave block which was then used for a rebuilding-inscription during the fifth century.[280] In this case, even the fundamental task of detecting these original holes is problematic, given the levelling off of the inscribed surface in order for the later inscription to be accommodated: some of the holes are now very superficial, and others have to be supposed to have disappeared entirely. Further problems for this inscription lie in the fact that the reconstruction of the earlier text appears to preclude the regular patterning of dowel-holes for particular letters, and that individual letters were apparently put together in different combinations of dowel-holes; also the letters themselves were irregularly formed, being of different thicknesses. Seductive as the reconstruction is, therefore, it must remain in the realm of tentative hypothesis rather than historical fact. It is, therefore, necessary to distinguish between reconstructing inscriptions that originally consisted of large metal letters created by a casting process embedded into the surface of the stone and kept in place by dowels that tended to fit into regular patterns for specific letters,[281] and the much less clear case of inscriptions consisting of relatively thin, small letters cut out of metal sheets that might be affixed via an irregular use of dowels.[282]

---

[278] Cf. Bodel, *Epigraphic Evidence* (above, n.1) 52–3.

[279] R. Amy and P. Gros, *La Maison Carrée de Nîmes* (1979: CNRS: Paris) I 181 fig. 59 for three ways in which R is attached.

[280] G. Alföldy, 'Eine Bauinschrift aus dem Colosseum', *ZPE* 109 (1995) 195–26, esp. 202–8 for discussion of the methodological problems summarized here.

89. Reconstruction of metal lettering: Emerita theatre: Figs. 3.23–4

CIL II 474 = *AÉpigr* (1911) 3 = *ILS* 130

I. A. Richmond, 'The first years of Emerita Augusta', *ArchJ* 87 (1930) 98–116, at 115–16, with fig. 4; I. Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista: guida alla schedatura del materiale epigrafico lapideo* (1987: Vetera 1: Quasar: Rome) figs. 163, 163A.

M(arcus) Agrippa L(uci) f(ilius) co(n)sul III / trib(unica) pot(estate) III

'Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, three times consul, in his third year of tribunician power.'

Only the dowel-holes of the dedicatory inscription remain on the stone lintel above the entranceway into the *orchestra*. It is likely that originally both entranceways bore identical dedicatory inscriptions. The theatre dates to 16 BC, shortly after the foundation of the *colonia* in 25 BC. Agrippa had left the area by this time, although he may have initiated the construction of the theatre before his departure. The gap in time between Agrippa's departure from Emerita and the date of the theatre's dedication implies that the inscription had a commemorative purpose. It is possible that the dedication of the theatre coincided with the town's promotion to capital of the new province of Lusitania during the reorganization of the Spanish provinces during 16/13 BC.[283] The presence of a stone theatre in the town may have represented one way of enhancing its status.

---

[281] For example, fragments from the dedicatory inscriptions for the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum and the Temple of Castor in the Forum Romanum: G. Alföldy, *Studi sull'epigrafia augustea e tiberiana di Roma* (1992: Vetera 8: Quasar: Rome) 17–32 and 39–58, with pls. II–III, VII–VIII.

[282] Cf. also the aqueduct at Segovia: G. Alföldy, 'Die Inschrift des Aquäduktes von Segovia: ein Vorbericht', *ZPE* 94 (1992) 231–48; detailed discussion and presentation of alternative readings of the dedication on the Maison Carrée at Nîmes: Amy and Gros, *La Maison Carrée de Nîmes* (above, n.279) I ch. 5, II pl. 41.

[283] J.-M. Roddaz, 'Agrippa et la péninsule ibérique', in *Il bimillenario di Agrippa*, ed. A. Ceresa-Gastaldo (1990: Dipartimento di Archeologia, Filologia Classica e loro Tradizioni: Genoa) 71–7.

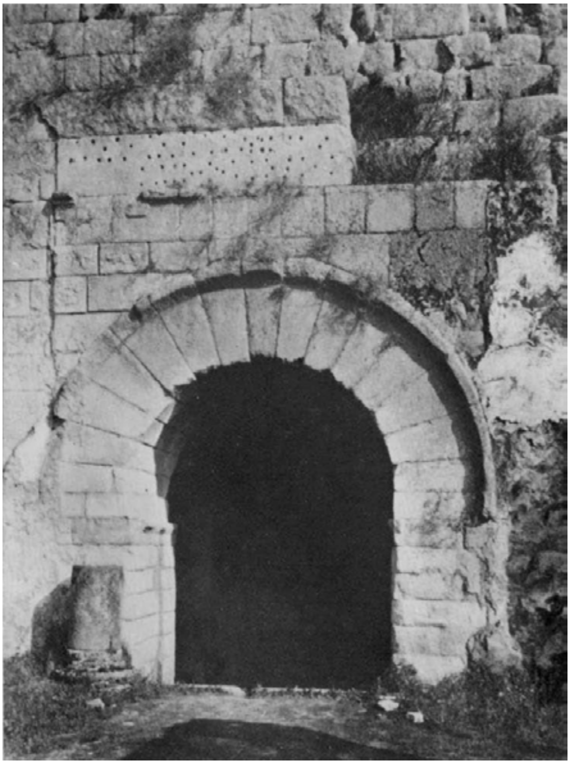


Fig. 3.23 Reconstruction of metal lettering: Emerita theatre – *CIL* II 474, as preserved (from I. A. Richmond, 'The first years of Emerita Augusta', *Archaeological Journal* 87 (1930) 98–116 pl.VI)

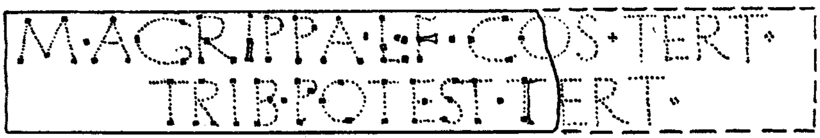


Fig. 3.24 Reconstruction of metal lettering: Emerita theatre – *CIL* II 474, as reconstructed by I. A. Richmond (from I. A. Richmond, 'The first years of Emerita Augusta', *Archaeological Journal* 87 (1930) 98–116 fig. 4)

This discussion may perhaps best be brought to a close by presenting a case-study of an inscribed monument which illustrates many of the problems discussed in the previous pages. In editing the text of the following inscription, the evidence of earlier epigraphic scholarship has to be carefully assessed; in attempting to date it, many different aspects are evaluated which, in this case, cannot in the end fix its date with any certainty; finally,

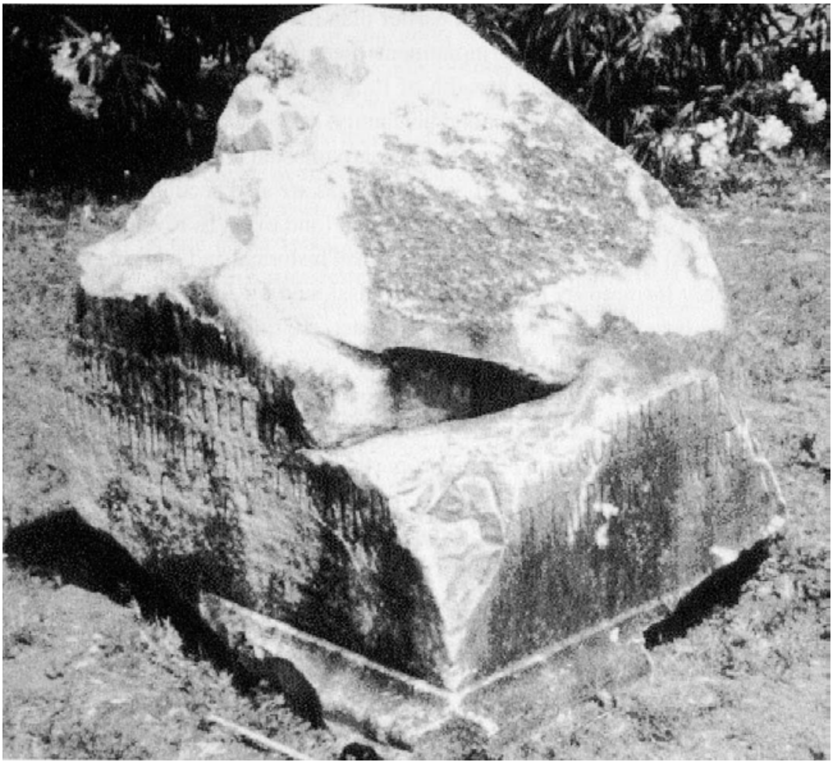


Fig. 3.25 Re-editing *CIL* XIV 2071 – photograph of overall monument (from A. E. Cooley, ‘Politics and religion in the *ager Laurens*’, in *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2000: BICS Supplement 73: London) 173–91 fig. 8.3)

the inscription’s monumental context and physical location contain important clues as to its historical importance.

90 Re-editing *CIL* XIV 2071: Figs. 3.25–9

Lower part of a base of white marble, with a moulded base, with inscriptions on its front and right side; seen during the seventeenth century by Fabretti at a crossroads between Lavinium (modern Pratica) and Tor Paterno, it had disappeared by 1880, but was rediscovered during the excavation season of 1987–91. The top half is damaged: although much of the core of the base survives, at least half of the inscribed surface has disappeared. Current dimensions: 100 × 125 × 94 cm. Inscription a (on front): letters height 6.8 cm (l.5), 6.0 cm (l.6), 6.3 cm (ll.7–8). Inscription b (on right side): letters height 6.8 cm (ll.1–2), 6.5 cm (l.3). Simple interpuncts separate words on both sides. Autopsy 1996.

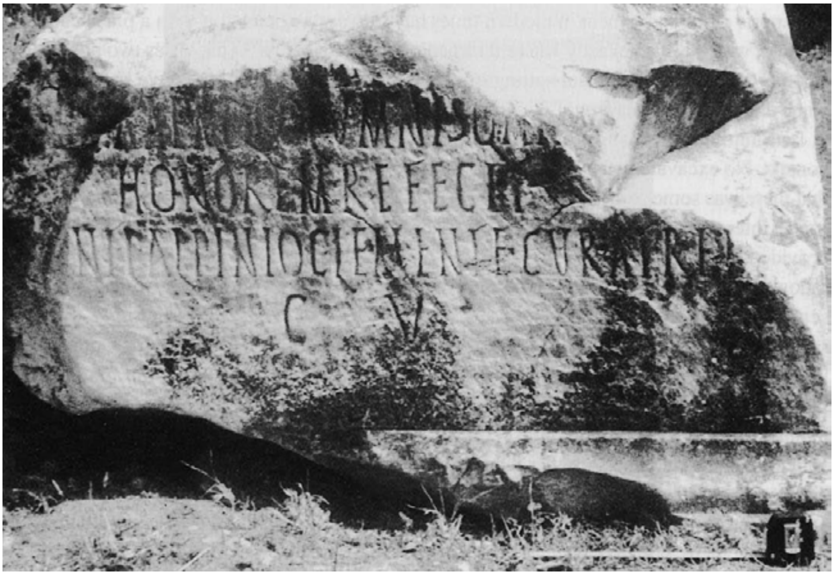


Fig. 3.26 Re-editing *CIL* XIV 2071 – photograph of front (from A. E. Cooley, ‘Politics and religion in the *ager Laurens*’, in *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2000: BICS Supplement 73: London) 173–91 fig. 8.4)

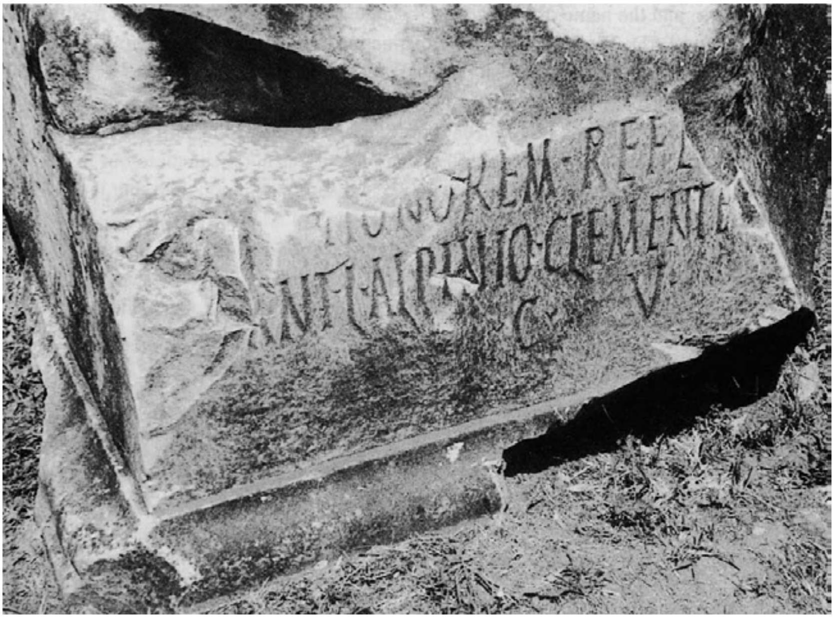
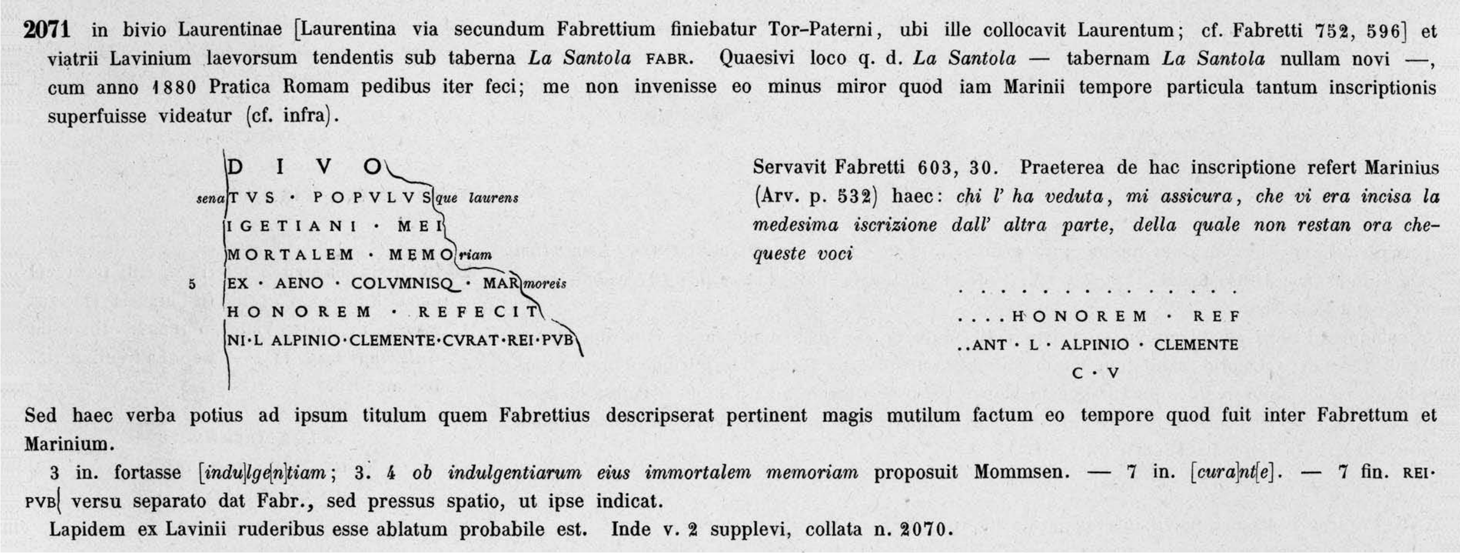


Fig. 3.27 Re-editing *CIL* XIV 2071 – photograph of right side (from A. E. Cooley, ‘Politics and religion in the *ager Laurens*’, in *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2000: BICS Supplement 73: London) 173–91 fig. 8.5)



2071 in bivio Laurentinae [Laurentina via secundum Fabrettium finiebatur Tor-Paterni, ubi ille collocavit Laurentum; cf. Fabretti 752, 596] et viatrii Lavinium laevorsum tendentis sub taberna *La Santola* FABR. Quaesivi loco q. d. *La Santola* — tabernam *La Santola* nullam novi —, cum anno 1880 Pratica Romam pedibus iter feci; me non invenisse eo minus miror quod iam Marinii tempore particula tantum inscriptionis superfuisse videatur (cf. infra).

DIVO
*sena*TVS · POPVLVS*que laurens*
IGETIANI · MEI
MORTALEM · MEMO*riam*
5 EX · AENO · COLVMNISQ · MAR*moreis*
HONOREM · REFECIT
NI·L ALPINIO·CLEMENTE·CVRAT·REI·PVB

Servavit Fabretti 603, 30. Praeterea de hac inscriptione refert Marinius (Arv. p. 532) haec: *chi l' ha veduta, mi assicura, che vi era incisa la medesima iscrizione dall' altra parte, della quale non restan ora che queste voci*

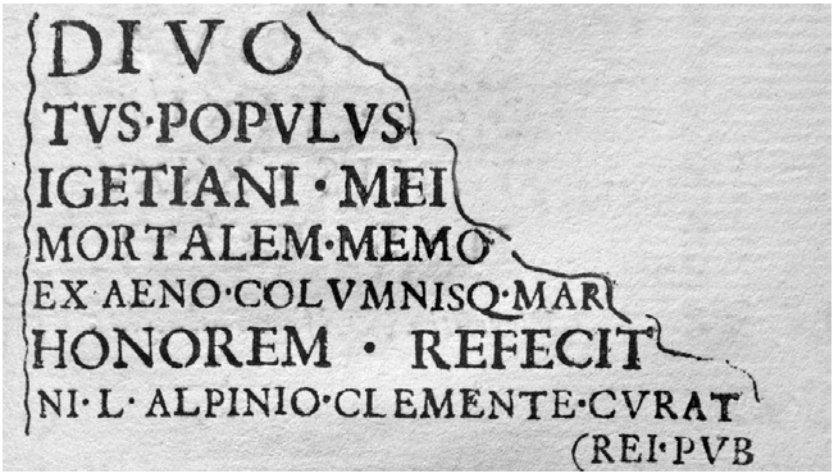
. . . .
. . . . HONOREM · REF
. . ANT · L · ALPINIO · CLEMENTE
C · V

Sed haec verba potius ad ipsum titulum quem Fabrettius descripserat pertinent magis mutilum factum eo tempore quod fuit inter Fabrettum et Marinium.

3 in. fortasse [*indu*]*lge*[*n*]*tiam*; 3. 4 *ob indulgentiarum eius immortalem memoriam* proposuit Mommsen. — 7 in. [*cura*]*nt*[*e*]. — 7 fin. REI·PVB| versu separato dat Fabr., sed pressus spatio, ut ipse indicat.

Lapidem ex Lavinii ruderibus esse ablatum probabile est. Inde v. 2 supplevi, collata n. 2070.

Fig. 3.28 Re-editing *CIL* XIV 2071: entry in *CIL* XIV



DIVO
TVS·POPVLVS
IGETIANI · MEI
MORTALEM·MEMO
EX AENO·COLVMNISQ·MAR
HONOREM · REFECIT
NI·L·ALPINIO·CLEMENTE·CVRAT
(REI·PVB

Fig. 3.29 Re-editing *CIL* XIV 2071: entry in Fabretti (from R. Fabretti, *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae in aedibus paternis asservantur explicatio et additamentum* (1699: Ex officina Dominici Antonii Herculis: Rome) 603 no. 30)

R. Fabretti, *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae in aedibus paternis asservantur explicatio et additamentum* (1699: Ex officina Dominici Antonii Herculis: Rome), 596, 603 no. 30; G. L. Marini, *Gli atti e monumenti de' fratelli arvali scolpiti già in tavole di marmo* (1795: Rome) II, 532; F. Jacques, *Les curateurs des cités dans l'occident romain de Trajan à Gallien* (1983: Nouvelles Éditions Latines: Paris) 354, LXIIIa; M. G. Lauro, 'L'area archeologica di Tor Paterno: Campagne di scavo 1987–1991', in *Castelporziano,* vol. III (1998: Viella: Rome) 64–5, with fig. 2; A. E. Cooley, 'Politics and religion in the *ager Laurens*', in *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2000: BICS Supplement 73: London) 173–91, at 181–91, with figs. 8.3–8.5 = *AÉpigr* (2000) 268; M. G. Granino Cecere, *Supplementa Italica: Imagines Latium Vetus* I (2005: Quasar: Rome) no. 40.

divo [– – –] / [sena]tus populus[q(ue) Laurens] / [– – –]igetiani mei[–] / [im]mortalem memo[riam] /^{5} [-5?-] ex aeno columnisq(ue) mar[moreis] / honorem refecit / [cur]ant(e) L(ucio) Alpinio Clemente curat(ore) rei pub(licae) / c(larissimo) v(iro) ‖ [– – –5 lines?– – –] / *honorem refe[cit] / [cur]ant(e) L(ucio) Alpinio Clemente / c(larissimo) v(iro)*

l.3 Fabretti's text makes no sense here: I follow Mommsen in emending it to *[ob indu]lgentiarum ei[us]*, resulting in the phrase *[ob indu]lgentiarum ei[us] [im]mortalem memo[riam]* 'on account of the immortal memory of his kindnesses'.

'To deified [?]. [The Laurentine] senate and people [– – –?–] the immortal memory, restored the lustre to the [?] of bronze and columns of marble. Under the supervision of Lucius Alpinius Clemens, curator of the *res publica*, distinguished senator.'

Dessau's edition of this inscription in *CIL* was dependent upon earlier descriptions of the monument, since when he searched for the inscription in 1880 it was nowhere to be seen. He was reliant chiefly upon Fabretti, who published the inscription in 1699.[284] The monument itself was recently rediscovered, and, although further damaged since last seen, we can now reassess its publication in *CIL*.[285] Given that Dessau was not working from autopsy of the inscription, an important first step is to assess the reliability of his sources.

Fabretti stated that he had seen the inscription at a crossroads leading towards Tor Paterno and Lavinium. Letters that are underlined were recorded by Fabretti, but are no longer preserved. Fabretti's version of the text presents several problems. First of all, his printed text deviates from the layout of the original in important respects. It is now clear that the words *honorem refecit* in l.6 were placed at the centre of the inscribed area by the stonecutter. These words were given visual emphasis in this way, reflecting their syntactical importance in bringing the inscription's main sentence to an end. Nevertheless, this centring was visually effective rather than mathematically accurate, since whereas there is a gap of 22 cm from the monument's left edge to the beginning of the word *honorem*, there is a gap of 39 cm from the end of *refecit* to the monument's right edge. The centre-point of the whole text is also confirmed by the careful centring of *c.v.* in the last line. Secondly, Fabretti's rendering of the different letter sizes is not entirely accurate, despite the fact that his edition carefully varies the relative letter sizes in different lines: thus, l.1 contains letters twice as large as the others; letters in ll. 2–3 and l.6 are the same size; letters in l.4 are slightly smaller than in l.3; and ll.5 and 7 contain the smallest letters. In fact, the letter heights of what has been rediscovered show that, contrary to Fabretti's edition, ll.5 and 7 do not contain the smallest letters, nor are their letters identical in height. The misrepresentation both of the layout of the text and of the relative sizes of the letters inevitably creates problems for any new attempt to reconstruct the original text. Another major problem arising from Fabretti's edition is that he was clearly only concerned with the name of Alpinius (he included the inscription in a chapter listing gentilician names not mentioned in Gruter's *Thesaurus*, as evidence for the *gens Alpinia*), and did not attempt to understand the rest of the inscription. Consequently, it appears that his recording of the earlier part of the inscription, in which he had no particular interest, was flawed, despite the fact that he was working from autopsy. It is clear that Fabretti was faced with an inscription that was already damaged when he saw it. We are entirely reliant upon Fabretti for the contents of the opening four lines of the inscription, since that section was no longer intact when the monument was rediscovered, but his record of the text does not make sense. Tentatively, therefore, this edition suggests that some of the reading of l.3 offered by Fabretti should be emended.

---

[284] R. Fabretti, *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae in aedibus paternis* (1699: Ex officina Dominici Antonii Herculis: Rome), 596, 603 no. 30.

[285] M. G. Lauro, 'L'area archeologica di Tor Paterno: campagne di scavo 1987–1991', in *Castelporziano*, vol. III (1998: Viella: Rome) 64–5 reports the rediscovery of the inscription, and indicates its findspot on fig. 2. I am no longer satisfied with my first attempt at editing this inscription, and so take the opportunity of re-editing it here as a means of illustrating the editing process. I am grateful to Amanda Claridge and Giuseppina Lauro for their encouragement in undertaking this task.

A further intractable problem presented by this inscription is that where letters are still legible on the monument, they form expressions which are idiosyncratic and not found in other inscriptions, and yet it would be risky to assume stone-cutter errors, given the care with which the inscription is carved and designed, and the public nature of the monument. Despite the fact that comparatively few letters are missing from the inscription, it is difficult to be confident in restoring it.

Line 1 According to Fabretti, l.1 contained a prominent dedication to a deified emperor. The layout of the text, with the indentation of *divo*, if accurately recorded, and if these letters were indeed twice as large as any others, suggests that a fairly short imperial name may be missing here. One possibility is *Divo Pio*[286] since Antoninus Pius appears to have been feted at Lavinium,[287] but other possibilities remain, such as *Divo Marco* or *Vero*.

Line 2 The restoration *[sen]atus populus[que]* seems reasonably certain, and the geographical context and reference to a *curator rei publicae* in l.6 point to the Senate and People of Lavinium as likely dedicators.[288] By analogy with *CIL* XIV 2070, we arrive at *[sen]atus populus[que Laurens]*.

Line 3 is problematic: Fabretti's version appears garbled, since no restoration seems possible for his letters *igetiani mei*. His confused version may be a reflection of the worn state of the monument when he saw it, as well as of the fact that he was not interested in this part of the text. Accordingly, it seems necessary to amend what he recorded in some way. Mommsen suggested restoring ll.3–4 with the phrase *ob indu]lgentiarum ei[us im]mortalem mem[oriam]*, 'on account of the everlasting fame of his kindnesses'.[289] Although the word *indulgentia*, a popular word for describing imperial and divine benefactions, is much more commonly used in the singular, this use of the plural can be paralleled from both literary and epigraphic sources.[290] In particular, an inscription of possibly fourth-century date recording the repair of a road near Aquileia by an emperor describes the act as *inter plurima indulgentiar(um) suar(um)*.[291] This restoration must remain highly conjectural, however.

---

[286] For a local parallel, see *AÉpigr* (1914) 146, from Ostia, a collegial dedication starting *DIVO PIO*; compare also *CIL* VI 40548.

[287] *CIL* XIV 2070. See further A. E. Cooley, 'Politics and religion in the *ager Laurens*', in *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy*, ed. A. E. Cooley (2000: BICS Supplement 73: London) 173–91, at 187.

[288] Nine other *curatores rei publicae* are known at Lavinium from the mid second to early fourth centuries AD: Cooley, 'Politics and religion in the *ager Laurens*' (above, n.287) 188–9, with n.62.

[289] *CIL* XIV 2071, ad loc.

Line 5 appears to record repairs to some sort of building structure. At this point, Fabretti's text can be confirmed by what is now still visible on the monument, even though the phrase *ex aeno* is most peculiar. In standard Latin usage, *ex aeno* means 'out of a bronze vessel', but its context in our inscription requires us to translate it as '(made) out of bronze'. The use of *que* to link *columnisq(ue) mar*... necessitates that what precedes *ex aeno* must also have been a noun in the same case (dative), and implies that *ex aeno* is a parallel phrase to *mar*..., as suggested above. Despite the lack of parallels to confirm this usage of *ex aeno*, it is readily comprehensible as an equivalent of the more common *ex aere* or of the adjectives *aeneus* or *aereus*.[292] The bronze object could be another part of the building, such as a roof, or perhaps a statue of some sort. Certainly the use of both bronze and marble indicates a structure of some prestige.

Some clue as to the nature of this monument may be derived from its location. Almost a century after Fabretti, the inscription was noted by Marini in his study of the *acta* of the Arval priests.[293] He too was interested solely in the name of Alpinius because of its similarity to that of one of the Arvals. Marini himself appears not to have seen the monument, but evidently derived his account from a fairly reliable informant who had seen it: the inscription's rediscovery vindicates the accuracy of Marini's account of the monument. He reported that 'chi l'ha veduta, mi assicura, che vi era incisa la medesima iscrizione dall'altra parte, della quale non restan ora che queste voci':

... HONOREM. REF
... ANT. L. ALPINIO. CLEMENTE
C. V

According to *CIL* (ad loc.), this was a mistake on Marini's part, and really recorded the same inscription as Fabretti, which had become further damaged: 'Sed haec verba potius ad ipsum titulum quem Fabrettius descripserat pertinent magis mutilum fractum eo tempore quod fuit inter Fabrettium et Marinium.' It is now evident, however, that the monument *was* originally inscribed with identical texts on adjacent sides. This revelation has important implications for the monument's original physical location, since it makes it plausible that the inscribed monument was intended to be viewed at the crossroads, where it was found, and that it is unnecessary to suppose that the monument only migrated in post-antique times from Lavinium to where it was seen by Fabretti, as suggested in *CIL*. Thus, although the monument's inscription indicates that it was related to the town of Lavinium, its findspot suggests that it was also of importance to its rustic setting in the *ager Laurens*.[294] Given the monument's location at a crossroads, it is possible that the inscription records the restoration of a rural shrine of some kind.[295]

---

[290] *TLL* s.v. 'indulgentia': Scriptores Historiae Augustae *Ant. Pius* 10.8; *CIL* V 7992; *CIL* III 797.

[291] *CIL* V 7992 = J. B. Brusin, *Inscriptiones Aquileiae*, vol. II (1992: Arti Grafiche Friulane: Udine) 1002, no. 2894.

[292] *Ex aere*: *CIL* VI 1195; *aeneus*: *CIL* XIV 2215 (*arae* and *cancelli*), 3437 (*ara*), 376 (*statua*); *aereus*: *CIL* VI 30715 (*cancellus*), 30719 (*valvi*). *Ex aeno* (from a bronze vessel): Columella *Rust.* 6.32.3; Hyg. *Fab.* 125.15.6.

[293] G. L. Marini, *Gli atti e monumenti de' fratelli arvali scolpiti già in tavole di marmo* (1795: Rome) II 532.

Line 6 Given their layout, the words *honorem refecit* appear to be a self-contained expression. It would be very odd if a preposition such as *ad* or *per* qualifying *honorem* were separated decisively from it in the previous line, especially in view of the stonecutter's centring of l.6. As with l.5, our problem is that this part of the inscription, which is still clearly legible today, appears to be unparalleled in any other epigraphic text.[296] A partial parallel appears only in an inscription dating to the early fifth century AD from Rome, where the urban prefect Iunius Valerius Bellicius restored a portico *[et] urbanae sedi vetustatis h[o]nor[em resti]tuit* ('and restored the honour of antiquity to his urban headquarters').[297] In our inscription the building itself need not have been named, since its identity could have been made clear by the inscription's location.

L. Alpinius Clemens is otherwise unknown: although the name Alpinius is found in the Alpine region, it is rarely found elsewhere.[298] The name itself appears to be an example of a *cognomen* being converted into a *nomen*. Inclusion of his *praenomen* may favour a date during the second/third centuries AD.

Line 7 can be restored in full. Fabretti's error in reading the letters *NI* instead of *NT* at the beginning of this line is understandable since the inscription on the side recorded by him has very little trace of the horizontal bar of the *T*, which is, however, clearly visible on the other side recorded by Marini. This produces the common formula *curant(e) . . . curatore rei publicae*. The text of this line probably extended across the entire width of the base, acting as a visual closure of the whole text. We may now also observe that Fabretti's text ended prematurely, since in fact the last line, with the letters *c.v.*, is present on both sides.

The monument is difficult to date more precisely than to some time during the second to fourth centuries AD. Reference to the post of *curator rei publicae* points to the Trajanic period or later.[299] Inclusion of a *praenomen* for Alpinius Clemens favours the second/third rather than fourth century. The style of script is distinctive, particularly the letters L, A, and M, but is not clearly indicative of a particular period: similar lettering is found on a large base recovered during the dredging of the River Tiber near Ostia, which records the repair to a bridge carried out in AD 324, but other fourth-century inscriptions from Lavinium have very different lettering shapes.[300]

---

[294] See further, Cooley, 'Politics and religion in the *ager Laurens*' (above, n.287) 184.

[295] Cooley, 'Politics and religion in the *ager Laurens*' (above, n.287) 184.

[296] For the meaning of *honor* here, see *TLL* s.v. 'honor' col. 2930, where it is given as 'almost equivalent to *pulchritudo*'.

[297] *CIL* VI 40803, from the period AD 408–23.

[298] Further discussion at Cooley, 'Politics and religion in the *ager Laurens*' (above, n.287) 186.

---

[299] W. Eck, 'Provincial administration and finance', in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. XI, *The High Empire, AD 70–192*, eds, A. K. Bowman, P. Garnsey, and D. Rathbone (2nd edn, 2000: Cambridge Unviersity Press) 266–92 at 279, with n.57.

[300] *AÉpigr* (1975) 135; cf. Cooley, 'Politics and religion in the *ager Laurens*' (above, n.287) 184–6.

Appendix 1 | Consular *fasti*, 298 BC – AD 541[1]

BC

298	L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus – Cn. Fulvius Maximus Centumalus
297	Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus IV – P. Decius Mus III
296	Ap. Claudius Caecus II – L. Volumnius Flamma Violens II
295	Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus V – P. Decius Mus IV
294	L. Postumius Megellus II – M. Atilius Regulus
293	L. Papirius Cursor – Sp. Carvilius Maximus
292	Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges – D. Iunius Brutus Scaeva
291	L. Postumius Megellus III – C. Iunius Bubulcus Brutus
290	M’. Curius Dentatus – P. Cornelius Rufinus
289	M. Valerius Maximus Corvinus II – Q. Caedicius Noctua
288	Q. Marcius Tremulus II – P. Cornelius Aruina II
287	M. Claudius Marcellus – C. Nautius Rutilus
286	M. Valerius Maximus (Potitus?) – C. Aelius Paetus
285	C. Claudius Canina – M. Aemilius Lepidus
284	C. Servilius Tucca – L. Caecilius Metellus Denter
283	P. Cornelius Dolabella – Cn. Domitius Calvinus Maximus
282	C. Fabricius Luscinus – Q. Aemilius Papus
281	L. Aemilius Barbula – Q. Marcius Philippus
280	P. Valerius Laevinus – Ti. Coruncanius
279	P. Sulpicius Saverrio – P. Decius Mus

---

[1] This list is essentially derived from the following works: T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (2 vols., 1951/2: American Philological Association: New York) + *Supplement* (vol. 3, 1986: American Philological Association / Scholars Press: Atlanta, Ga.); A. Degrassi, *I fasti consolari dell'impero romano dal 30 avanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo* (1952: Edizioni di storia e letteratura: Rome); A. Degrassi, *Fasti Capitolini* (1954: G. B. Paravia: Turin); B. Bargagli and C. Grosso, *I fasti Ostienses: documento della storia di Ostia* (1997: Itinerari Ostiensi 7: Soprintendenza archeologica di Ostia: Rome); R. S. Bagnall *et al.*, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (1987: Philological Monographs of the American Philological Association 36: Atlanta, Ga.); J.-M. Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine* (2nd edn, 2007: Picard: Paris) II 945–95. Footnotes accompanying the list point to discussions revising specific details. Given the inconsistency with which inscriptions and other documents use ordinary and suffect consuls, I have included both types of consuls only down to AD 190, since after that date suffects were rarely referred to in inscriptions. Degrassi and Lassère also offer useful lists of the consuls in alphabetical order by gentilician *nomen* and by *cognomen*.

278	C. Fabricius Luscinus II – Q. Aemilius Papus II
277	P. Cornelius Rufinus II – C. Iunius Bubulcus Brutus II
276	Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges II – C. Genucius Clepsina
275	M’. Curius Dentatus II – L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus
274	M’. Curius Dentatus III – Ser. Cornelius Merenda
273	C. Fabius Licinus – C. Claudius Canina II
272	L. Papirius Cursor II – Sp. Carvilius Maximus II
271	K. Quinctius Claudus – L. Genucius Clepsina
270	C. Genucius Clepsina II – Cn. Cornelius Blasio
269	Q. Ogulnius Gallus – C. Fabius Pictor
268	P. Sempronius Sophus – Ap. Claudius Russus
267	M. Atilius Regulus – L. Iulius Libo
266	D. Iunius Pera – N. Fabius Pictor
265	Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges – L. Mamilius Vitulus
264	Ap. Claudius Caudex – M. Fulvius Flaccus
263	M’. Valerius Maximus Messala – M’. Otacilius Crassus
262	L. Postumius Megellus – Q. Mamilius Vitulus
261	L. Valerius Flaccus – T. Otacilius Crassus
260	Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina – C. Duilius
259	L. Cornelius Scipio – C. Aquillius Florus
258	A. Atilius Caiatinus – C. Sulpicius Paterculus
257	C. Atilius Regulus – Cn. Cornelius Blasio
256	L. Manlius Vulso Longus – Q. Caedicius suffect: M. Atilius Regulus II (in place of Caedicius)
255	Ser. Fulvius Paetinus Nobilior – M. Aemilius Paullus
254	Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina II – A. Atilius Caiatinus II
253	Cn. Servilius Caepio – C. Sempronius Blaesus
252	C. Aurelius Cotta – P. Servilius Geminus
251	L. Caecilius Metellus – C. Furius Pacilus
250	C. Atilius Regulus II – L. Manlius Vulso Longus II
249	P. Claudius Pulcher – L. Iunius Pullus
248	C. Aurelius Cotta II – P. Servilius Geminus II
247	L. Caecilius Metellus II – N. Fabius Buteo
246	M’. Otacilius Crassus II – M. Fabius Licinus
245	M. Fabius Buteo – C. Atilius Bulbus
244	A. Manlius Torquatus Atticus – C. Sempronius Blaesus II
243	C. Fundanius Fundulus – C. Sulpicius Galus
242	C. Lutatius Catulus – A. Postumius Albinus
241	A. Manlius Torquatus Atticus II – Q. Lutatius Cerco
240	C. Claudius Centho – M. Sempronius Tuditanus

239	C. Mamilius Turrinus – Q. Valerius Falto
238	Ti. Sempronius Gracchus – P. Valerius Falto
237	L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus – Q. Fulvius Flaccus
236	P. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus – C. Licinius Varus
235	T. Manlius Torquatus – C. Atilius Bulbus II
234	L. Postumius Albinus – Sp. Carvilius Maximus
233	Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus – M’. Pomponius Matho
232	M. Aemilius Lepidus – M. Poblicius Malleolus
231	M. Pomponius Matho – C. Papirius Maso
230	M. Aemilius Barbula – M. Iunius Pera
229	L. Postumius Albinus II – Cn. Fulvius Centumalus
228	Sp. Carvilius Maximus II – Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus II
227	P. Valerius Flaccus – M. Atilius Regulus
226	M. Valerius Messalla – L. Apustius Fullo
225	L. Aemilius Papus – C. Atilius Regulus
224	T. Manlius Torquatus II – Q. Fulvius Flaccus II
223	C. Flaminius – P. Furius Philus
222	Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus – M. Claudius Marcellus
221	P. Cornelius Scipio Asina – M. Minucius Rufus suffect: M. Aemilius Lepidus II
220	M. Valerius Laevinus – Q. Mucius Scaevola suffects: L. Veturius Philo – C. Lutatius Catulus
219	L. Aemilius Paullus – M. Livius Salinator
218	P. Cornelius Scipio – Ti. Sempronius Longus
217	Cn. Servilius Geminus – C. Flaminius suffect: M. Atilius Regulus II (in place of Flaminius)
216	L. Aemilius Paullus II – C. Terentius Varro
215	Ti. Sempronius Gracchus – L. Postumius Albinus III suffects: M. Claudius Marcellus II, Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus III (in place of Postumius Albinus)
214	Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus IV – M. Claudius Marcellus III
213	Q. Fabius Maximus – Ti. Sempronius Gracchus II
212	Ap. Claudius Pulcher – Q. Fulvius Flaccus III
211	P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus – Cn. Fulvius Centumalus Maximus
210	M. Valerius Laevinus II – M. Claudius Marcellus IV
209	Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus V – Q. Fulvius Flaccus IV
208	M. Claudius Marcellus V – T. Quinctius Crispinus
207	C. Claudius Nero – M. Livius Salinator II
206	Q. Caecilius Metellus – L. Veturius Philo
205	P. Cornelius Scipio (Africanus) – P. Licinius Crassus Dives

204	M. Cornelius Cethegus – P. Sempronius Tuditanus
203	Cn. Servilius Caepio – C. Servilius Geminus
202	Ti. Claudius Nero – M. Servilius Pulex Geminus
201	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus – P. Aelius Paetus
200	P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus II – C. Aurelius Cotta
199	L. Cornelius Lentulus – P. Villius Tappulus
198	T. Quinctius Flamininus – Sex. Aelius Paetus Catus
197	C. Cornelius Cethegus – Q. Minucius Rufus
196	L. Furius Purpureo – M. Claudius Marcellus
195	M. Porcius Cato – L. Valerius Flaccus
194	P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus II – Ti. Sempronius Longus
193	L. Cornelius Merula – Q. Minucius Thermus
192	L. Quinctius Flamininus – Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus
191	M’. Acilius Glabrio – P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica
190	L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus – C. Laelius
189	Cn. Manlius Vulso – M. Fulvius Nobilior
188	C. Livius Salinator – M. Valerius Messalla
187	M. Aemilius Lepidus – C. Flaminius
186	Sp. Postumius Albinus – Q. Marcius Philippus
185	Ap. Claudius Pulcher – M. Sempronius Tuditanus
184	P. Claudius Pulcher – L. Porcius Licinus
183	Q. Fabius Labeo – M. Claudius Marcellus
182	L. Aemilius Paullus – Cn. Baebius Tamphilus
181	P. Cornelius Cethegus – M. Baebius Tamphilus
180	A. Postumius Albinus (Luscus) – C. Calpurnius Piso suffect: Q. Fulvius Flaccus (in place of Calpurnius Piso)
179	L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus – Q. Fulvius Flaccus
178	M. Iunius Brutus – A. Manlius Vulso
177	C. Claudius Pulcher – Ti. Sempronius Gracchus
176	Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispallus – Q. Petillius Spurinus suffect: C. Valerius Laevinus (in place of Cornelius)
175	P. Mucius Scaevola – M. Aemilius Lepidus II
174	Sp. Postumius Albinus Paullulus – Q. Mucius Scaevola
173	L. Postumius Albinus – M. Popillius Laenas
172	C. Popillius Laenas – P. Aelius Ligus
171	P. Licinius Crassus – C. Cassius Longinus
170	A. Hostilius Mancinus – A. Atilius Serranus
169	Q. Marcius Philippus II – Cn. Servilius Caepio
168	L. Aemilius Paullus II – C. Licinius Crassus
167	Q. Aelius Paetus – M. Iunius Pennus

166	C. Sulpicius Galus – M. Claudius Marcellus
165	T. Manlius Torquatus – Cn. Octavius
164	A. Manlius Torquatus – Q. Cassius Longinus
163	Ti. Sempronius Gracchus II – M’. Iuventius Thalna
162	P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (Corculum) – C. Marcius Figulus
	suffects: P. Cornelius Lentulus – Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus
161	M. Valerius Messalla – C. Fannius Strabo
160	L. Anicius Gallus – M. Cornelius Cethegus
159	Cn. Cornelius Dolabella – M. Fulvius Nobilior
158	M. Aemilius Lepidus – C. Popillius Laenas II
157	Sex. Iulius Caesar – L. Aurelius Orestes
156	L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus – C. Marcius Figulus II
155	P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (Corculum) II – M. Claudius Marcellus II
154	Q. Opimius – L. Postumius Albinus
	suffect: M’. Acilius Glabrio (in place of Postumius Albinus)
153	Q. Fulvius Nobilior – T. Annius Luscus
152	M. Claudius Marcellus III – L. Valerius Flaccus
151	L. Licinius Lucullus – A. Postumius Albinus
150	T. Quinctius Flamininus – M’. Acilius Balbus
149	L. Marcius Censorinus – M’. Manilius
148	Sp. Postumius Albinus Magnus – L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus
147	P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus – C. Livius Drusus
146	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus – L. Mummius
145	Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus – L. Hostilius Mancinus
144	Ser. Sulpicius Galba – L. Aurelius Cotta
143	Ap. Claudius Pulcher – Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus
142	L. Caecilius Metellus Calvus – Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus
141	Cn. Servilius Caepio – Q. Pompeius
140	C. Laelius (Sapiens) – Q. Servilius Caepio
139	Cn. Calpurnius Piso – M. Popillius Laenas
138	P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio – D. Iunius Brutus (Callaicus)
137	M. Aemilius Lepidus Porcina – C. Hostilius Mancinus
136	L. Furius Philus – Sex. Atilius Serranus
135	Ser. Fulvius Flaccus – Q. Calpurnius Piso
134	P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus II – C. Fulvius Flaccus
133	P. Mucius Scaevola – L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi
132	P. Popillius Laenas – P. Rupilius
131	P. Licinius Dives Crassus Mucianus – L. Valerius Flaccus

130	L. Cornelius Lentulus – M. Perperna
	suffect: Ap. Claudius Pulcher (in place of Cornelius Lentulus)
129	C. Sempronius Tuditanus – M'. Aquillius
128	Cn. Octavius – T. Annius Rufus
127	L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla – L. Cornelius Cinna
126	M. Aemilius Lepidus – L. Aurelius Orestes
125	M. Plautius Hypsaeus – M. Fulvius Flaccus
124	C. Cassius Longinus – C. Sextius Calvinus
123	Q. Caecilius Metellus (Balearicus) – T. Quinctius Flamininus
122	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus – C. Fannius
121	L. Opimius – Q. Fabius Maximus (Allobrogicus)
120	P. Manilius – C. Papirius Carbo
119	L. Caecilius Metellus (Delmaticus) – L. Aurelius Cotta
118	M. Porcius Cato – Q. Marcius Rex
117	L. Caecilius Metellus Diadematus – Q. Mucius Scaevola (Augur)
116	C. Licinius Geta – Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus
115	M. Aemilius Scaurus – M. Caecilius Metellus
114	M'. Acilius Balbus – C. Porcius Cato
113	C. Caecilius Metellus Caprarius – Cn. Papirius Carbo
112	M. Livius Drusus – L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus
111	P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio – L. Calpurnius Bestia
110	M. Minucius Rufus – Sp. Postumius Albinus
109	Q. Caecilius Metellus (Numidicus) – M. Iunius Silanus
108	Ser. Sulpicius Galba – Q.(?) Hortensius
	suffect: M. Aurelius Scaurus (in place of Hortensius)
107	L. Cassius Longinus – C. Marius
106	C. Atilius Serranus – Q. Servilius Caepio
105	P. Rutilius Rufus – Cn. Mallius Maximus
104	C. Marius II – C. Flavius Fimbria
103	C. Marius III – L. Aurelius Orestes
102	C. Marius IV – Q. Lutatius Catulus
101	C. Marius V – M'. Aquillius
100	C. Marius VI – L. Valerius Flaccus
99	M. Antonius – A. Postumius Albinus
98	Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos – T. Didius
97	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus – P. Licinius Crassus
96	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus – C. Cassius (Longinus?)
95	L. Licinius Crassus – Q. Mucius Scaevola
94	C. Coelius Caldus – L. Domitius Ahenobarbus
93	C. Valerius Flaccus – M. Herennius

92	C. Claudius Pulcher – M. Perperna
91	L. Marcius Philippus – Sex. Iulius Caesar
90	L. Iulius Caesar – P. Rutilius Lupus
89	Cn. Pompeius Strabo – L. Porcius Cato
88	L. Cornelius Sulla (Felix) – Q. Pompeius Rufus
87	Cn. Octavius – L. Cornelius Cinna
	suffect: L. Cornelius Merula (in place of Cornelius Cinna)
86	L. Cornelius Cinna II – C. Marius VII
	suffect: L. Valerius Flaccus (in place of Marius)
85	L. Cornelius Cinna III – Cn. Papirius Carbo
84	Cn. Papirius Carbo II – L. Cornelius Cinna IV
83	L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus (Asiagenus) – C. Norbanus
82	C. Marius – Cn. Papirius Carbo III
81	M. Tullius Decula – Cn. Cornelius Dolabella
80	L. Cornelius Sulla Felix II – Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius
79	P. Servilius Vatia (Isauricus) – Ap. Claudius Pulcher
78	M. Aemilius Lepidus – Q. Lutatius Catulus
77	D. Iunius Brutus – Mam. Aemilius Lepidus Livianus
76	Cn. Octavius – C. Scribonius Curio
75	L. Octavius – C. Aurelius Cotta
74	L. Licinius Lucullus – M. Aurelius Cotta
73	M. Terentius Varro Lucullus – C. Cassius (Longinus?)
72	L. Gellius Publicola – Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus
71	P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura – Cn. Aufidius Orestes
70	Cn. Pompeius Magnus – M. Licinius Crassus
69	Q. Hortensius Hortalus – Q. Caecilius Metellus (Creticus)
68	L. Caecilius Metellus – Q. Marcius Rex
	suffect: (Servilius) Vatia
67	C. Calpurnius Piso – M'. Acilius Glabrio
66	M'. Aemilius Lepidus – L. Volcacius Tullus
65	L. Aurelius Cotta – L. Manlius Torquatus
64	L. Iulius Caesar – C. Marcius Figulus
63	M. Tullius Cicero – C. Antonius (Hibrida)
62	D. Iunius Silanus – L. Licinius Murena
61	M. Pupius Piso Frugi Calpurnianus – M. Valerius Messalla Niger
60	Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer – L. Afranius
59	C. Iulius Caesar – M. Calpurnius Bibulus
58	L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus – A. Gabinius
57	P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther – Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos
56	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus – L. Marcius Philippus

55	Cn. Pompeius Magnus II – M. Licinius Crassus Dives II
54	L. Domitius Ahenobarbus – Ap. Claudius Pulcher
53	Cn. Domitius Calvinus – M. Valerius Messalla Rufus
52	Cn. Pompeius Magnus III – Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio Nasica
51	Ser. Sulpicius Rufus – M. Claudius Marcellus
50	L. Aemilius (Lepidus) Paullus – C. Claudius Marcellus
49	C. Claudius Marcellus – L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus
48	C. Iulius Caesar II – P. Servilius Isauricus
47	Q. Fufius Calenus – P. Vatinius
46	C. Iulius Caesar III – M. Aemilius Lepidus
45	C. Iulius Caesar IV suffects: Oct., Q. Fabius Maximus – C. Trebonius; C. Caninius Rebilus (31st Dec., in place of Fabius Maximus)
44	C. Iulius Caesar V – M. Antonius suffect: Mar., P. Cornelius Dolabella (in place of Caesar)
43	C. Vibius Pansa Caetronianus – A. Hirtius suffects: Aug., C. Iulius Caesar – Q. Pedius; C. Carrinas – P. Ventidius Bassus
42	M. Aemilius Lepidus II – L. Munatius Plancus
41	L. Antonius (Pietas) – P. Servilius (Vatia) Isauricus II
40	Cn. Domitius Calvinus II – C. Asinius Pollio suffects: L. Cornelius Balbus – P. Canidius Crassus
39	L. Marcius Censorinus – C. Calvisius Sabinus suffects: C. Cocceius Balbus – P. Alfenus Varus
38	Ap. Claudius Pulcher – C. Norbanus Flaccus suffects: L. Cornelius – L. Marcius Philippus
37	M. (Vipsanius) Agrippa – L. Caninius Gallus suffect: T. Statilius Taurus (in place of Gallus)
36	L. Gellius Publicola – M. Cocceius Nerva suffects: L. Nonius Asprenas – Q. Marcius [?Philippus][2]
35	L. Cornificius – Sex. Pompeius suffects: P. Cornelius Dolabella – T. Peducaeus[3]
34	M. Antonius II – L. Scribonius Libo suffects: Jan., L. Sempronius Atratinus (in place of Antonius); Jul., Paullus Aemilius Lepidus – C. Memmius; Sep.?, M. Herennius[4]

---

[2] O. Salomies, 'Zu den fasti consulares von Tauromenium', *ZPE* 86 (1991) 187–92, at 187–90. Broughton, *Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, vol. III (above, n.1) 137 suggests a possible identification with Q. Marcius Crispus.

[3] Salomies, 'Zu den fasti consulares' (above, n.2) 190–1.

[4] Salomies, 'Zu den fasti consulares' (above, n.2) 191–2.

33 Imp. Caesar II – L. Volcacius Tullus
suffects: Jan., L. Autronius Paetus (in place of Caesar); L. Flavius; May, C. Fonteius Capito; Jul., M. Acilius Glabrio; Sep., L. Vinicius; Oct., Q. Laronius

32 Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus – C. Sosius
suffects: L. Cornelius – M. Valerius Messalla

31 Imp. Caesar III (all year) – M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus
suffects: May, M. Titius, Oct., Cn. Pompeius

30 Imp. Caesar IV (all year) – M. Licinius Crassus
suffects: Jul., C. Antistius Vetus (in place of Crassus); Sep., M. Tullius Cicero (in place of Vetus); L. Saenius (Balbinus)

29 Imp. Caesar V (all year) – Sex. Appuleius
suffect: Potitus Valerius Messalla (in place of Appuleius)

28 Imp. Caesar VI – M. Agrippa II

27 Imp. Caesar VII – M. Agrippa III

26 Imp. Caesar Aug. VIII – T. Statilius Taurus II

25 Imp. Caesar Aug. IX – M. Iunius Silanus

24 Imp. Caesar Aug. X – C. Norbanus Flaccus

23 Imp. Caesar Aug. XI – A. Terentius Varro Murena
suffects: by Jul., L. Sestius Quirinalis Albinianus (in place of Augustus) – Cn. Calpurnius Piso (in place of Murena)[5]

22 M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus – L. Arruntius

21 M. Lollius – Q. Aemilius Lepidus

20 M. Appuleius – P. Silius Nerva

19 C. Sentius Saturninus – Q. Lucretius Vespillo (late appointment)[6]
suffect: by 12 Oct., M. Vinicius

18 P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus – Cn. Cornelius Lentulus

17 C. Furnius – C. Iunius Silanus

16 L. Domitius Ahenobarbus – P. Cornelius Scipio
suffect: L. Tarius Rufus (in place of Scipio)

15 M. Livius Drusus Libo – L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Pontifex

14 M. Licinius Crassus – Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Augur

13 Ti. Claudius Nero – P. Quinctilius Varus

12 M. Valerius Messalla Appianus – P. Sulpicius Quirinius
suffects: by 6 Mar., C. Valgius Rufus (in place of Messalla); C. Caninius Rebilus (in place of Rufus); L. Volusius Saturninus

11 Q. Aelius Tubero – Paullus Fabius Maximus

10 Africanus Fabius Maximus – Iullus Antonius

---

[5] Listed as *cos. ord.* in all *fasti* except *fasti Capitolini.*

[6] A. E. Cooley, Res Gestae divi Augusti: *Text, Translation, and Commentary* (2009: Cambridge University Press) 153–4.

9	Nero Claudius Drusus – T. Quinctius Crispinus Sulpicianus
8	C. Marcius Censorinus – C. Asinius Gallus
7	Ti. Claudius Nero II – Cn. Calpurnius Piso
6	D. Laelius Balbus – C. Antistius Vetus
5	Imp. Caesar Aug. XII – L. Cornelius Sulla suffects: Jul., L. Vinicius – Q. Haterius; C. Sulpicius Galba
4	C. Calvisius Sabinus – L. Passienus Rufus suffects: C. Caelius – Galus Sulpicius
3	L. Cornelius Lentulus – M. Valerius Messalla Messallinus
2	Imp. Caesar Aug. XIII – M. Plautius Silvanus suffects: Aug., L. Caninius Gallus (in place of Silvanus); Sep., C. Fufius Geminus (in place of Augustus); Dec., Q. Fabricius
1	Cossus Cornelius Lentulus – L. Calpurnius Piso Augur suffects: A. Plautius – A. Caecina Severus

AD

1	C. Caesar (all year) – L. Aemilius Paullus suffect: Jul., M. Herennius Picens
2	P. Vinicius – P. Alfenus Varus suffects: Jul., P. Cornelius Lentulus Scipio – T. Quinctius Crispinus Valerianus
3	L. Aelius Lamia – M. Servilius suffects: Jul., P. Silius – L. Volusius Saturninus
4	Sex. Aelius Catus – C. Sentius Saturninus suffects: Jul., Cn. Sentius Saturninus – C. Clodius Licinus
5	L. Valerius Messalla Volesus – Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus suffects: Jul., C. Vibius Postumus – C. Ateius Capito
6	M. Aemilius Lepidus (all year) – L. Arruntius suffect: Jul., L. Nonius Asprenas
7	Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus (all year) – A. Licinius Nerva Silianus suffect: Jul., Lucilius Longus
8	M. Furius Camillus – Sex. Nonius Quinctilianus suffects: Jul., L. Apronius – A. Vibius Habitus
9	C. Poppaeus Sabinus – Q. Sulpicius Camerinus suffects: Jul., M. Papius Mutilus – Q. Poppaeus Secundus
10	P. Cornelius Dolabella – C. Iunius Silanus suffects: Jul., Ser. Cornelius Lentulus Maluginensis – Q. Iunius Blaesus
11	M'. (M.) Aemilius Lepidus – T. Statilius Taurus (all year) suffect: Jul., L. Cassius Longinus

12	Germanicus Caesar (all year) – C. Fonteius Capito suffect: Jul., C. Visellius Varro
13	C. Silius A. Caecina Largus[7] – L. Munatius Plancus
14	Sex. Pompeius – Sex. Appuleius
15	Drusus Caesar (all year) – C. Norbanus Flaccus suffect: Jul., M. Iunius Silanus
16	Sisenna Statilius Taurus – L. Scribonius Libo suffects: Jul., C. Vibius Rufus Rufinus – C. Pomponius Graecinus
17	L. Pomponius Flaccus – C. Caelius Rufus (or Nepos) suffects: C. Vibius Marsus – L. Voluseius Proculus
18	Ti. Caesar Aug. III – Germanicus Caesar II suffects: Feb., L. Seius Tubero (in place of Tiberius); May, Livineius Regulus; Aug., C. Rubellius Blandus – M. Vipstanus Gallus
19	M. Iunius Silanus Torquatus (all year) – L. Norbanus Balbus suffect: Jul., P. Petronius
20	M. Valerius Messalla Messallinus – M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus Messalinus
21	Ti. Caesar Aug. IV – Drusus Caesar II suffects: Mam. Aemilius Scaurus – Cn. Tremellius
22	D. Haterius Agrippa – C. Sulpicius Galba
23	C. Asinius Pollio (all year) – C. Antistius Vetus suffect: C. Stertinius Maximus
24	Ser. Cornelius Cethegus – L. Visellius Varro suffects: Jul., C. Calpurnius Aviola – P. Cornelius Lentulus Scipio
25	Cossus Cornelius Lentulus – M. Asinius Agrippa (all year) suffect: Sep., C. Petronius (Umbrinus?) (in place of Lentulus)
26	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus – C. Calvisius Sabinus suffects: Q. Iunius Blaesus – L. Antistius Vetus[8]
27	L. Calpurnius Piso – M. Licinius Crassus Frugi suffects: P. (Cornelius?) Le[ntulus?] – C. Sall[ustius (Passienus) Crispus]
28	C. Appius Iunius Silanus – P. Silius Nerva suffects: [L. Iunius Silanus – C. Vellaeus Tutor]
29	C. Fufius Geminus – L. Rubellius Geminus suffects: Jul., A. Plautius – L. Nonius Asprenas

---

[7] S. Panciera, 'Saggi d'indagine sull'onomastica romana', in N. Duval, ed., *L'onomastique latine* (1977: CNRS: Paris) 191–203, at 198 disproves the theory that this name actually represents two men, with A. Caecina Largus being a suffect consul.

[8] For new data on the consuls for AD 26–61 from wax tablets from Pompeii and Herculaneum, see G. Camodeca, 'Novità sui fasti consolari dalle tavolette cerate della Campania', in *Epigrafia: actes du colloque international d'épigraphie latine en mémoire de Attilio Degrassi* (1991: *CÉFR* 143: Rome) 45–74; G. Camodeca, Tabulae pompeianae Sulpiciorum (*TPSulp*): *edizione critica dell'archivio puteolano dei Sulpicii* (1999: Quasar: Rome) I 245–9.

30 M. Vinicius – L. Cassius Longinus
suffects: Jul., L. Naevius Surdinus – C. Cassius Longinus

31 Ti. Caesar Aug. V – L. Aelius Seianus
suffects: May, Faustus Cornelius Sulla – Sex. Tedius Valerius Catullus; Jul., L. Fulcinius Trio (in place of Catullus); Oct., P. Memmius Regulus (in place of Sulla)

32 Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (all year) – L. Arruntius Furius Camillus Scribonianus
suffect: Jul., A. Vitellius

33 L. Livius Ocella Sulpicius Galba – L. Cornelius Sulla Felix
suffects: Jul., L. Salvius Otho – C. Octavius (Laenas)

34 Paullus Fabius Persicus – L. Vitellius
suffects: Jul., Q. Marcius Barea Soranus – T. Rustius Nummius Gallus

35 C. Cestius Gallus – M. Servilius Nonianus
suffects: Jul., D. Valerius Asiaticus – A. Gabinius Secundus[9]

36 Sex. Papinius Allenius – Q. Plautius
suffects: Jul., [A. Didius Gallus/ C. Vettius Rufus] – M. Porcius Cato

37 Cn. Acerronius Proculus – C. Petronius Pontius Nigrinus[10]
suffects: Jul., C. Caesar Aug. Germanicus – Ti. Claudius Nero Germanicus; Sep., A. Caecina Paetus – C. Caninius Rebilus

38 M. Aquila Iulianus – P. Nonius Asprenas
suffects: Jul., Ser. Asinius Celer – Sex. Nonius Quinctilianus

39 C. Caesar Aug. Germanicus II – L. Apronius Caesianus
suffects: Feb., Q. Sanquinius Maximus II (in place of Gaius); Jul., Cn. Domitius Corbulo – — — — — —; Sep., Cn. Domitius Afer – A. Didius Gallus

40 C. Caesar Aug. III (sole consul until 13 Jan.)
suffects: Jan., C. Laecanius Bassus – Q. Terentius Culleo; Sep.(?), M. [Cluvius]? – M. Furrius Augurinus

41 C. Caesar Aug. IV – Cn. Sentius Saturninus[11]
suffects: Jan., Q. Pomponius Secundus (in place of Gaius); Jul., Q. Futius Lusius Saturninus – M. Seius Varanus;[12] Nov., P. Suillius Rufus – Q. Ostorius Scapula[13]

---

[9] *TPSulp* 50.

[10] P. Gallivan, 'The *Fasti* for the reign of Gaius', *Antichthon* 13 (1979) 66–9 for the consuls from AD 37 to 40; A. Tortoriello, *I fasti consolari degli anni di Claudio* (2004: Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie ser. 9, vol. 17, fasc. 3: Rome), for the consuls from AD 37 to 54 (includes Appendix for consuls under Gaius).

[11] P. Gallivan, 'The fasti for the reign of Claudius', *CQ* 28.2 (1978) 407–26 for the consuls from AD 41 to 54.

[12] *TPSulp* 70.

[13] *TPSulp* 1 bis; or possibly from Nov. AD 43/5?

42 Ti. Claudius Caesar Aug. Germanicus II – C. Caecina Largus (all year)
suffects: Mar., C. Cestius Gallus (in place of Claudius); Sep., Cornelius Lupus

43 Ti. Claudius Aug. III – L. Vitellius II
suffects: Mar., Sex. Palpellius Hister – L. Pedanius Secundus; Aug.?, A. Gabinius Secundus – – – – – –; Oct., Q. Curtius Rufus – Sp. Oppius

44 T. Statilius Taurus – C. (Sallustius) Passienus Crispus II
suffects: Mar., P. Calvisius Sabinus Pomponius Secundus (in place of Passienus); Jul.(?), T. Axius – T. Mussidius Pollianus[14]

45 M. Vinicius II – T. Statilius Taurus Corvinus
suffects: Mar., Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus (in place of Vinicius); Jul.(?), M. Pompeius Silvanus – A. Antonius Rufus; Dec.(?), P. Fabius Firmanus – L. Tampius Flavianus[15]

46 D. Valerius Asiaticus II – M. Iunius Silanus (all year)
suffects: Mar., C. Antistius Vetus (in place of Asiaticus); Mar., Q. Sulpicius Camerinus (in place of Vetus); Jul., D. Laelius Balbus (in place of Camerinus); Sep., C. Terentius Tullius Geminus (in place of Balbus)

47 Ti. Claudius Aug. IV – L. Vitellius III
suffects: Mar., C. Calpetanus Rantius Sedatus – M. Hordeonius Flaccus; Jul., Cn. Hosidius Geta – T. Flavius Sabinus; Sep., Cn. Hosidius Geta – L. Vagellius; Nov., Cn. Hosidius Geta – C. Volasenna Severus[16]

48 A. Vitellius – L. Vipstanus Publicola Messalla
suffects: Jul., L. Vitellius – Messalla Vipstanus Gallus[17]

49 Q. Veranius – C. Pompeius Longinus Gallus
suffects: May, L. Mammius Pollio – Q. Allius Maximus

50 C. Antistius Vetus II – M. Suillius Nerullinus
suffects: Jul.(?), Q. Futius – P. Calvisius

51 Ti. Claudius Aug. V – Ser. Cornelius Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus
suffects: Sep., L. Calventius Vetus Carminius (in place of Orfitus); Nov., T. Flavius Vespasianus

52 Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix (all year) – L. Salvius Otho Titianus
suffects: Jun., Q. Marcius Barea Soranus (in place of Titianus); Dec., L. Salvidienus Rufus Salvianus

53 D. Iunius Silanus Torquatus – Q. Haterius Antoninus
suffects: Oct., Q. Caecina Primus – P. Trebonius; Nov., P. Trebonius – P. Calvisius Ruso[18]

---

[14] *TPSulp* 26, 12; or possibly from Jul./Aug. AD 45.

[15] *TPSulp* 82, 98; or possibly Nov. AD 44.

[16] *TPSulp* 71, 100, 1, 72 + *TH* 85.

[17] *TPSulp* 77, 32, 48, 3, 101, 73, 27, 102.

[18] *Fasti Ostienses* frag. D.

54	M'. Acilius Aviola – M. Asinius Marcellus[19] suffects: Jul.(?), M. Iunius Silanus – A. Pompeius Paulinus; Sep.(?) M. Iunius Silanus – Vell(a)eus Tutor
55	Nero Claudius Caesar Aug. Germanicus – L. Antistius Vetus suffects: Mar., N. Cestius (in place of Nero); May, P. Cornelius Dolabella – L. Annaeus Seneca; Jul., M. Trebellius Maximus – L. Annaeus Seneca; Sep., T. (or P.?) Palfurius – L. Annaeus Seneca; Nov., Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus – T. Curtilius Mancia[20]
56	Q. Volusius Saturninus – P. Cornelius Lentulus Scipio suffects: Jul., L. Iunius Gallio Annaeanus – T. Cutius Ciltus; Sep., P. Sulpicius Scribonius Rufus – P. Sulpicius Scribonius Proculus; Nov., L. Duvius Avitus – P. Clodius Thrasea Paetus[21]
57	Nero Aug. II (all year) – L. Calpurnius Piso suffect: Jul., L. Caesius Martialis (in place of Piso)
58	Nero Aug. III – M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus suffects: Jun., C. Fonteius Agrippa (in place of Nero); Aug., A. Paconius Sabinus – A. Petronius Lurco
59	C. Vipstanus Apronianus – C. Fonteius Capito suffects: Jul., T. Sextius Africanus – M. Ostorius Scapula
60	Nero Aug. IV – Cossus Cornelius Lentulus ?suffects: C. Velleius Paterculus – M. Manilius Vopiscus[22]
61	P. Petronius Turpilianus – L. Iunius Caesennius Paetus ?suffects: Cn. Pedanius Salinator – L. Velleius Paterculus[23]
62	P. Marius Celsus – L. Afinius Gallus suffect: Oct., Q. Iunius Marullus (in place of Marius Celsus)[24] – Ti. Clodius Eprius Marcellus?
63	C. Memmius Regulus – L. Verginius Rufus ?suffects: T. Petronius Niger – Q. Manlius Tarquitius Saturninus
64	C. Laecanius Bassus – M. Licinius Crassus Frugi ?suffects: C. Licinius Mucianus – Q. Fabius Barbarus Antonius Macer
65	A. Licinius Nerva Silanus Firmus Pasidienus – M. Iulius Vestinus Atticus suffects: Aug., C. Pomponius Pius – C. Anicius Cerialis

---

[19] P. Gallivan, 'Some comments on the fasti for the reign of Nero', *CQ* 24.2 (1974) 290–311 for the consuls from AD 54 to 68.

[20] *TPSulp* 25, 35, 36.

[21] Camodeca, 'Novità sui fasti consolari' (above, n.8) 54.

[22] Gallivan, 'Some comments' (above, n.19) 302.

[23] Gallivan, 'Some comments' (above, n.19) 302.

[24] W. Eck, 'Ergänzungen zu den Fasti Consulares des 1. und 2. Jh.n.Chr.', *Historia* (1975) 324–44, at 335.

66 C. Luccius Telesinus – C. Suetonius Paulinus (II?)
suffects: Sep., M. Arruntius Aquila – M. Vettius Bolanus[25]

67 L. Iulius Rufus – Fonteius Capito
suffects: Jun., L. Aurelius Priscus (in place of Capito); ?M. Annius Afrinus? – ?C. Paccius Africanus?

68 Ti. Catius Asconius Silius Italicus – P. Galerius Trachalus
suffects: Apr?, Nero Aug. V; Oct., C. Bellicus Natalis – P. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus

69 Ser. Sulpicius Galba Imp. Caes. Aug. II – T. Vinius (Rufinus?)
suffects: Imp. M. Otho Caesar Augustus – L. Salvius Otho Titianus; Mar., L. Verginius Rufus II – L. Pompeius Vopiscus; Apr., T. Flavius Sabinus – Cn. Arulenus Caelius Sabinus; Jul., P. Arrius Antoninus – A. Marius Celsus[26]; Sep., Fabius Valens – A. Caecina Alienus; Oct., Rosius Regulus (in place of Caecina); Nov., C. Quinctius Atticus – Cn. Caecilius Simplex; A. Vitellius Imperator, cos. perp.

70 Imp. Caesar Vespasianus Augustus II – Titus Caesar Vespasianus[27]
suffects: Jul., C. Licinius Mucianus II – Q. Petillius Cerialis Caesius Rufus; Sep., T. Aurelius Fulvus – M. Ulpius Traianus; Nov., L. Annius Bassus – C. Laecanius Bassus Caecina Paetus[28]

71 Imp. Vespasianus III – M. Cocceius Nerva
suffects: Mar., Caesar Domitianus – Cn. Pedius Cascus; May, C. Calpetanus Rantius Valerius Festus (in place of Cascus); Jul., L. Flavius Fimbria – C. Atilius Barbarus; Sep., L. Acilius Strabo – Sex. Neranius Capito; Nov., Cn. Pompeius Collega – Q. Iulius Cordus[29]

72 Imp. Vespasianus IV – Titus Caesar II
suffects: May, C. Licinius Mucianus III – T. Flavius Sabinus II; M. Ulpius Traianus[30]

73 Caesar Domitianus II – L. Valerius Catullus Messallinus
suffects: May, L. Aelius Oculatus – Q. Gavius Atticus;[31] M. Arrecinus Clemens – —————

74 Imp. Vespasianus V – Titus Caesar III

---

[25] Camodeca, 'Novità sui fasti consolari' (above, n.8) 55–6: *TH* 88. *ILS* 5284 = *CIL* VI 10055 shows Ap. Annius Gallus – L. Verulanus Severus to be suffects in August during a year late in Nero's reign, perhaps in 66 or 67: Eck, 'Ergänzungen zu den Fasti Consulares' (above, n.24) 337.

[26] Camodeca, 'Novità sui fasti consolari' (above, n.8) 56.

[27] P. Gallivan, 'The fasti for A.D. 70–96', *CQ* 31.1 (1981) 186–220 for the consuls from AD 70 to 96.

[28] Camodeca, 'Novità sui fasti consolari' (above, n.8) 63.

[29] Camodeca, 'Novità sui fasti consolari' (above, n.8) 57–64: *TH* 8.

[30] *Fasti Ostienses* frag. Ebcd.

[31] Gallivan, 'The fasti for A.D. 70 to 96' (above, n.27) 188.

suffects: Jan., Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus II (in place of Vespasian); Mar., L. Iunius Vibius Crispus II;[32] May, Q. Petillius Cerialis Caesius Rufus II – T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus II; Jul., ––––– [–––––]on[–––––]; Sep., C. Pomponius –––––– – L. Manlius Patruinus[33]

75 Imp. Vespasianus VI – Titus Caesar IV
suffects: Mar., Caesar Domitianus III – L. Pasidienus Firmus[34]

76 Imp. Vespasianus VII – Titus Caesar V
suffects: Mar., Caesar Domitianus IV; ?L. Tampius Flavianus II? – ?M. Pompeius Silvanus Staberius Flavinus II?; Dec., Galeo Tettienus Petronianus – M. Fulvius Gillo

77 Imp. Vespasianus VIII – Titus Caesar VI
suffects: Jun., Caesar Domitianus (in place of Titus); ?L. Pompeius Vopiscus C. Arruntius?; ?Catellius Celer?; ?M. Arruntius Aquila?; Cn. Iulius Agricola

78 D. Iunius Novius Priscus (Rufus?) – L. Ceionius Commodus
suffects: [Sex. Vi]tulasius Nepos; [Q. Articulei]us Paetus; ?Sep., ?Q. Corellius Rufus? – ?L. Funisulanus Vettonianus?

79 Imp. Vespasianus IX – Titus Caesar VII
suffects: Caesar Domitianus VI; Mar., L. Iunius Caesennius Paetus – P. Calvisius Ruso Iulius Frontinus; Sep., T. Rubrius Aelius Nepos – M. Arrius Flaccus

80 Imp. Titus Caesar Vespasianus Aug. VIII – Caesar Domitianus VII
suffects: Jan., A. Didius Gallus Fabricius Veiento II – L. Aelius Plautius Lamia Aelianus; Q. Aurelius Pactumeius Fronto (in place of Veiento); Jun., C. Marius Marcellus Octavius Publius Cluvius Rufus (in place of Fronto); Dec., M. Tittius Frugi – T. Vinicius Iulianus

81 L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus – L.? Asinius Pollio Verrucosus
suffects: Mar., M. Roscius Coelius – C. Iulius Iuvenalis; May, L. Vettius Paullus – T. Iunius Montanus; ?Jul., ?C. Scoedius Natta Pinarius? – ?T. Tettienus Serenus?; Sep., M. Petronius Umbrinus – L. Carminius Lusitanicus

82 Imp. Domitianus VIII – T. Flavius Sabinus
suffects: ?, [?Q. Servaeus In]noc(ens)?; ?, [–––––]an(us); ?, [?M. Mettius Mo]dest(us); Jul., P. Valerius Patruinus – L. Antonius

---

[32] *Fasti Ostienses* frag. Ea d.

[33] Gallivan, 'The fasti for A.D. 70 to 96' (above, n.27) 188.

[34] Gallivan, 'The fasti for A.D. 70 to 96' (above, n.27) 188.

Saturninus;[35] Sep., M. Larcius Magnus Pompeius Silo – T. Aurelius Quietus[36]

83 Imp. Domitianus IX – Q. Petillius Rufus II
suffects: L. Iunius Vibius Crispus III – A. Didius Gallus Fabricius Veiento III;[37] Apr., M. Annius Messalla – C. Fisius Sabinus;[38] Jun., L. Tettius Iulianus – Terentius Strabo Erucius Homullus; Sep.?, ?L. Calventius Sex. Carminius Vetus? – ?M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus?

84 Imp. Domitianus X – C. Oppius Sabinus
suffects: May?, —————– L. Iulius Ursus; Sep., C. Tullius Capito Pomponianus Plotius Firmus – C. Cornelius Gallicanus; [————— G]allus

85 Imp. Domitianus XI – T. Aurelius Fulvus II
suffects: Jan., [—————]atus; Mar., [C. Rutilius Gallic(us) II – L. Vale]r(ius) Mess(allinus) II; May, [M. Arrecinus Clemens II – L. Baebius Honor]atus; Jul., [P. Herennius Pollio – M. Herennius Po]llio f(ilius); Sep., [D. Aburius Bassus – Q. Iulius Bal]bus; Nov., [C. Salvius Liberalis – ? Ore]stes[39]/ C. Rutilius Gallicus II[40]

86 Imp. Domitianus XII – Ser. Cornelius Dolabella Petronianus
suffects: Jan., C. Secius Campanus (in place of Domitian); Mar., —————– Q. Vibius Secundus; May, Sex. Octavius Fronto – T. Iulius Candidus Marius Celsus; Sep., A. Lappius Maximus – C. Octavius Tidius Tossianus L. Iavolenus Priscus

87 Imp. Domitianus XIII – L. Volusius Saturninus
suffects: Jan., C. Calpurnius (Crassus Frugi?) Piso Licinianus (in place of Domitian); May, C. Bellicus Natalis Tebanianus – C. Ducenius Proculus; Sep., C. Cilnius Proculus – L. Neratius Priscus

88 Imp. Domitianus XIV – L. Minucius Rufus
suffects: Jan., D. Plotius Grypus (in place of Domitian); May, Q. Ninnius Hasta – [L. Scribonius] Frugi;[41] Nov., M. Otacilius Catulus – Sex. Iulius Sparsus

89 T. Aurelius Fulvus – M. Asinius Atratinus
suffects: May, P. Sallustius Blaesus – M. Peducaeus Saenianus; Sep., A. Vicirius Proculus – M'. Laberius Maximus

90 Imp. Domitianus XV – M. Cocceius Nerva II

---

[35] W. Eck, 'Epigraphische Untersuchungen zu Konsuln und Senatoren des 1.–3. Jh. n. Chr.', *ZPE* 37 (1980) 31–68, at 51–4.

[36] Gallivan, 'The fasti for A.D. 70 to 96' (above, n.27) 210.

[37] Eck, 'Epigraphische Untersuchungen' (above, n.35) 55 n.80.

[38] Gallivan, 'The fasti for A.D. 70 to 96' (above, n.27) 190.

[39] *Fasti Ostienses* frag. Fb s.

[40] Camodeca, 'Novità sui fasti consolari' (above, n.8) 62 n.72.

[41] *Fasti Ostienses* frag. Fc.

suffects: L. Cornelius Pusio; L. Antistius Rusticus – Ser. Iulius Servianus; Q. Accaeus Rufus – C. Caristanius Fronto; P. Baebius Italicus – C. Aquilius Proculus; Oct., L. Albius Pullaienus Pollio – Cn. Pinarius Aemilius Cicatricula Pompeius Longinus; M. Tullius Cerialis – Cn. Pompeius Catullinus

91 M’. Acilius Glabrio – M. Ulpius Traianus

suffects: May, D. Minicius Faustinus – P. Valerius Marinus; Nov., Q. Valerius Vegetus – P. Metilius (Sabinus?) Nepos

92 Imp. Domitianus XVI – Q. Volusius Saturninus

suffects: Jan., L. Venuleius Montanus Apronianus (in place of Domitian); May, L. Stertinius Avitus – Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus; Sep., C. Iulius Silanus – Q. Iunius Arulenus Rusticus

93 Sex. Pompeius Collega – Q. Peducaeus Priscinus

suffects: May?, T. Avidius Quietus – Sex. Lusianus Proculus; Sep.?, [C. Cornelius Rarus –Tuccius Ceria]lis[42]

94 L. Nonius Calpurnius Asprenas Torquatus – T. Sextius Magius Lateranus

suffects: May, M. Lollius Paullinus D. Valerius Asiaticus Saturninus – C. Antius A. Iulius Quadratus; Sep., L. Silius Decianus – T. Pomponius Bassus

95 Imp. Domitianus XVII – T. Flavius Clemens

suffects: Jan., L. Neratius Marcellus (in place of Domitian); May, A. Lappius Maximus II – P. Ducenius Verus; Sep., Q. Pomponius Rufus – L. Baebius Tullus

96 C. Manlius Valens – C. Antistius Vetus

suffects: May, Q. Fabius Postuminus – T. Prifernius [Paetus?]; Sep., Ti. Catius Caesius Fronto – M. Calpurnius [– – –]icus

97 Imp. Nerva Caesar Aug. III – L. Verginius Rufus III

suffects: Mar. Arrius Antoninus II – C.? Calpurnius Piso; May, M. Annius Verus – L. Neratius Priscus; Jul., L. Domitius Apollinaris – Sex. Hermentidius Campanus; Sep., L. Pomponius Maternus – Q. Glitius Atilius Agricola; P.? Cornelius Tacitus[43]

98 Imp. Nerva IV – Imp. Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus II

suffects: Jan., Cn. Domitius [Apollinaris?/Tullus?] (in place of Nerva); Feb., Sex. Iulius Frontinus (in place of Domitius); Mar., L. Iulius Ursus (in place of Frontinus); Apr., T. Vestricius Spurinna II

---

[42] *Fasti Ostienses* frag. Fe, with further analysis by W. Eck, ‘Diplome, Konsuln und Statthalter: Fortschritte und Probleme der kaiserzeitlichen Prosopographie’, *Chiron* 34 (2004) 25–44, at 37–42.

[43] W. Eck and A. Pangerl, ‘Eine Konstitution für die Truppen der Provinz Dalmatien unter Nerva’, *ZPE* 163 (2007) 233–8, at 235.

(in place of Ursus); May, C. Pomponius Pius (in place of Spurinna); Jul., A. Vicirius Martialis – L. Maecius Postumus; Sep., C. Pomponius Rufus Acilius [Prisc?]us Coelius Sparsus – Cn. Pompeius Ferox Licinianus; Nov., [Q. Bittius Proculus – P. Iulius Lupus][44]

99 A. Cornelius Palma Frontonianus – Q. Sosius Senecio
suffects: Jun., Sulpicius Lucretius Barba – Senecio Memmius Afer; Aug., Q. Fabius Barbarus Valerius Magnus Iulianus – A. Caecilius Faustinus

100 Imp. Traianus III – Sex. Iulius Frontinus III
suffects: L. Iulius Ursus III – T. Vestricius Spurinna III (in place of Frontinus); Mar., M. Marcius Macer – C. Cilnius Proculus[45]; May, L. Herennius Saturninus – L. Pomponius Mamilianus; Jul., Q. Acutius Nerva – L. Fabius Tuscus; Sep., C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus – C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus; Nov., L. Roscius Aelianus Maecius Celer – Ti. Claudius Sacerdos Iulianus[46]

101 Imp. Traianus IV – Q. Articuleius Paetus
suffects: Feb.,[47] Sex. Attius Suburanus Aemilianus (in place of Trajan); Apr., Q. Servaeus Innocens – M. Maecius Celer; [– – –]us Procu[– – –] – [– – –]ic[– – –]

102 L. Iulius Ursus Servianus II – L. Licinius Sura II
suffects: Mar., L. Fabius Iustus (in place of Sura); [– – – – L. Publi]lius Cels[us]; Nov., L. Antonius Albus – M. Iunius Homullus

103 Imp. Traianus V – M’. Laberius Maximus II
suffects: Jan., Q. Glitius Atilius Agricola II (in place of Trajan); [P. M]etiliu[s Sabinus? Nepos II?] – Q. Baebi[us Macer]; [?M. Flavius Ap]er – C. Mettiu[s Modestus]; [?A]nnius Mela – P. Calpurn[ius Macer][48]

104 Sex. Attius Suburanus Aemilianus II – M. Asinius Marcellus

105 Ti. Iulius Candidus Marius Celsus II – C. Antius A. Iulius Quadratus II
suffects: May, C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus – Cn. Afranius Dexter; Jul., Q. Caelius Honoratus (in place of Dexter); Sep., M. Vitorius Marcellus – C. Caecilius Strabo

106 L. Ceionius Commodus – Sex. Vettulenus Civica Cerialis
suffects: Jul., L. Minucius Natalis – Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus Quadronius Proculus

---

[44] *Fasti Ostienses* frag. Fk.

[45] W. Eck and A. Pangerl, ‘Eine Bürgerrechtskonstitution für zwei Veteranen des kappadokischen Heeres’, *ZPE* 150 (2004) 233–41.

[46] *Fasti Ostienses* frag. Fl.

[47] *Fasti Ostienses* frag. Fm.

[48] *Fasti Ostienses* frag. Gd.

107 L. Licinius Sura III – Q. Sosius Senecio II
suffects: Mar., [L. Acilius] Rufus; May, C. Minicius Fundanus – C. Vettennius Severus; Sep., C. Iulius Longinus – C. Valerius Paullinus

108 Ap. Annius Trebonius Gallus – M. Atilius Metilius Bradua
suffects: May, P. Aelius Hadrianus – M. Trebatius Priscus; Jul., Q. Roscius Murena Coelius Pompeius Falco – [———]tius Lustricus Bruttianus[49]

109 A. Cornelius Palma Frontonianus II – P. Calvisius Tullus Ruso
suffects: Mar., L. Annius Largus (in place of Palma); May, Cn. Antonius Fuscus – C. Iulius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus; Sep., C. Aburnius Valens – C. Iulius Proculus

110 M. Peducaeus Priscinus – Ser. (Cornelius) Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus
suffects: C. Avidius Nigrinus – Ti. Iulius Aquila Polemaeanus; Jul., L. Catilius Severus Iulianus Claudius Reginus – C. Erucianus Silo; A. Larcius Priscus – Sex. Marcius Honoratus

111 C. Calpurnius Piso – M. Vettius Bolanus
suffects: May, T. Avidius Quietus – L. Eggius Marullus; Sep., L. Octavius Crassus – P. Coelius Apollinaris

112 Imp. Traianus VI – T. Sextius Africanus
suffects: Jan., [M.?] Licinius Ruso (in place of Trajan); Cn. Pinarius Cornelius Severus – L. Mummius Niger – Q. Valerius Vegetus (Severinus Caucidius Tertullus?); P. Stertinius Quartus – T. Iulius Maximus Ma——— Brocchus Servilianus A. Quadronius L. Servilius Vatia Cassius Cam———; [C. Clau]dius Severus – T. Settidius Firmus

113 L. Publilius Celsus II – C. Clodius Crispinus
suffects: Mar., Ser. Cornelius Dolabella Metilianus Pompeius Marcellus (in place of Celsus); May, L. Stertinius Noricus – L. Fadius Rufinus; Sep., Cn. Cornelius Urbicus – T. Sempronius Rufus

114 Q. Ninnius Hasta – P. Manilius Vopiscus Vicinillianus
suffects: L. Elufrius Severus Iulius Quadratus Bassus C. Clodius Nummus – ———————; Sep., L. Lollianus Avitus – L. Messius Rusticus

115 L. Vipstanus Messalla – M. Pedo Vergilianus
suffects: T. Statilius Maximus Severus Hadrianus (in place of Vergilianus); May, L. Iulius Frugi – P. Iuventius Celsus; Sep. M. Pom[peius Mac]rinu[s – T.] Vibius [Varus][50]

---

[49] Eck, 'Diplome, Konsuln und Statthalter' (above, n.42) 25–44, at 30–2.

[50] *Fasti Ostienses* frag. Kc/a.

116 L. Fundanius Lamia Aelianus – Sex. Carminius Vetus
suffects: Ti. Iulius Secundus – M. Egnatiu[s Marcellinus]; D. Terentius Gentianus – Q. Cor[nelius Senecio Annianus?]; L. Statius Aquila – C. Iulius Alexander Berenicianus

117 Q. Aquilius Niger – M. Rebilus Apronianus

118 Imp. Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Aug. II – Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator[51]
suffects: Mar., (Bellicius?) Tebanianus (in place of Salinator); May, C. Ummidius Quadratus Sertorius Severus; Jul., L. Pomponius Bassus – T. Sabinius Barbarus[52]

119 Imp. Hadrianus III – P. Dasumius Rusticus
suffects: A. Platorius Nepos Aponius Italicus Manilianus C. Licinius Pollio (in place of Rusticus); Q. Coredius Gallus Gargilius Antiquus; May, Q. Vibius Gallus; Nov., C. Herennius Capella – L. Coelius Rufus[53]

120 L. Catilius Severus Iulianus Claudius Reginus II – T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus
suffects: May, C. Quinctius Certus Poblicius Marcellus – L. Rutilius Propinquus; Oct., [C. C]arminius Gal[l]us – C. Atilius Serranus[54]

121 M. Annius Verus II – Cn. Arrius Augur
suffects: Mar., M. Herennius Faustus – Q. Pomponius Rufus Marcellus; May, T. Pomponius Antistianus Funisulanus Vettonianus – L. Pomponius Silanus; Jul.?; Sep.?; Nov.?

122 M'. Acilius Aviola – L. Corellius Neratius Pansa
suffects: Jul., Ti. Iulius (Candidus?) Capito – L. Vitrasius Flamininus; Nov., C. Trebius Maximus – T. Calestrius Tiro Orbius Speratus

123 Q. Articuleius Paetinus – L. Venuleius Apronianus Octavius Priscus
suffects: May, T. Salvius Rufinus Minicius Opimianus – Cn. Sentius Abur(n)ianus; Sep., P. Metilius Secundus – ?[55]

124 M'. Acilius Glabrio – C. Bellicius Flaccus Torquatus Tebanianus

---

[51] Consuls for Hadrian's reign listed and discussed by W. Eck and P. Weiss, 'Hadrianische Konsuln: neue Zeugnisse aus Militärdiplomen', *Chiron* 32 (2002) 449–89.

[52] Suffect pair C. Aburnius Caedicianus – C. Bruttius Praesens belong in some year (AD 118/19?) early in Hadrian's reign: W. Eck, D. MacDonald, and A. Pangerl, 'Neue Militärdiplome mit neuen Konsulndaten', *Chiron* 32 (2002) 401–26, at 406 no. 3.

[53] P. Weiss, 'Statthalter und Konsulndaten in neuen Militärdiplomen', *ZPE* 171 (2009) 231-52, at 236 no. 2.

[54] [– – –]catus P. Valerius Priscus in AD 120/1; L. Cornelius Latinianus in AD 121/3.

[55] W. Eck and A. Pangerl, 'Neue Konsulndaten in neuen Diplomen', *ZPE* 152 (2005) 229–62, at 238 no. 5; C. Calpurnius Flaccus – L. Trebius Germanus in AD 123/6; L.? Statorius Secundus some time before AD 125.

suffects: May, A. Larcius Macedo – P. Duce[nius] Verres (Verus?); Sep., C. Iulius Gallus – C. Valerius Severus

125 M. Lollius Paul(l)inus D. Valerius Asiaticus Saturninus II – L. Epidius Titius Aquilinus
suffects: Jun., [M? Ac]enna Verus – P. Lucius Cosconianus[56]

126 M. Annius Verus III – C. Eggius Ambibulus
suffects: Mar., Propinquus (in place of Verus); Jul., L. Cuspius Camerinus – C. Saenius Severus

127 T. Atilius Rufus Titianus – M. Gavius Claudius Squilla Gallicanus
suffects: Apr., P. Tullius Varro – ?D. Iunius Paetus; May, Q. Tineius Rufus – M. Licinius Celer Nepos; Oct., L. Aemilius Iuncus – Cn. Minicius Faustinus Sex. Iulius Severus

128 L. Nonius Calpurnius Asprenas Torquatus II – M. Annius Libo
suffects: Feb., L. Caesennius Antoninus (in place of Torquatus); Apr., M. Iunius Mettius Rufus – Q. Pomponius Maternus; Jul., L. Valerius Flaccus – M. —————; Oct., A. Egrilius Plarianus – Q. [Planius Sardus Varius Ambibulus]

129 P. Iuventius Celsus T. Aufidius Hoenius Severianus II – L. Neratius Marcellus II
suffect: Feb., Q. Iulius Balbus (in place of Marcellus)

130 Q. Fabius Catullinus – M. Flavius Aper
suffects: Mar., Cassius Agri[ppa] or Agri[ppinus] – [Ti. Claudius?] Quartinus

131 M. Ser. Octavius Laenas Pontianus – M. Antonius Rufinus[57]

132 C. Iunius Serius Augurinus – C. Trebius Sergianus

133 M. Antonius Hiberus – P. Mummius Sisenna suffects: Jul., Q. Flavius Tertullus – Q. Iunius Rusticus

134 L. Iulius Ursus Servianus III – T. Vibius Varus
suffects: Apr., T. Haterius Nepos (Atinas Probus Publicius Matenianus?) (in place of Servianus); Sep., P. Licinius Pansa – L. Attius Macro; Dec., P. Rutilius Fabianus – Cn. Papirius Aelianus[58]

135 L. Tutilius Lupercus Pontianus – P. Calpurnius Atilianus (Atticus Rufus?)

136 L. Ceionius Commodus – Sex. Vettulenus Civica Pompeianus

---

[56] Eck, MacDonald, and Pangerl, 'Neue Militärdiplome' (above, n.52) 409 no. 4. Q. Vetina – P. Iulius (AD 125–9): Eck, MacDonald, and Pangerl, 'Neue Militärdiplome' (above, n.52) 413 no. 5. T. Prifernius Paetus Rosianus Geminus, AD *c.*125; [———] Niger – [Ti. Lartidius?] Celer AD *c.*125; Sex. Iulius Maior, T. Iulius Iulianus Alexander both perhaps in AD 126?

[57] P. Sufenas Verus – Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes, suffects in August in some year AD 131–3: Eck, 'Diplome, Konsuln und Statthalter', (above, n.42) 25–44, at 28–9.

[58] E. Papi, 'Diploma militare da *Thamusida (Mauretania Tingitana)*: 31 dicembre 133/134', *ZPE* 142 (2003) 257–65 = *AÉpigr* (2003) 2034.

137 L. Aelius Caesar II – P. Coelius Balbinus Vibullus Pius

138 Kanus Iunius Niger – C. Pomponius Camerinus[59]
suffects: Jun., M. Vindius Verus – P. Pactumeius Clemens; Oct., P. Cassius Secundus – M. Nonius Mucianus

139 Imp. Caesar T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug. Pius II – C. Bruttius Praesens L. Fulvius Rusticus II
suffects: Balbinus? (in place of Praesens); Aug., L. Minicius Natalis – L. Claudius Proclus; Nov., M. Ceccius Iustinus – C. Iulius Bassus

140 Imp. Antoninus Pius III – M. Aelius Aurelius Verus Caesar
suffects: Nov., M. Barbius Aemilianus – T. Flavius Iulianus[60]

141 T. Hoenius Severus – M. Peducaeus Stloga Priscinus
suffects: T. Caesernius Statianus; Mar. ?; May ?; Jul. ?; Sep., [—————]sian[us] – —————; Nov., L. Annius Fabianus – —————[61]

142 L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus – L. Statius Quadratus
suffects: Apr., ?Granius/ ?P. Ranius Castus – ? ; Jul., M. Cornelius Fronto – L. Laberius Priscus;[62] Sep., L. Tusidius Campester – Q. Cornelius ?Senecio Annianus; Nov., ?Sulpicius Iulianus[63]

143 C. Bellicius Torquatus – L. Vibullius Hipparchus Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes
suffects: Aug., M. Valerius Iunianus – Q. Iunius Calamus[64]

144 L. Lollianus Avitus – T. Statilius Maximus
?suffects: Apr., C. Iulius Pisibanus – [A. Larcius?] Lepidus; Jul., Q. Mustius Priscus – M. Pontius Laelianus; Oct., Q. Egrilius Plarianus – L. Aemilius Carus[65]

145 Imp. Antoninus Pius IV – M. Aurelius Caesar II
suffects: Apr., L. Lamia Silvanus – L. Poblicola Priscus;[66] May, Cn. Arrius Cornelius Proculus – D. Iunius [Paetus?]; Sep., L. Petronius

---

[59] G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen: prosopographische Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Führungsschicht* (1977: Rudolf Habelt: Bonn) 137–206 for the consuls from AD 138 to 180.

[60] Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand* (above, n.59) 140.

[61] Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand* (above, n.59) 141.

[62] Eck, 'Diplome, Konsuln und Statthalter' (above, n.42) 26–7.

[63] W. Eck and P. Weiss, 'Tusidius Campester, *cos. suff.* unter Antoninus Pius, und die Fasti Ostienses der Jahre 141/142 n. Chr.', *ZPE* 134 (2001) 251–60 = *AÉpigr* (2001) 2164.

[64] M. M. Roxan, 'Two complete diplomas of Pannonia inferior: 19 May 135 and 7 Aug. 143', *ZPE* 127 (1999) 249–73, at 255–67 no. 2.

[65] None of the suffects is certain, but all are possible for this year: Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand* (above, n.59) 147–8.

[66] P. Weiss, 'Das Konsulnpaar vom 7. April 145 n. Chr.', *ZPE* 134 (2001) 261–5, at 261–2 = *AÉpigr* (2001) 98.

Sabinus – C. Vicrius Rufus[67]; Nov., C. Fadius Rufus – P. Vicrius ———

146 Sex. Erucius Clarus II – Cn. Claudius Severus Arabianus

suffects: Mar., Q. Licinius Modestinus Sex. Attius Labeo (in place of Clarus);[68] Jun., P. Mummius Sisenna Rutilianus – T. Prifernius Paetus; Jul., Cn. Terentius Homullus Iunior – L. Aurelius Gallus; Sep., Q. Voconius Saxa Fidus – C. Annianus Verus; Nov., L. Aemilius Longus – Q. Cornelius Proculus

147 C. Ulpius Pacatus Prastina Messallinus – L. Annius Largus

suffects: A. Claudius Charax – Q. Fuficius Cornutus; – Cupressenus Gallus – Q. Cornelius Quadratus; Sex. Cocceius Severianus Honorinus – Ti. Licinius Cassius Cassianus; C. Popilius Carus Pedo (in place of Cassianus)

148 P. Salvius Iulianus – C. Bellicius Calpurnius Torquatus

suffects: – Satyrius Firmus – C. Salvius Capito; L. Coelius Festus – P. Orfidius Senecio; Oct., C. Fabius Agrippinus – M. Antonius Zeno; Nov., M. Calpurnius Longus – D. Vedius Fidus[69]

149 Ser. Cornelius Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus – Q. Pompeius Sosius Priscus

suffects: Jul., Q. Passienus Licinus – C. Iulius Avitus

150 M. Gavius Squilla Gallicanus – Sex. Carminius Vetus

suffects: Aug., M. Cassius Apollinaris – M. Petronius Mamertinus; Oct., ?C. Curtius Iustus – P. Iulius Nauto?[70]

151 Sex. Quintilius Condianus – Sex. Quintilius Valerius Maximus

152 M'. Acilius Glabrio Cn. Cornelius Severus – M. Valerius Homullus

suffects: L. Claudius Modestus – L. Dasumius Tuscus;[71] Sep., C. Novius Priscus – L. Iulius Romulus[72]; Nov., P. Cluvius Maximus Paulinus – M. Servilius Silanus[73]

153 C. Bruttius Praesens – A. Iunius Rufinus

suffects: [?C. Iulius/ Sex. Caecilius Max?]imus – M. Pontius Sabinus; Jul., P. Septimius Aper – M. Sedatius Severianus; Oct., C. Catius Marcellus – ?C. Iulius Gallus

---

[67] Eck and Pangerl, 'Neue Konsulndaten' (above, n.55) 254 no. 12.

[68] *Fasti Ostienses* frag. Pa.

[69] J. H. D'Arms, 'Memory, money, and status at Misenum: three new inscriptions from the *collegium* of the Augustales', *JRS* 90 (2000) 126–44, at 140.

[70] Possibly in this year or 151: Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand* (above, n.59) 156.

[71] *Fasti Ostienses* frag. Qa.

[72] W. Eck and A. Pangerl, 'Ein Diplom für die Auxiliartruppen von Pannonia Inferior vom 5. September 152 n. Chr.', *ZPE* 171 (2009) 221–30. Cf. Eck, MacDonald, and Pangerl, 'Neue Militärdiplome' (above, n.52) 417 no. 6.

[73] Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand* (above, n.59) 162.

154 L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus – T. Sextius Lateranus
suffects: [?T. Prifernius?] Paetus – M. N[onius Macrinus]; [M. Valerius Etrus]cus – L. [Aemilius Iuncus] [Ti. Claudius Agrippi]nus – Sex. [Aemilius Equester]; Nov., C. Iulius Statius Severus – T. Iunius Severus[74]

155 C. Iulius Severus – M. Iunius Rufinus Sabinianus
suffects: May, C. Aufidius Victorinus – M. Gavius [Appalius Maximus?]; Nov., Antius Pollio – [Minicius] Opimianus;[75] Dec., [?D. Rupilius?] Severus – L. Iulius Statilius Severus[76]

156 M. Ceionius Silvanus – C. Serius Augurinus
suffects: Mar., A. Avillius Urinatius Quadratus – –––––– Strabo Aemilianus

157 M. Vetulenus Civica Barbarus – M. Metilius Regulus
suffects(?): –––––––onus – C. Aelius Se[xtillianus? Maximus?]; Dec., ?Q. Canusius Praenestinus – C. Lusius Sparsus?[77]

158 Sex. Sulpicius Tertullus – Q. Tineius Sacerdos Clemens
suffects: Jul., M. Servilius Fabianus Maximus – Q. Iallius Bassus

159 Plautius Quintillus (Quintilius) – M. Statius Priscus Licinius Italicus
suffects: Apr.?, M. Pisibanius Lepidus – L. Matuccius Fuscinus;[78] Sep., ?Sex. Calpurnius Agricola – Ti. Claudius Iulianus?; Dec., ?Q. Pomponius Musa – L. Cassius Iuvenalis?[79]

160 Appius Annius Atilius Bradua – T. Clodius Vibius Varus
suffects: [––––––– M. Postu]mius Festus; Sep., [––––––– C. Septimius S]everus; ––––––– M. Ce(n)sorius Pau(l)lus; ––––––– [Q. Nin]nius Hastianus; [––––––– N]ovius Sabinus

161 M. Aurelius Caesar III (from 7th Mar., Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus III) – L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus II (from 7th Mar., Imp. Caesar L. Aurelius Verus Augustus II)
suffects: Feb., M. Annius Libo – Q. Camurius Numisius Iunior[80]

162 Q. Iunius Rusticus II – L. Titius Plautius Aquilinus
suffect: M. Insteius Bithynicus

163 M. Pontius Laelianus – A. Iunius Pastor L. Caesennius Sospes

---

[74] Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand* (above, n.59) 164–7.

[75] *ILS* 8380 = *CIL* VI 2120 = 32398.

[76] Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand* (above, n.59) 167–8.

[77] Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand* (above, n.59) 169–70, or perhaps in AD 156.

[78] P. Weiss, 'Ein Konsulnpaar vom 21. Juni 159 n. Chr. Drei Diplome für Kommilitonen der oberpannonischen Ala I Thracum victrix c. R.', *Chiron* 29 (1999) 147–82.

[79] Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand* (above, n.59) 172–3, the suffects for Sep. alternatively perhaps in AD 158.

[80] Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand* (above, n.59) 176.

164	M. Pompeius Macrinus – P. Iuventius Celsus suffects: Jul., Ti. Haterius Saturninus – Q. Caecilius Avitus
165	M. Gavius Orfitus – L. Arrius Pudens
166	Q. Servilius Pudens – L. Fufidius Pollio suffects: Mar., M. Vibius Liberalis – P. Martius Verus
167	Imp. L. Aurelius Verus III – M. Ummidius Quadratus suffects: May, Q. Caecilius Dentilianus – M. Antonius Pallas; P. Caelius Optatus[81]
168	L. Venuleius Apronianus Octavius [Priscus] II – L. Sergius Paullus II
169	Q. Pompeius Senecio Sosius Priscus – P. Coelius Apollinaris
170	C. Erucius Clarus – M. Gavius Cornelius Cethegus suffect: T. Hoenius Severus
171	T. Statilius Severus – L. Alfidius Herennianus
172	Ser. Calpurnius Scipio Orfitus – (Sex.) Quintilius Maximus
173	Cn. Claudius Severus II – Ti. Claudius Pompeianus II suffect: ?T. Rustius Caepio[82]
174	L. Aurelius Gallus – Q. Volusius Flaccus Cornelianus suffect: M. Aemilius Macer Saturninus
175	L. Calpurnius Piso – P. Salvius Iulianus ?suffects: ?P. Helvius Pertinax – M. Didius Severus Iulianus?
176	T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio II – M. Flavius Aper II
177	Imp. Caesar L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus Aug. – M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus
178	Ser. Cornelius Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus – D. Velius Rufus (Iulianus?)
179	Imp. Commodus II – P. Martius Verus II
180	C. Bruttius Praesens II – Sex. Quintilius Condianus[83]
181	Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Aug. III – L. Antistius Burrus
182	M. Petronius Sura Mamertinus – Q. Tineius Rufus suffects: ?Aurelianus – (L. Attidius?) Cornelianus
183	Imp. Commodus IV – C. Aufidius Victorinus II

---

[81] P. Weiss, 'P. Caelius Optatus, *cos. suff.* 167 oder 168 n. Chr.', *ZPE* 140 (2002) 253–6 = *AÉpigr* (2002) 1740; or possibly AD 168.

[82] Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand* (above, n.59) 188.

[83] P. M. M. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander (180–235 n. Chr.): prosopographische Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Elite im römischen Kaiserreich* (1989: J. C. Gieben: Amsterdam) for consuls from AD 180 to 235.

suffects: Feb., L. Tutilius Pontianus Gentianus (sole consul); May, M. Herennius Secundus – M. Egnatius Postumus; T. Pactumeius Magnus – L. Septimius Fla[ccus?]

184 L. Cossonius Eggius Marullus – Cn. Papirius Aelianus
suffects: May, C. Octavius Vindex ––––––

185 Triarius Maternus – Ti. Claudius M. Appius Atilius Bradua Regillus Atticus
suffect: ?M. Valerius Maximianus

186 Imp. Commodus V – M'. Acilius Glabrio II
suffects: May, ?[L. Annius Ra?]vus – L. Novius Rufus; Dec., C. Sabucius Maior Caecilianus – [–––] Valerius Senecio

187 L. Bruttius Quintius Crispinus – L. Roscius Aelianus Paculus

188 P. (?) Seius Fuscianus II – M. Servilius Silvanus II

189 D. Iulius Silanus – Q. Servilius Silanus
suffects: May, Severus – Vitellius

190 Imp. Commodus VI – M. Petronius Sura Septimianus

191 Popilius Pedo Apronianus – M. Valerius Bradua Mauricus

192 Imp. Commodus VII – P. Helvius Pertinax II

193 Q. Pompeius Sosius Falco – C. Iulius Erucius Clarus Vibianus

194 Imp. Caesar L. Septimius Severus Pertinax Aug. II – D. Clodius Septimius Albinus Caesar II

195 P. Iulius Scapula Tertullus Priscus – Q. Tineius Clemens

196 C. Domitius Dexter II – L. Valerius Messalla Thrasea Priscus

197 T. Sextius Lateranus – L./ C. Cuspius Rufinus

198 P. Martius Sergius Saturninus – L. Aurelius Gallus

199 P. Cornelius Anullinus II – M. Aufidius Fronto

200 Ti. Claudius Severus Proculus – C. Aufidius Victorinus

201 L. Annius Fabianus – M. Nonius Arrius Mucianus

202 Imp. Severus III – Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Severus Antoninus Aug.

203 C. Fulvius Plautianus II – P. Septimius Geta II

204 L. Fabius Cilo Septiminus Catinius Acilianus Lepidus Fulcinianus II – M. Annius Flavius Libo

205 Imp. Antoninus II – P. Septimius Geta Caesar

206 M. Nummius Umbrius Primus Senecio Albinus – Fulvius Aemilianus

207 L. Annius Maximus – L. Septimius Aper[84]

208 Imp. Antoninus III – Geta Caesar II

---

[84] A. Ivantchik, O. Pogorelets, and R. Savvov, 'A new military diploma from the territory of the Ukraine', *ZPE* 163 (2007) 255–62.

209 L. Aurellius Commodus Pompeianus – C. (Hedius) Lollianus Plautius Avitus
210 M’. Acilius Faustinus – A. Triarius Rufinus
211 (Hedius Lollianus) Terentius Gentianus – (Pomponius) Bassus
212 C. Iulius Asper II – C. Iulius Camilius Galerius Asper
213 Imp. Antoninus IV – D. Caelius (Calvinus) Balbinus II
214 L. Valerius Messalla (Apollinaris?) – C. Octavius Appius Suetrius Sabinus
215 Q. Maecius Laetus II – M. Munatius Sulla Cerialis
216 P. Catius Sabinus II – P. Cornelius Anullinus
217 C. Bruttius Praesens – T. Messius Extricatus II
218 Imp. Caesar M. Opellius Severus Macrinus Aug. II (8th June: Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus Aug.) – M. Oclatinius Adventus
219 Imp. Antoninus II – Q. Tineius Sacerdos II
220 Imp. Antoninus III – P. Valerius Comazon II
221 C. Vettius Gratus Sabinianus – M. Flavius Vitellius Seleucus
222 Imp. Antoninus IV – M. Aurellius Severus Alexander Caesar (from 13th Mar., Imp. Caesar M. Aurellius Severus Alexander Augustus (sole consul 15th Apr.)
223 L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus II – L. Roscius Aelianus Paculus Salvius Iulianus
224 Ap. Claudius Iulianus II – C. Bruttius Crispinus
225 Ti. Manilius Fuscus II – Ser. Calpurnius Domitius Dexter
226 Imp. Severus Alexander II – C. Aufidius Marcellus II
227 M. Nummius Senecio Albinus – M. Laelius (Fulvius?) Maximus Aemilianus
228 Q. Aiacius Modestus Crescentianus II – M. (Pomponius) Maecius Probus
229 Imp. Severus Alexander III – Cassius Dio Cocceianus II
230 L. Virius Agricola – Sex. Catius Clementinus Priscillianus
231 Claudius Pompeianus – T. Flavius Sallustius Paelignianus
232 L. Virius Lupus (Iulianus?) – L. Marius Maximus
233 L. Valerius Maximus – Cn. Cornelius Paternus
234 M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus II – [———]ius [Su?]lla Urbanus
235 Cn. Claudius Severus – L. Ti. Claudius Aurelius Quintianus
236 Imp. Caesar C. Iulius Verus Maximinus Aug. – M. Pupienius Africanus
237 L. Marius Perpetuus – L. Mummius Felix Cornelianus
238 (C.?) Fulvius Pius – Pontius Proculus Pontianus
239 Imp. Caesar M. Antonius Gordianus Aug. – M’. Acilius Aviola

240	C. Octavius Appius Suetrius Sabinus II – Ragonius Venustus[85]
241	Imp. Gordianus II – (Clodius) Pompeianus
242	C. Vettius Gratus Atticus Sabinianus – C. Asinius Lepidus Praetextatus
243	L. Annius Arrianus – C. Cervonius Papus
244	Ti. Pollenius Armenius Peregrinus – Fulvius Aemilianus
245	Imp. Caesar M. Iulius Philippus Aug. – C. Maesius Titianus
246	C. Bruttius Praesens – C. All[– –] Albinus
247	Imp. Philippus II – Imp. Caesar M. Iulius Severus Philippus
248	Imp. Philippus III – Imp. Philippus II
249	Fulvius Aemilianus II – L. Naevius Aquilinus
250	Imp. Caesar C. Messius Quintus Traianus Decius II – Vettius Gratus
251	Imp. Decius III – Q. Herennius Etruscus Messicus Decius Caesar
252	Imp. Caesar C. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus Aug. II – Imp. Caesar C. Vibius Afinius Gallus Veldumnianus Volusianus Aug.
253	Imp. Volusianus II – Valerius Maximus
254	Imp. Caesar P. Licinius Valerianus Aug. – Imp. Caesar P. Licinius Egnatius Gallienus Aug.
255	Imp. Valerianus III – Imp. Gallienus II
256	L. Valerius Maximus II – M. Acilius Glabrio
257	Imp. Valerianus IV – Imp. Gallienus III
258	M. Nummius Tuscus – Mummius Bassus
259	(Nummius) Aemilianus (Dexter) – (Ti. Pomponius) Bassus
260	P. Cornelius Saecularis II – C. Iunius Donatus II
	Gaul: Imp. Caesar M. Cassianius Latinius Postumus Aug. – Honoratianus
261	Imp. Gallienus IV – L. Petronius Taurus Volusianus
	Gaul: Imp. Caesar M. Cassianius Latinius Postumus Aug. II
262	Imp. Gallienus V – Nummius Faus(t?)ianus
	Gaul: Imp. Postumus III
263	(M.) Nummius (Ceionius) Albinus II – Dexter (or Maximus)
264	Imp. Gallienus VI – Saturninus
265	(Licinius) Valerianus II – Lucillus
266	Imp. Gallienus VII – Sabinillus
267	Paternus – Archesilaus
	Gaul: Imp. Postumus IV – M. Piavonius Victorinus

---

[85] W. Eck and M. M. Roxan, 'Zwei Entlassungsurkunden – *tabulae honestae missionis* – für Soldaten der römischen Auxilien', *ArchKorrBl* 28 (1998) 95–112, at 106.

268	(Aspasius?) Paternus II – (Egnatius?) Marinianus
269	Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Valerius Claudius Aug. – Paternus III
	Gaul: Imp. Postumus V – Imp. Victorinus Aug.
270	Flavius Antiochianus II – Virius Orfitus
271	Imp. Caesar L. Domitius Aurelianus Aug. – (Ti.) Pomponius Bassus II
	Gaul: Imp. Caesar C. Pius Esuvius Tetricus Aug.
272	Quietus – Iunius Veldumnianus
	Gaul: Imp. Tetricus II
273	M. Claudius Tacitus – (Iulius) Placidianus
274	Imp. Aurelianus II – Capitolinus
	Gaul: Imp. Tetricus III
275	Imp. Aurelianus III - Marcellinus
276	Imp. Tacitus II – Aemilianus II
277	Imp. Caesar Aurelius Probus Aug. – Paulinus
278	Imp. Probus II – Virius Lupus
279	Imp. Probus III – Nonius Paternus II
280	Messalla – Gratus
281	Imp. Probus IV – C. Iunius Tiberianus
282	Imp. Probus V – Victorinus
283	Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Carus Aug. II – Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Carinus
284	Carinus Aug. II – Numerianus Aug.
285	Carinus Aug. III (after Carinus' death in spring/summer: Diocletianus Aug. II) – T. Claudius Aurelius Aristobulus
286	M. Iunius Maximus II – Vettius Aquilinus
287	Diocletianus Aug. III – Maximianus Aug.
288	Maximianus Aug. II – Pomponius Ianuarianus
289	M. Magrius Bassus – L. Ragonius Quintianus
290	Diocletianus Aug. IV – Maximianus Aug. III
291	C. Iunius Tiberianus II – Cassius Dio
292	Afranius Hannibalianus – Iulius Asclepiodotus
293	Diocletianus Aug. V – Maximianus Aug. IV
294	Constantius Caesar – Galerius Maximianus Caesar
295	Nummius Tuscus – Annius Anullinus
296	Diocletianus Aug. VI – Constantius Caesar II
297	Maximianus Aug. V – Galerius Maximianus Caesar II
298	Anicius Faustus II – Virius Gallus
299	Diocletianus Aug. VII – Maximianus Aug. VI
300	Constantius Caesar III – Galerius Maximianus Caesar III

301	T. Flavius Postumius Titianus II – Virius Nepotianus
302	Constantius Caesar IV – Galerius Maximianus Caesar IV
303	Diocletianus Aug. VIII – Maximianus Aug. VII
304	Diocletianus Aug. IX – Maximianus Aug. VIII
305	Constantius Caesar (Aug.) V – Galerius Maximianus Caesar (Aug.) V
306	DD. NN. Constantius Aug. VI – Galerius Maximianus Aug. VI
307	West: DD. NN. Galerius Maximianus Aug. VII – Constantinus Caesar East: DD. NN. Severus Aug. – Maximinus Caesar
308	DD. NN. Diocletianus Aug. X – Galerius Maximianus Aug. VII
309	Rome: D. N. Maxentius Aug. II – Valerius Romulus II East: DD. NN. Licinius Aug. – Constantinus Aug.
310	Rome: D. N. Maxentius Aug. III East: Tatius Andronicus – Pompeius Probus
311	DD. NN. Galerius Maximianus Aug. VIII – Maximinus Aug. II
312	DD. NN. Constantinus Aug. II – Licinius II Rome: D.N. Maxentius IV (until 28th Oct.)
313	DD. NN. Constantinus Aug. III – Maximinus III (replaced by Licinius III)
314	C. Ceionius Rufus Volusianus II – Petronius Annianus
315	DD. NN. Constantinus Aug. IV – Licinius Aug. IV
316	Antonius Caecinius Sabinus – Vettius Rufinus
317	Ovinius Gallicanus – Caesonius Bassus
318	DD. NN. Licinius Aug. V – Fl. Iulius Crispus Caesar
319	DD. NN. Constantinus Aug. V – Licinius Caesar
320	DD. NN. Constantinus Aug. VI – Constantinus Caesar
321	West: DD. NN. Crispus Caesar II – Constantinus Caesar II East: DD. NN. Licinius Aug. VI – Licinius Caesar II
322	West: Petronius Probianus – Amnius Anicius Iulianus East: after the consulship of Licinius Aug. VI and Licinius Caesar II/ consuls to be anounced
323	West: Acilius Severus – Venius Rufinus East: after the consulship of Licinius Aug. VI and Licinius Caesar II/ consuls to be anounced
324	West: DD. NN. Crispus Caesar III – Constantinus Caesar III East: consuls to be announced, then DD. NN. Crispus Caesar III – Constantinus Caesar III
325	Valerius Proculus – Anicius Paulinus
326	DD. NN. Constantinus Aug. VII – Constantius Caesar

327	Fl. Constantius – Valerius Maximus
328	Fl. Ianuarinus – Vettius Iustus
329	DD. NN. Constantinus Aug. VIII – Constantinus Caesar IV
330	Fl. Gallicanus – Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus
331	Iulius Bassus – Fl. Ablabius
332	L. Papius Pacatianus – Mecilius Hilarianus
333	Fl. Dalmatius – Domitius Zenophilus
334	Fl. Optatus – Anicius Paulinus
335	Iulius Constantius – Ceionius Rufius Albinus
336	Virius Nepotianus – Tettius Facundus
337	Fl. Felicianus – Fabius Titianus
338	Fl. Ursus – Fl. Polemius
339	DD. NN. Constantius Aug. II – Constans Aug.
340	Septimius Acindynus – L. Aradius Valerius Proculus *signo* Populonius
341	Antonius Marcellinus – Petronius Probinus
342	DD. NN. Constantius Aug. III – Constans Aug. II
343	M. Maecius Memmius Furius Baburius Caecilianus Placidus – Fl. Romulus
344	Domitius Leontius – Fl. Bonosus (replaced by Iulius Sallustius)
345	Fl. Amantius – M. Nummius Albinus
346	West: after the consulship of Amantius and Albinus East: DD. NN. Constantius Aug. IV – Constans Aug. III
347	Vulcacius Rufinus – Fl. Eusebius
348	Fl. Philippus – Fl. Salia
349	Ulpius Limenius – Aconius Catullinus
350	Fl. Sergius – Fl. Nigrinianus
351	West: D. N. Magnentius Aug. – Gaiso East: after the consulship of Fl. Sergius and Fl. Nigrinianus
352	West: Magnus Decentius Caesar – Paulus East: DD. NN. Constantius Aug. V – Constantius Caesar
353	DD. NN. Constantius Aug. VI – Constantius Caesar II
354	DD. NN. Constantius Aug. VII – Constantius Caesar III
355	Fl. Arbitio – Q. Fl. Maesius Egnatius Lollianus
356	DD. NN. Constantius Aug. VIII – Iulianus Caesar
357	DD. NN. Constantius Aug. IX – Iulianus Caesar II
358	Censorius Datianus – Naeratius Cerealis
359	Fl. Eusebius – Fl. Hypatius
360	DD. NN. Constantius Aug. X – Iulianus Caesar III

361	Fl. Taurus – Fl. Florentius
362	Claudius Mamertinus – Fl. Nevitta
363	D. N. Iulianus Aug. IV – Fl. Sallustius
364	D. N. Iovianus Aug. – Fl. Varronianus
365	DD. NN. Fl. Valentinianus Aug. – Fl. Valens Aug.
366	Fl. Gratianus nob. puer – Fl. Dagalaifus
367	Fl. Lupicinus – Fl. Iovinus
368	DD. NN. Valentinianus Aug. II – Valens Aug. II
369	Fl. Valentinianus nob. puer – Fl. Victor
370	DD. NN. Valentinianus Aug. III – Valens Aug. III
371	D. N. Gratianus Aug. II – Sex. Cl. Petronius Probus
372	Fl. Domitius Modestus – Fl. Arintheus
373	DD. NN. Valentinianus Aug. IV – Valens Aug. IV
374	D. N. Gratianus Aug. III – Fl. Equitius
375	After the consulship of Gratianus Aug. III and Equitius
376	DD. NN. Valens Aug. V – Valentinianus iunior Aug.
377	D. N. Gratianus Aug. IV – Fl. Merobaudes
378	DD. NN. Valens Aug. VI – Valentinianus iun. Aug. II
379	D. Magnus Ausonius – Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius
380	DD. NN. Gratianus Aug. V – Fl. Theodosius Aug.
381	Fl. Syagrius – Fl. Eucherius
382	Fl. Claudius Antonius – Fl. Afranius Syagrius
383	West: Theodosius Aug. II – Fl. Merobaudes II (then Fl. Merobaudes II – Fl. Saturninus) East: Fl. Merobaudes II – Fl. Saturninus
384	Fl. Ricomer – Fl. Clearchus Gaul: D. N. Magnus Maximus Aug.
385	D. N. Arcadius Aug. – Fl. Bauto
386	Fl. Honorius nob. puer – Fl. Euodius
387	D. N. Valentinianus Aug. III – Eutropius
388	West: D. N. Magnus Maximus II (then D. N. Theodosius Aug. II – Cynegius) East: D. N. Theodosius II – Fl. Cynegius
389	Fl. Timasius – Fl. Promotus
390	D. N. Valentinianus Aug. IV – Fl. Neoterius
391	Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus – Q. Aurelius Symmachus
392	D. N. Arcadius Aug. II – Fl. Rufinus
393	West: D. N. Theodosius Aug. III – D. N. Eugenius Aug. East: D. N. Theodosius Aug. III – Fl. Abundantius

394	West: Nicomachus Flavianus (sole consul until 6th Nov.; then DD. NN. Arcadius Aug. III – Honorius Aug. II) East: DD. NN. Arcadius Aug. III – Honorius Aug. II
395	Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius – Anicius Probinus
396	DD. NN. Arcadius Aug. IV – Honorius Aug. III
397	Fl. Caesarius – Nonius Atticus
398	D.N. Honorius Aug. IV – Fl. Eutychianus
399	West: Fl. Mallius Theodorus East: Eutropius – Fl. Mallius Theodorus (until Aug., then Theodorus alone)
400	West: Fl. Stilicho East: Fl. Stilicho – Fl. Aurelianus
401	Fl. Vincentius – Fl. Fravitta
402	DD. NN. Arcadius Aug. V – Honorius Aug. V
403	D. N. Theodosius Aug. – Fl. Rumoridus
404	West: D. N. Honorius Aug. VI East: Honorius Aug. VI – Aristaenetus
405	West: Fl. Stilicho II East: Fl. Stilicho II – Fl. Anthemius
406	D. N. Arcadius Aug. VI – Anicius Petronius Probus
407	DD. NN. Honorius Aug. VII – Theodosius Aug. II
408	Anicius Auchenius Bassus – Fl. Philippus
409	DD. NN. Honorius Aug. VIII – Theodosius Aug. III Gaul: DD. NN. Honorius Aug. VIII – Constantinus Aug.
410	West: After the consulship of Honorius Aug. VIII and Theodosius Aug. III/ Tertullus East: Varanes
411	West: After the consulship of Honorius Aug. VIII and Theodosius Aug. III for a second time/after the consulship of Varanes/Theodosius Aug. IV East: DD. NN. Honorius Aug. IX – Theodosius Aug. IV
412	DD. NN. Honorius Aug. IX – Theodosius Aug. V
413	West: Heraclianus/after the consulship of Honorius Aug. IX and Theodosius Aug. V East: Fl. Lucius
414	Fl. Constantius – Fl. Constans
415	DD. NN. Honorius Aug. X – Theodosius Aug. VI
416	D. N. Theodosius Aug. VII – Iunius Quartus Palladius
417	D. N. Honorius Aug. XI – Fl. Constantius II
418	DD. NN. Honorius Aug. XII – Theodosius Aug. VIII

419 Fl. Monaxius – Fl. Plinta
420 D. N. Theodosius Aug. IX – Fl. Constantius III
421 Fl. Agricola – Fl. Eustathius
422 DD. NN. Honorius Aug. XIII – Theodosius Aug. X
423 Fl. Avitus Marinianus – Fl. Asclepiodotus
424 West: Fl. Castinus
East: Fl. Victor
425 West: D. N. Iohannes Aug./DD. NN. Theodosius Aug. XI – Valentinianus Caesar (23rd Oct., Augustus)
East: DD. NN. Theodosius Aug. XI – Valentinianus Caesar (23rd Oct., Augustus)
426 DD. NN. Theodosius Aug. XII – Valentinianus Aug. II
427 Fl. Hierius – F. Ardabur
428 Fl. Felix – Fl. Taurus
429 Fl. Florentius – Fl. Dionysius
430 DD. NN. Theodosius Aug. XIII – Valentinianus Aug. III
431 Fl. Anicius Auchenius Bassus – Fl. Antiochus
432 Fl. Aetius – Fl. Valerius
433 D. N. Theodosius Aug. XIV – Petronius Maximus
434 Fl. Ardabur Aspar – Fl. Areobindus
435 DD. NN. Theodosius Aug. XV – Valentinianus Aug. IV
436 Fl. Anthemius Isidorus – Fl. Senator
437 Fl. Aetius II – Fl. Sigisvultus
438 D. N. Theodosius Aug. XVI – Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus
439 D. N. Theodosius Aug. XVII – Fl. Festus
440 D. N. Valentinianus Aug. V – Fl. Anatolius
441 Fl. Taurus Seleucus Cyrus (Hierax)
442 Fl. Dioscorus – Fl. Eudoxius
443 Petronius Maximus II – Fl. Paterius
444 D. N. Theodosius Aug. XVIII – Caecina Decius Aginatius Albinus
445 D. N. Valentinianus Aug. VI – Fl. Nomus
446 Fl. Aetius III – Q. Aurelius Symmachus
447 Fl. Calepius – Fl. Ardabur
448 Fl. Rufius Praetextatus Postumianus – Fl. Zeno
449 Fl. Asturius – Fl. Flor(entius?) Romanus Protogenes
450 D. N. Valentinianus Aug. VII – Gennadius Avienus
451 West: Valerius Faltonius Adelfius
East: D. N. Marcianus Aug.
452 West: Fl. Bassus Herculanus
East: Fl. Sporacius

453	West: Fl. Opilio East: Iohannes Vincomalus – Fl. Opilio
454	Fl. Aetius – Fl. Studius
455	D. N. Valentinianus Aug. VIII – Fl. Anthemius
456	West: D. N. Eparchius Avitus Aug. (from 17th Oct., Fl. Iohannes – Fl. Varanes) East: Fl. Varanes – Fl. Iohannes
457	Fl. Constantinus – Fl. Rufus
458	West: DD. NN. Maiorianus Aug. – Leo Aug. East: Leo Aug.
459	West: Fl. Ricimer East: Fl. Patricius
460	Fl. Magnus – Fl. Apollonius
461	Fl. Severinus – Fl. Dagalaifus
462	West: D. N. Severus Aug. East: D. N. Leo Aug. II
463	West: Caecina Decius Basilius East: Fl. Vivianus
464	Fl. Rusticius – Fl. Olybrius
465	Fl. Hermenericus – Fl. Basiliscus
466	D. N. Leo Aug. III – Tatianus East: D. N. Leo Aug. III
467	Fl. Pusaeus – Fl. Iohannes
468	D. N. Anthemius Aug. II
469	Fl. Marcianus – Fl. Zeno
470	Messius Phoebus Severus – Fl. Iordanes
471	D. N. Leo Aug. IV – Caelius Aconius Probianus
472	Rufius Postumius Festus – Fl. Marcianus
473	D. N. Leo Aug. V
474	D. N. Leo iunior Aug.
475	After the consulship of Leo iunior Aug./D. N. Zeno Aug. II
476	D. N. Basiliscus Aug. II – Fl. Armatus
477	After the consulship of Basiliscus II and Armatus
478	Illus
479	D. N. Zeno Aug. III
480	Caecina Decius Maximus Basilius iunior
481	Rufius Achilius Maecius Placidus
482	Severinus iunior – Fl. Appalius Illus Trocundes
483	West: Anicius Acilius Aginantius Faustus East: After the consulship of Trocundes

484 West: Decius Marius Venantius Basilius
East: Fl. Theodericus
485 West: Q. Aurelius Memmius Symmachus iunior
East: After the consulship of Fl. Theodericus
486 Caecina Mavortius Basilius Decius – Fl. Longinus
487 West: Manlius Boethius
East: After the consulship of Fl. Longinus
488 West: Claudius Iulius Ecclesius Dynamius – Rufius Achilius Sividius
East: After the consulship of Fl. Longinus for a second time
489 West: Petronius Probinus – Fl. Eusebius
East: Fl. Eusebius
490 West: Anicius Probus Faustus – Fl. Longinus II
East: Fl. Longinus II
491 Fl. Olybrius
492 D. N. Anastasius Aug. – Fl. Rufus
493 West: Fl. Albinus (iunior)
East: Fl. Eusebius II
494 West: Fl. Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius – Fl. Praesidius
East: After the consulship of Fl. Eusebius II
495 Fl. Viator
496 West: After the consulship of Fl. Viator
East: Paulus
497 West: After the consulship of Fl. Viator for a second time
East: D. N. Anastasius Aug. II
498 West: Fl. Paulinus
East: Iohannes Scytha – Fl. Paulinus
499 West: After the consulship of Paulinus
East: Iohannes qui et Gibbus
500 West: After the consulship of Paulinus for a second time
East: Fl. Patricius – Fl. Hypatius
501 West: Fl. Avienus
East: Fl. Pompeius – Fl. Avienus
502 West: Rufius Magnus Faustus Avienus iunior
East: Fl. Probus – Rufius Magnus Faustus Avienus iunior
503 Fl. Volusianus
East: Fl. Dexicrates – Fl. Volusianus
504 Rufius Petronius Nicomachus Cethegus
505 West: Fl. Theodorus
East: Fl. Sabinianus – Fl. Theodorus

506	West: Ennodius Messala East: Fl. Areobindus Dagalaifus Areobindus – Ennodius Messala
507	D. N. Anastasius Aug. III – Venantius
508	West: Basilius Venantius iunior East: Fl. Celer – Basilius Venantius iunior
509	Fl. Inportunus
510	Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius iunior
511	West: Fl. Felix East: Fl. Secundinus – Fl. Felix
512	West: After the consulship of Fl. Felix East: Fl. Paulus – Fl. Moschianus
513	West: Fl. Probus East: Fl. Taurus Clementinus Armonius Clementinus – Fl. Probus
514	Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator
515	West: Fl. Florentius – Procopius Anthemius East: Procopius Anthemius
516	Fl. Petrus
517	West: Fl. Agapitus East: Fl. Anastasius Paulus Probus Sabinianus Pompeius Anastasius – Fl. Agapitus
518	West: After the consulship of Agapitus East: Fl. Anastasius Paulus Probus Moschianus Probus Magnus
519	West: Fl. Eutharicus Cillica East: D. N. Iustinus Aug. – Eutharicus Cillica
520	Fl. Rusticius – Fl. Vitalianus
521	West: Fl. Valerius East: Fl. Petrus Sabbatius Iustinianus – Fl. Valerius
522	Fl. Symmachus – Fl. Boethius
523	Fl. Maximus
524	West: Venantius Opilio East: D. N. Iustinus Aug. II – Venantius Opilio
525	West: Fl. Probus iunior East: Fl. Theodorus Philoxenus Soterichus Philoxenus – Fl. Probus iunior
526	Fl. Olybrius iunior
527	Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius
528	West: After the consulship of Mavortius East: D. N. Iustinianus Aug. II
529	Fl. Decius iunior
530	Fl. Lampadius – Fl. Rufius Gennadius Probus Orestes

531	After the consulship of Lampadius and Orestes
532	After the consulship of Lampadius and Orestes for a second time
533	West: After the consulship of Lampadius and Orestes for another time East: D. N. Iustinianus Aug. III
534	D. N. Iustinianus Aug. IV – Fl. Paulinus iunior
535	West: After the consulship of Paulinus East: Fl. Belisarius
536	West: After the consulship of Paulinus for a second time/after the consulship of Fl. Belisarius East: After the consulship of Fl. Belisarius
537	West: After the consulship of Paulinus for a third time/after the consulship of Fl. Belisarius for a second time East: After the consulship of Fl. Belisarius for a second time
538	Fl. Iohannes
539	West: After the consulship of Iohannes East: Fl. Strategius Apion Strategius Apion
540	Fl. Mar. Petrus Theodorus Valentinus Rusticius Boraides Germanus Iustinus
541	Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilius iunior

Appendix 2 | Imperial titles, Augustus–Justinian[1]

AUGUSTUS (43 BC – 19th Aug. AD 14)

C. Iulius Caesar (44 BC) / Imp. Caesar divi f. (40 BC) / Imp. Caesar divi f. Augustus (27 BC)

• cos.	19th Aug. 43 BC; ii, 1st Jan. 33 BC; iii–xi, annually 1st Jan. 31–23 BC; xii, 1st Jan. 5 BC; xiii, 1st Jan. 2 BC
• iii vir r.p. c.	27th Nov. 43 – 31st Dec. 38 BC; iterum 37–32 BC
• imp.[2]	16th Apr. 43 BC; ii, 41 BC; iii, 40 BC; iv, 36 BC; v, 34/3 BC; vi, 31 BC; vii, 29 BC; viii, 25 BC; ix, 20 BC; x, 15 BC; xi, 12 BC; xii, 11 BC; xiii, 10 BC; xiv, 8 BC; xv, AD 1; xvi, AD 3; xvii, AD 6; xviii, AD 8; xix, AD 9; xx, AD 11; xxi, AD 13
• divi f.	42 BC
• Augustus	16th Jan. 27 BC
• trib. pot.	26th Jun. 23 BC; ii–xxxviii, annually 26th Jun./1st Jul. 22 BC–AD 14
• pont. max.	6th Mar. 12 BC
• p. p.	5th Feb. 2 BC

---

[1] In drawing up this list, I have consulted I. Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina* (2nd edn, 1968: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino: Milan) 467–80; P. Kneissl, *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser: Untersuchungen zu den Siegerbeinamen des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts* (1969: Hypomnemata 25: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Göttingen); M. Peachin, *Roman Imperial Titulature and Chronology, A.D. 235–284* (1990: J. C. Gieben: Amsterdam); D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle: Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie* (2nd edn, 1996: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft: Darmstadt); J.-M. Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine* (2nd edn, 2007: Picard: Paris) 997–1045; R. S. Bagnall *et al.*, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (1987: Philological Monographs of the American Philological Association 36: Atlanta, Ga.) 91–4; A. H. M. Jones *et al.*, eds., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vols. I–II (1971/1980: Cambridge University Press). Of use is the website *De imperatoribus romanis*, www.roman-emperors.org/impindex.htm. For surveys of the development of imperial titulature, see M. Hammond, 'Imperial elements in the formula of the Roman emperors during the first two and a half centuries of the empire', *MAAR* 25 (1957) 19–64; A. Chastagnol, 'Le formulaire de l'épigraphie latine officielle dans l'antiquité tardive', in *La terza età dell'epigrafia*, ed. A. Donati (1988: Fratelli Lega: Faenza) 11–64, at 12–38; A. Magioncalda, *Lo sviluppo della titolatura imperiale da Augusto a Giustiniano attraverso le testimonianze epigrafiche* (1991: G. Giappichelli: Turin).

[2] On Augustus' imperatorial salutations, see A. E. Cooley, Res Gestae divi Augusti*: Text, translation, and commentary* (2009: Cambridge University Press) 122.

TIBERIUS (19th Aug. AD 14 – 16th Mar. AD 37)

Ti. Claudius Nero / Ti. Iulius Caesar (AD 4) / Ti. Caesar Augustus (AD 14)

• cos.	1st Jan. 13 BC; ii, 1st Jan. 7 BC; iii, 1st Jan. AD 18; iv, 1st Jan. AD 21; v, 1st Jan. AD 31
• imp.	9 BC; ii, 8 BC; iii, AD 6; iv, AD 8; v, AD 9; vi, AD 11?; vii, AD 13?; viii, AD 16
• trib. pot.	26th Jun./1st Jul. 6 BC; ii–v, annually 26th Jun./1st Jul. 5–2 BC; vi, 26th Jun./1st Jul. AD 4; vii–xxxviii, annually 26th Jun./1st Jul. AD 5–36
• pont. max.	10th Mar. AD 15

GAIUS CALIGULA (18th Mar. 37 – 24th Jan. 41)

C. Iulius Caesar / C. Caesar Augustus Germanicus (41)

• cos.	1st Jul. 37 (suff.); ii–iv, annually 1st Jan. 39–41
• trib. pot.	18th Mar. 37; ii–iv, annually 18th Mar. 38–40
• p. p.	21st Sep. 37

CLAUDIUS (24th Jan. 41 – 13th Oct. 54)

Ti. Claudius Drusus / Ti. Claudius Nero Germanicus (AD 4) / Ti. Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus (41)

• cos.	1st Jul. 37 (suff.); ii, 1st Jan. 42; iii, 1st Jan. 43; iv, 1st Jan. 47; v, 1st Jan. 51
• trib. pot.	25th Jan. 41; ii–xiv, annually 25th Jan. 42–54
• imp.	i–iii, 41; iv–vii, 43; viii, 43–5; ix, 45; x, 45–6; xi, 46; xii, 46–7; xiii–xiv, 47; xv, 47–8; xvi, 48–9; xvii, 49; xviii, 49–50; xix–xxi, 50; xxii–xxiv, 51; xxv, 51–2; xxvi–xxvii, 52
• p. p.	Jan. 42
• cens.	47–8

NERO (13th Oct. 54 – 9th Jun. 68)

L. Domitius Ahenobarbus / Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus (50) / Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus (54)

• trib. pot.	4th Dec. 54; ii, 4th Dec. 55; iii–vi, annually 4th Dec. 56–9; vii–xiv, annually 10th Dec. 60–7
• cos.	1st Jan. 55; ii, 1st Jan. 57; iii, 1st Jan. 58; iv, 1st Jan. 60; v, Apr. 68 (suff.)
• pont. max.	55

• p. p.	55/6
• imp.	ii, 56; iii, 57; iv, 57/8; v–vi, 58; vii, 59; viii–ix, 61/2; x, 64/5; xi, 66; xii, 67; xiii, 67/8

GALBA (8/9th Jun. 68 – 15th Jan. 69)

L. Livius Ocella Ser. Sulpicius Galba / Ser. Sulpicius Galba Imperator Caesar Augustus (68)

• cos.	1st Jan. 33; ii, 1st Jan. 69
• pont. max.	Sep./Oct. 68

OTHO (15th Jan. – 16/17th Apr. 69)

M. Salvius Otho / Imp. M. Otho Caesar Augustus (69)

• cos.	26th Jan. 69 (suff.)
• trib. pot.	28th Feb. 69

VITELLIUS (2nd Jan. – 20th Dec. 69)

A. Vitellius / A. Vitellius Germanicus Imperator Caesar Augustus (69)

• cos.	1st Jan. 48; ii, 18th Jul. 69 (cos. perp.)
• trib. pot.	30th Apr. 69

VESPASIAN (1st Jul. 69 – 23rd Jun. 79)[3]

T. Flavius Vespasianus / Imp. T. Flavius Vespasianus Caesar (Jul. 69) / Imp. Caesar Vespasianus Augustus (Aug. 69)

• cos.	Nov. 51 (suff.); ii, 1st Jan. 70; iii, 1st Jan. 71; iv, 1st Jan. 72; v–ix, annually 1st Jan. 74–9
• trib. pot.	1st Jul. 69; ii–x, annually 1st Jul. 70–8
• imp.	69; ii–v, 70; vi–viii, 71; ix–x, 72; xi, 73; xii–xiv, 74; xv–xviii, 76; xix–xx, 78
• pont. max.	70
• p. p.	70
• cens.	Apr. 73–4

---

[3] T. V. Buttrey, *Documentary Evidence for the Chronology of the Flavian Titulature* (1980: Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 112: Anton Hain: Meisenheim am Glan) 6–17.

TITUS (24th Jun. 79 – 13th Sep. 81)[4]

T. Flavius Vespasianus / Imp. T. Caesar Vespasianus (69) / Imp. T. Caesar Vespasianus Augustus (79)

• Caesar	69
• cos.	1st Jan. 70; ii, 1st Jan. 72; iii–vi, annually 1st Jan. 74–7; vii, 1st Jan. 79; viii, 80
• trib. pot.	1st Jul. 71; ii–xi, annually 1st Jul. 72–81
• imp.	Aug. 70; ii, 71; iii–iv, 72; v, 73; vi–viii, 74; ix–xii, 76; xiii–xiv, 78; xv, 79; xvi–xvii, 81
• cens.	Apr. 73–4

DOMITIAN (14th Sep. 81 – 18th Sep. 96)[5]

T. Flavius Domitianus / Caesar Domitianus (69) / Imp. Caesar Domitianus Augustus (81)

• Caesar	69
• cos.	Mar. 71 (suff.); ii, 1st Jan. 73; iii, 1st Mar.? 75 (suff.); iv, 13th? Jan. 76 (suff.); v, 13th? Jan. 77 (suff.); vi, 13th? Jan. 79 (suff.); vii, 1st Jan. 80; viii–xiv, 1st Jan. 82–8; xv, 1st Jan. 90; xvi, 1st Jan. 92; xvii, 1st Jan. 95
• trib. pot.	30th Sep. 81; ii–xvi, annually 14th (or 30th) Sep. 82–96
• imp.	81; ii, by mid Mar. 82; iii–iv, 83; v–vii, 84; viii–xi, 85; xii–xiv, 86; xv–xvii, 88; xix–xxi, 89; xxii, 93
• Germanicus	By Sep. 83
• censor perp.	Oct./Nov. 85

NERVA (18th Sep. 96 – 25/28th Jan. 98)

M. Cocceius Nerva / Imp. Nerva Caesar Augustus

• cos.	1st Jan. 71; ii, 1st Jan. 90; iii, 1st Jan. 97; iv, 1st Jan. 98
• trib. pot.[6]	18th Sep. 96; ii, 18th Sep. 97; iii, 10th Dec. 97
• imp.	96; ii, Sep. 97
• Germanicus	Nov. 97

[4] Buttrey, *Documentary Evidence for the Chronology of the Flavian Titulature* (above, n.3) 18–27.

[5] Buttrey, *Documentary Evidence for the Chronology of the Flavian Titulature* (above, n.3) 28–39; A. Martin, *La titulature épigraphique de Domitien* (1987: Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 181: Athenaeum: Frankfurt am Main).

[6] A. Chastagnol, 'Un chapitre négligé de l'épigraphie latine: la titulature des empereurs morts', *RÉL* 62 (1984) 275–87, at 282–4 argues that the practice of renewing tribunician power on 10th December commenced in 97.

TRAJAN (25/8th Jan. 98 – 7/10th Aug. 117)

M. Ulpius Traianus / Imp. Caesar Nerva Traianus (97) / Imp. Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus (98)

• cos.	1st Jan. 91; ii, 1st Jan. 98; iii, 1st Jan. 100; iv, 1st Jan. 101; v, 1st Jan. 103; vi, 1st Jan. 112
• trib. pot.[7]	27/8th Oct. 97; ii–xxi, annually 10th Dec. 97–116
• Germanicus	Nov. 97
• p. p.	Autumn 98
• imp.	98; ii, autumn 101; iii–iv, 102; v–vi, 106; vii–viii, 114; ix–xi, 115; xii–xiii, 116
• Dacicus	End of 102
• Optimus	Aug. 114
• Parthicus	20th/21st Feb. 116

HADRIAN (11th Aug. 117 – 10th Jul. 138)

P. Aelius Hadrianus / Imp. Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus (117)

• cos.	May 108 (suff.); ii–iii, 1st Jan. 118–19
• trib. pot.	11th Aug. 117; ii, 10th Dec. 117; iii–xxii, annually 10th Dec. 118-37
• procos.	121, 124, 137
• p. p.	128 (but anticipated on some inscriptions and coins)
• imp.	117; ii, 135

ANTONINUS PIUS (10th Jul. 138 – 7th Mar. 161)

T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus / Imp. T. Aelius Caesar Antoninus (Feb. 138) / Imp. Caesar T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius (Jul. 138)

• cos.	1st Jan. 120; ii, 1st Jan. 139; iii, 1st Jan. 140; iv, 1st Jan. 145
• trib. pot.	25th Feb. 138; ii, 10th Dec. 138; iii–xxiv, annually 10th Dec. 139–60
• Caesar	25th Feb. 138

---

[7] For a summary of the problems with dating tribunician power during the first half of the second century AD, see J.-M. Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine* (above, n.1) II 598–600; D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle: Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie* (above, n.1) 33. See also Chastagnol, 'Un chapitre négligé de l'épigraphie latine' (above, n.6), 282–4.

p. p.	Jan. 139
imp.	138; ii, 142

MARCUS AURELIUS (7th Mar. 161 – 17th Mar. 180; jointly with Lucius Verus to 169, then with his son Commodus from 176)

M. Annius Catilius Severus / M. Annius Verus (130) / M. Aelius Aurelius Verus (Feb. 138) / M. Aelius Aurelius Verus Caesar (139) / Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus (161)

Caesar	5th Dec. 139
cos.	1st Jan. 140; ii, 1st Jan. 145; iii, 161
trib. pot.	25th Feb./1st Dec. 147; ii–xxxiv, annually 10th Dec. 147–79
imp.	ii, 163; iii, 165; iv, 166; v, 167; vi, 171; vii, 174; viii, 175; ix, 177; x, 180
Armeniacus[8]	164
Parthicus Maximus, Medicus	Mid 166
p. p.	Oct. 166
Germanicus	172
Sarmaticus	175

LUCIUS VERUS (7th Mar. 161 – Jan./Feb. 169, jointly with Marcus Aurelius)

L. Ceionius Commodus / L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus (25th Feb. 138) / Imp. Caesar L. Aurelius Verus Augustus (169)

cos.	1st Jan. 154; ii, 1st Jan. 161; iii, 1st Jan. 167
trib. pot.	7th Mar. 161; ii–ix, annually 10th Dec. 161–8
imp.	161; ii, 163; iii, 165; iv, 166; v, 167
Armeniacus	Autumn 163
Parthicus Max.	Aug./Sep. 165
Medicus	Summer 166
Caesar	12th Oct. 166
p. p.	166 (but anticipated in some inscriptions)

---

[8] On the death of Verus in 169, Marcus ceased to use the victory titles Armeniacus and Parthicus Maximus.

COMMODUS (27th Nov. 176 – 31st Dec. 192; at first jointly with his father Marcus Aurelius, then sole emperor 17th Mar. 180 – 31st Dec. 192)

L. Aurelius Commodus / L. Aurelius Commodus Caesar (166) / Imp. Caesar L. Aurelius Commodus Augustus (177) / Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus (17th Mar. 180) / Imp. Caesar L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus Aug. Pius Felix (191)

• Caesar	12th Oct. 166
• Germanicus	15th Oct. 172
• Sarmaticus	Autumn 175
• imp.	27th Nov. 176; ii, 177; iii, 179; iv, autumn 180; v, end 182; vi, 183; vii, 184; viii, 186
• pont. max.	180, but anticipated from 177
• trib. pot.	177 (but later calculated from 27th Nov. 176); ii, mid 177 (recalculated from 10th Dec. 176); iii–xviii, annually 10th Dec. 177–92
• cos.	1st Jan. 177; ii, 1st Jan. 179; iii, 1st Jan. 181; iv, 1st Jan. 183; v, 1st Jan. 186; vi, 1st Jan. 190; vii, 1st Jan. 192
• p. p.	177
• Germanicus Maximus	182
• Pius	183
• Britannicus	184
• Felix	185
• Invictus Romanus Hercules	192

PERTINAX (31st Dec. 192 – 28th Mar. 193)

P. Helvius Pertinax / Imp. Caesar P. Helvius Pertinax Augustus

• cos.	175 (suff.); ii, 1st Jan. 192
• p. p.	1st Jan. 193
• trib. pot.	1st Jan. 193

DIDIUS JULIANUS (28th Mar. – 2nd Jun. 193)

M. Didius Severus Iulianus / Imp. Caesar M. Didius Severus Iulianus Augustus

• cos.	174 or 175 (suff.)
• p. p.	28th Mar. 193
• trib. pot.	28th Mar. 193

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (9th Apr. 193 – 4th Feb. 211)

L. Septimius Severus / Imp. Caesar L. Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus (193)

• cos.	189 or 190 (suff.); ii, 1st Jan. 194; iii, 1st Jan. 202
• trib. pot.	9th Apr. 193; ii–xix, annually 10th Dec. 193–210
• imp.	9th Apr. 193; ii, end 193; iii, Jan. 194; iv, 194; v–vii, summer 195; viii, end 195; ix, 19th Feb. 197; x–xi, 197; xii, Jan. 205; xiii, 205/6; xiv–xv?, 206/11?
• p. p.	End 193
• divi Marci Pii filius	Early 195 (retrospective self-adoption)
• Pius	195
• Parthicus Adiabenicus, Parthicus Arabicus	Summer 195
• Parthicus Maximus	Jan. 198
• Britannicus	210

CARACALLA (4th Feb. 211 – 8th Apr. 217)[9]

L. Septimius Bassianus / M. Aurelius (Aurellius) Antoninus Caesar (195/6) / Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus (198) / Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Severus Antoninus Pius Aug. (211)

• Caesar	195/6
• imperator destinatus / designatus	4th Apr.? 197
• Augustus	28th Jan. 198
• trib. pot.	28th Jan. 198; ii–xx, annually 10th Dec. 198–216
• pont. max.	28th Jan. 198
• imp.	198; ii, 207, iii, 213
• p. p.	198/9
• cos.	1st Jan. 202; ii, 1st Jan. 205; iii, 1st Jan. 208; iv, 1st Jan. 213
• Britannicus Maximus	209
• Parthicus Maximus	211
• Germanicus Maximus	Oct. 213
• Magnus	213

---

[9] A. Mastino, *Le titolature di Caracalla e Geta attraverso le iscrizioni (indici)* (1981: Studi di storia antica 5: CLUEB: Bologna).

GETA (jointly with his brother Caracalla, 4th Feb. 211 – 2nd Feb. 212)[10]

P. Septimius Geta / P. Septimius Geta nobilissimus Caesar (198) / Imp. Caesar P. Septimius Geta Augustus (209)

• Caesar	28th Jan. 198 (nobilissimus Caesar)
• cos.	1st Jan. 205; ii, 1st Jan. 208
• Augustus	Sep./Oct.? 209 (anticipated from 198 in some inscriptions)
• trib. pot.	Sep./Oct.? 209; ii–iv, annually 10th Dec. 209–11
• Britannicus	209/10
• p. p.	210/11

MACRINUS (11th Apr. 217 – 8th Jun. 218)

M. Opellius Macrinus / Imp. Caesar M. Opellius Severus Macrinus Pius Felix Augustus (217)

• trib. pot.	11th Apr. 217; ii, 10th Dec. 217
• cos.	ornamenta consularia 217; ii, 1st Jan. 218
• p. p.	Jun.? 217

DIADUMENIANUS (May – Jun. 218, jointly with his father Macrinus)

M. Opellius Diadumenianus / M. Opellius Diadumenianus nobilissimus Caesar (Apr. 217) / M. Opellius Antoninus Diadumenianus nobilissimus Caesar (May 217) / Imp. Caesar M. Opellius Antoninus Diadumenianus (218)

• Caesar	Apr. 217

ELAGABALUS (16th May 218 – 11/13th Mar. 222)

M. Varius Avitus / Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus

• trib. pot.	16th May 218; ii–v, annually 10th Dec. 218–21
• cos.	Jun. 218 (suff.); ii, 1st Jan. 219; iii, 1st Jan. 220; iv, 1st Jan. 222
• p. p.	218

SEVERUS ALEXANDER (13th Mar. 222 – 21st Mar. 235)

Bassianus Alexianus / M. Aurelius Alexander nobilissimus Caesar (221) / Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus (222)

• cos.	1st Jan. 222; ii, 1st Jan. 226; iii, 1st Jan. 229

---

[10] Mastino, *Le titolature di Caracalla e Geta* (above, n.9).

- imp. 221?; ii–xiv, annually 13th Mar. 222–35
- trib. pot. 13th? Mar. 222; ii–xiv, annually 10th Dec. 222–34
- p. p. 222

MAXIMINUS (Feb./Mar. 235 – Apr./Jun. 238)

C. Iulius Maximinus / Imp. Caesar C. Iulius Verus Maximinus Augustus (235)

- trib. pot. Feb./Mar. 235; ii–iv, annually 10th Dec. 235–7
- imp. Mar. 235; ii, autumn 235; iii, 236; iv, 236/7; v–vi, 237; vii, 238?
- cos. 1st Jan. 236
- Germanicus Maximus, Sarmaticus Maximus, Dacicus Maximus 236/7

GORDIAN I (?mid/late Mar./late Apr. 238 for 20/22 days)

M. Antonius Gordianus / Imp. Caesar M. Antonius Gordianus Sempronianus Romanus Africanus Augustus (238)

- cos. early under Severus Alexander, ?222 (suff.)

GORDIAN II (jointly with his father Gordian I, ?mid/late Mar./late Apr. 238 for 20/22 days)

M. Antonius Gordianus / Imp. Caesar M. Antonius Gordianus Sempronianus Romanus Africanus Augustus (238)

- cos. early under Severus Alexander (suff.)

BALBINUS (?late Apr. – early Aug. 238)

D. Caelius Calvinus Balbinus / Imp. Caesar D. Caelius Calvinus Balbinus Aug. (238)

- cos. ? (suff.); ii, 1st Jan. 213

PUPIENUS (?late Apr. – early Aug. 238, jointly with Balbinus)

M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus / Imp. Caesar M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus Augustus (238)

- cos. ? (suff.); ii, 1st Jan. 234

GORDIAN III (?early Aug. 238 – late Jan./early Feb. 244)

M. Antonius Gordianus / Imp. Caesar M. Antonius Gordianus Augustus (238)

• Caesar	?late Apr. 238
• trib. pot.	?Aug. 238; ii–vii, annually 10th Dec. 238–43
• imp.	238; ii, spring 239; iii, 240; iv, ?241; v, 241/2; vi, 242; vii, spring 243
• cos.	1st Jan. 239; ii, 1st Jan. 241

PHILIP (late Feb./early Mar. 244 – before 16th Oct. 249)[11]

M. Iulius Philippus / Imp. Caesar M. Iulius Philippus Augustus (244)

• trib. pot.	244; ii–vi, annually 10th Dec. 245–9
• cos.	1st Jan. 245; ii, 1st Jan. 247; iii, 1st Jan. 248
• Carpicus Maximus	End 247?

DECIUS (Sep./Oct. 249 – Jun. 251)

C. Messius Q. Decius Valerinus / Imp. Caesar C. Messius Q. Traianus Decius Augustus (249)

• trib. pot.	Sep. 249; ii–iii, 10th Dec. 249–50; iv, 251?
• cos.	Before 232 (suff.); ii, 1st Jan. 250; iii, 1st Jan. 251

TREBONIANUS GALLUS (May/Jun. 251 – late Jul./early Aug. 253)

C. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus / Imp. Caesar C. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus Augustus (251)

• cos.	Before 250–1 (suff.); ii, 1st Jan. 252
• trib. pot.	Jun. 251; ii–iii, 10th Dec. 251, 252; iv, ?

VOLUSIANUS (late Jun./early Aug. 251 – late Jul./early Aug. 253, jointly with his father Trebonianus Gallus)

C. Vibius Afinius Gallus Veldumnianus Volusianus / C. Vibius Volusianus Caesar (Jun.? 251) / Imp. Caesar C. Vibius Afinius Gallus Veldumnianus Volusianus Augustus (Aug.? 251)

• Caesar	Jun.? 251
• cos.	1st Jan. 252; ii, 1st Jan. 253
• trib. pot.	Aug.? 251; ii–iii, 10th Dec. 251, 252; iv,?

---

[11] W. Eck, 'Zum Zeitpunkt des Wechsels der *tribunicia potestas* des Philippus Arabs und anderer Kaiser', *ZPE* 140 (2002) 257–61 = *AÉpigr* (2002) 59.

AEMILIAN (Jul./Aug. – Sep./Oct. 253, for 88 days)

M. Aemilius Aemilianus / Imp. Caesar M. Aemilius Aemilianus Augustus (253)

• cos.	before 253 (suff.)
• trib. pot.	Jul./Aug. 253

VALERIAN (Aug.? 253 – Jun. 260)

P. Licinius Valerianus / Imp. Caesar P. Licinius Valerianus Augustus (253)

• cos.	before 238 (suff.); ii, 1st Jan. 254; iii, 1st Jan. 255; iv, 1st Jan. 257
• trib. pot.	Sep.? 253; ii–viii, annually ?10th Dec. 254–9
• Germanicus	End 254
• Germanicus Maximus	255; ii, ?; iii, 257

GALLIENUS (?Sep./Oct. 253 – ?Sep. 268)

P. Licinius Egnatius Gallienus / P. Licinius Gallienus nobilissimus Caesar Augustus (Sep./Oct. 253) / Imp. Caesar P. Licinius Egnatius Gallienus Augustus (Oct. 253)

• trib. pot.	?Sep./Oct. 253; ii–xvi, annually 10th Dec. 254–68
• cos.	1st Jan. 254; ii, 1st Jan. 255; iii, 1st Jan. 257; iv, 1st Jan. 261; v, 1st Jan. 262; vi, 1st Jan. 264; vii, 1st Jan. 266
• Germanicus	End 254
• Germanicus Maximus	255
• imp.	253; ii, 255/6; iii, 257; iv, 257/8; v, 257/8; vi–vii, 260; viii–x, 261; xi, ?; xii, 265; xiii–xiv, ?; xv, 268 (highly problematic)
• Parthicus Maximus/ Persicus Maximus	266/7

CLAUDIUS II (Sep./Oct. 268 – Aug. 270)

M. Aurelius Claudius / Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Claudius Augustus (268)

• trib. pot.	Sep./Oct. 268; ii, Dec. 268; iii, Dec. 269
• Germanicus Maximus	268
• cos.	269
• Gothicus Maximus	269
• Parthicus Maximus	270

QUINTILLUS (after 28th Aug. – mid Sep. 270, for 17 days)

M. Aurelius Claudius Quintillus / Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Claudius Quintillus Augustus (270)

AURELIAN (mid Aug./Sep. 270 – autumn 275)

L. Domitius Aurelianus / Imp. Caesar L. Domitius Aurelianus Augustus (270)

• trib. pot.	Aug./Sep. 270; ii, 10th Dec. 270; iii–vi, annually 10th Dec. 271–4
• Germanicus Maximus	270/1
• cos.	1st Jan. 271; ii, 1st Jan. 274; iii, 1st Jan. 275
• Gothicus Maximus	Late 271/2
• Persicus Maximus	272
• Carpicus Maximus	272/3

TACITUS (autumn 275 – mid 276)

M. Claudius Tacitus / Imp. Caesar M. Claudius Tacitus Augustus (275)

• cos.	1st Jan. 273; ii, Sep. 276; iii?, 276
• trib. pot.	?Sep. 275; ii, 10th Dec. 275
• Gothicus Maximus	Summer 276

FLORIANUS (mid/autumn 276, for 88 days)

M. Annius Florianus / Imp. Caesar M. Annius Florianus Augustus (276)

• ?cos.	276

PROBUS (Jun./Jul. 276 – autumn 282)

M. Aurelius Probus / Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Probus Augustus (276)

• trib. pot.	Jun./Jul. 276; ii–vii, annually Jun./Jul. 277–82
• cos.	1st Jan. 277; ii–iii, 1st Jan. 278–9; iv, 1st Jan. 281; v, 1st Jan. 282
• Gothicus	277
• Gothicus Maximus, Germanicus Maximus, Persicus/Parthicus Maximus	By Oct. 279

CARUS (Aug./Sep. 282 – Jul./Aug. 283)

M. Aurelius Carus / Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Carus Augustus (282)

• trib. pot.	Sep.? 282; ii, 1st Jan. 283?
• cos.	?282 or earlier (suff. or ornamenta?); ii, 1st Jan. 283
• Germanicus Maximus	Apr.? 283
• Persicus Maximus	283

CARINUS (spring 283 – spring/summer 285)

M. Aurelius Carinus / M. Aurelius Carinus nobilissimus Caesar (end 282) / Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Carinus Augustus (283)

• trib. pot.	283; ii, 1st Jan. 284; iii, 1st Jan. 285
• cos.	1st Jan. 283; ii, 1st Jan. 284; iii, 1st Jan. 285

NUMERIAN (Jul./Aug. 283 – Nov. 284)

M. Aurelius Numerianus / M. Aurelius Numerianus nobilissimus Caesar (end 282) / Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Numerianus Augustus (283)

• trib. pot.	283; ii, 1st Jan. 284
• cos.	1st Jan. 284

DIOCLETIAN (20th Nov. 284 – 1st May 305)

C. Valerius Diocles / Imp. Caesar C. Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus Augustus (284)

• cos.	284 (suff.); ii, 285 (suff.); iii, 1st Jan. 287; iv, 1st Jan. 290; v, 1st Jan. 293; vi, 1st Jan. 296; vii, 1st Jan. 299; viii, 1st Jan. 303; ix, 1st Jan. 304; x, 1st Jan. 308
• trib. pot.	20th Nov. 284; ii–xxii, annually 10th Dec. 284–305
• imp.	20th Nov. 284; ii–xxi, annually 20th Nov. 285–304
• Augustus Senior	1st May 305 (in retirement)

MAXIMIAN (1st Apr. 286 – 1st May 305; end 306/early 307 – Nov. 308)

Aurelius Valerius Maximianus nobilissimus Caesar (285) / Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus Augustus (1st Apr. 286)

• Caesar	21st Jul. 285
• trib. pot.	1st Apr. 286; ii–viii, annually 10th Dec. 286–92; ix, 1st Mar. 293; x, 10th Dec. 293; xi–xxi, annually 10th Dec. 294–304

• imp.	1st Apr. 286; ii–vii annually 1st Apr. 287–92; viii, 1st Mar. 293; ix, 1st Apr. 293; x–xx, annually 1st Apr. 294–305
• cos.	1st Jan. 287; ii, 1st Jan. 288; iii, 1st Jan. 290; iv, 1st Jan. 293; v, 1st Jan. 297; vi, 1st Jan. 299; vii, 1st Jan. 303; viii, 1st Jan. 304; ix, summer 307
• Augustus senior	1st May 305 (in retirement)

CONSTANTIUS (1st May 305 – 25th Jul. 306)

Iulius? Constantius / M. Flavius Valerius Constantius nobilissimus Caesar (293) / D. N. C. Flavius Valerius Constantius Augustus (305)

• Caesar	1st Mar. 293
• trib. pot.	1st Mar. 293; ii–xiv, annually 10th Dec. 293–305
• Sarmaticus	293
• cos.	1st Jan. 294; ii, 1st Jan. 296; iii, 1st Jan. 300; iv, 1st Jan. 302; v–vi, 1st Jan. 305–6
• Augustus	1st May 305
• imp.	1st May 305; ii, 1st Mar. 306

GALERIUS (1st May 305 – early May 311)

C. Galerius Valerius Maximianus nobilissimus Caesar (293) / D. N. Galerius Valerius Maximianus Augustus (305)

• Caesar	21st Mar. 293
• cos.	1st Jan. 294; ii, 1st Jan. 297; iii, 1st Jan. 300; iv, 1st Jan. 302; v, 1st Jan. 305; vi, 1st Jan. 306; vii, 1st Jan. 307
• trib. pot.	21st May? 293; ii–xiii, annually 10th Dec. 293–304; xiv, 1st May 305; xv–xx, annually 10th Dec. 305–10
• Augustus	1st May 305
• imp.	1st May 305; ii–vii, annually 1st May 306–11

SEVERUS (25th Jul. 306 – Apr. 307)

Flavius Valerius Severus nobilissimus Caesar (305) / D. N. Flavius Valerius Severus Augustus (306)

• Caesar	1st May 305
• trib. pot.	1st May 305; ii–iii, annually 10th Dec. 305–6
• Augustus	Aug. 306
• imp.	306
• cos.	1st Jan. 307

MAXIMINUS DAIA (1st May 310 – summer 313)

Galerius Valerius Maximinus nobilissimus Caesar (305) / D. N. Galerius Valerius Maximinus Augustus (310)

• Caesar	1st May 305
• trib. pot.	1st May 305; ii–viii, annually 10th Dec. 305–12
• cos.	1st Jan. 307; ii, 1st Jan. 311; iii, 1st Jan. 313
• Augustus	1st May? 310
• imp.	310

MAXENTIUS (Apr? 307 – 28th Oct. 312)

M. Valerius Maxentius / Maxentius princeps invictus (306); Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Valerius Maxentius Augustus

• Caesar	28th Oct. 306
• Augustus	Apr.? 307
• trib. pot.	307; ii–vi, annually 10th Dec. 307–11
• cos.	308; ii, 1st Jan. 309; iii, 1st Jan. 310; iv, 1st Jan. 312

CONSTANTINE I (25th Jul. 306 – 22nd May 337)[12]

C. Flavius Valerius Constantinus / M. Flavius Valerius Constantinus nobilissimus Caesar (306) / Imp. Constantinus Invictus Augustus (307) / D. N. Flavius Valerius Constantinus Augustus

• Augustus	25th Jul. 306 (at Eburacum); late summer? 307 (by Maximian)
• Caesar	25th Jul. 306
• trib. pot.	25th Jul. 306; ii–xxxii, annually 10th Dec. 307–36
• imp.	25th Jul. 306; ii, 25th Jul. 307; iii–viii, annually 25th Dec. 308–13; ix–xxxi, annually 25th Jul. 314–36
• cos.	1st Jan. 307 or 309; ii, 1st Jan. 312; iii, 1st Jan. 313; iv, 1st Jan. 315; v, 1st Jan. 319; vi, 1st Jan. 320; vii, 1st Jan. 326; viii, 1st Jan. 329
• Germanicus Maximus	306; ii, 313?, 315; iii, 321?; iv, 328
• Sarmaticus	306
• Sarmaticus Maximus	322; ii, 332/4

---

[12] A. Arnaldi, ‘La successione dei *cognomina devictarum gentium* e le loro iterazioni nella titolatura di Costantino il Grande’, in *Contributi di storia antica in onore di Albino Garzetti* (1976: Istituto di storia antica e scienze ausiliarie: Genoa) 175–202.

• Gothicus	314–15; ii, 324; iii, 332
• Gothicus Maximus	323; ii, 332
• Dacicus Maximus	335
• Britannicus, Carpicus, Arabicus, Medicus, Armeniacus	318

LICINIUS (11th Nov. 308 – 19th Sep. 324)

D. N. Valerius Licinianus Licinius Augustus (308)

• trib. pot.	11th Nov. 308; ii–xvii, annually 10th Dec. 308–23
• Augustus	Nov. 308
• cos.	1st Jan. 309; ii, 1st Jan. 312; iii, 1st Jan. 313; iv, 1st Jan. 315; v, 1st Jan. 318; vi, 1st Jan. 321

CONSTANTINE II (9th Sep. 337 – early Apr. 340)

Flavius Claudius Constantinus / Flavius Claudius Constantinus Iunior nobilissimus Caesar (317) / D. N. Flavius Claudius Constantinus Augustus (337)

• Caesar	1st Mar. 317
• cos.	1st Jan. 320; ii, 1st Jan. 321; iii, 1st Jan. 324; iv, 1st Jan. 329
• Augustus	9th Sep. 337

CONSTANS (9th Sep. 337 – 18th Jan. 350)

Flavius Constans nobilissimus Caesar (333) / D. N. Flavius Iulius Constans Augustus (337)

• Caesar	25th Dec. 333
• Augustus	9th Sep. 337
• cos.	1st Jan. 339; ii, 1st Jan. 342; iii, 1st Jan. 346

CONSTANTIUS II (9th Sep. 337 – 3rd Nov. 361)

Flavius Iulius Constantius nobilissimus Caesar (324) / D. N. Flavius Iulius Constantius Maximus Augustus (337)

• Caesar	8th Nov. 324
• trib. pot.	8th Nov. 324; ii–xiv, annually 10th Dec. 324–36; xv, 9th Sep. 337; xvi–xxxix, 10th Dec. 337–60
• imp.	8th Nov. 324; ii–xxxvi, annually 8th Nov. 325–60

- cos. 1st Jan. 326; ii, 1st Jan. 339; iii, 1st Jan. 342; iv, 1st Jan. 346; v, 1st Jan. 352; vi, 1st Jan. 353; vii, 1st Jan. 354; viii, 1st Jan. 356; ix, 1st Jan. 357; x, 1st Jan. 360
- Augustus 9th Sep. 337

JULIAN (3rd Nov. 361 – 26/7th Jun. 363)

Flavius Iulianus nobilissimus Caesar (355) / Imp. Caesar D. N. Flavius Claudius Iulianus Augustus (360)

- Caesar 6th Nov. 355
- cos. 1st Jan. 356; ii, 1st Jan. 357; iii, 1st Jan. 360; iv, 1st Jan. 363
- Augustus 3rd Nov. 361
- pont. max. 361

JOVIAN (27th Jun. 363 – 17th Feb. 364)

D. N. Flavius Iovianus Augustus

- cos. 1st Jan. 364

VALENTINIAN I (25/6th Feb. 364 – 17th Nov. 375)

D. N. Flavius Valentinianus Augustus

- trib. pot. 25th Feb. 364; ii–xii, annually 10th Dec. 364–74
- imp. 25th Feb. 364; ii–xii, annually 25th Feb. 365–75
- cos. 1st Jan. 365; ii, 1st Jan. 368; iii, 1st Jan. 370; iv, 1st Jan. 373

VALENS (28th Mar. 364 – 9th Aug. 378)

Imp. Caesar D. N. Flavius Valens Augustus

- trib. pot. 28th Mar. 364; ii–xv annually 10th Dec. 364–77
- imp. 28th Mar. 364; ii–xv, annually 28th Mar. 365–78
- cos. 1st Jan. 365; ii, 1st Jan. 368; iii, 1st Jan. 370; iv, 1st Jan. 373; v, 1st Jan. 376; vi, 1st Jan. 378
- Maximus Augustus 17th Nov. 375

GRATIAN (24th Aug. 367 – 25th Aug. 383)

Imp. Caesar D. N. Flavius Gratianus Augustus

- cos. 1st Jan. 366; ii, 1st Jan. 371; iii, 1st Jan. 374; iv, 1st Jan. 377; v, 1st Jan. 380; vi, 1st Jan. 388
- trib. pot. 24th Aug. 367; ii–xvii, annually 10th Dec. 367–82
- imp. 24th Aug. 367; ii–xvii, annually 24th Aug. 368–83

VALENTINIAN II (22nd Nov. 375 – 15th May 392)

D. N. Flavius Valentinianus Iunior Augustus

- cos. 1st Jan. 376; ii, 1st Jan. 378; iii, 1st Jan. 387; iv, 1st Jan. 390

THEODOSIUS I (19th Jan. 379 – 17th Jan. 395)

D. N. Flavius Theodosius Augustus

- cos. 1st Jan. 380; ii, 1st Jan. 388; iii, 1st Jan. 393

HONORIUS (23rd Jan. 393 – 15th Aug. 423) [West, from Jan. 395]

D. N. Flavius Honorius Augustus

- nob. puer 386
- Augustus 23rd Jan. 393
- cos. 386; ii, 394; iii, 396; iv, 398; v, 402; vi, 404; vii, 407; viii, 409; ix, 411/12; x, 415; xi, 417; xii, 418; xiii 422

CONSTANTIUS III (8th Feb. 421 – 2nd Sep. 421) [co-emperor, West]

D. N. Flavius Constantius Augustus

- Augustus 8th Feb. 421
- cos. 414; ii, 417; iii, 420

ARCADIUS (19th Jan. 383 – 1st May 408) [East, from Jan. 395]

D. N. Flavius Arcadius Augustus

- Augustus 19th Jan. 383
- cos. 385; ii, 392; iii, 394; iv, 402; v, 406

THEODOSIUS II (May 408 – 28th Jul. 450) [East]

D. N. Flavius Theodosius Augustus

- Augustus 10th Jan. 402
- cos. 403; ii, 407; iii, 409; iv, 411; v, 412; vi, 415; vii, 416; viii, 418; ix, 420; x, 422; xi, 425; xii, 426; xiii, 430; xiv, 433; xv, 435; xvi, 438; xvii, 439; xviii, 444

VALENTINIAN III (23rd Oct. 425 – 16th Mar. 455) [West]

D. N. Flavius Placidus Valentinianus

- Caesar 23rd Oct. 424
- Augustus 23rd Oct. 425
- cos. 425; ii, 426; iii, 430; iv, 435; v, 440; vi, 445; vii, 450; viii, 455

MARCIAN (25th Aug. 450 – 27th Jan. 457) [East]

D. N. Flavius Marcianus Augustus

- Augustus 25th Aug. 450
- cos. 451

LEO I (7th Feb. 457 – 18th Jan. 474) [East]

D. N. Flavius Novus Leo Augustus

- Augustus 7th Feb. 457
- cos. 458; ii, 462; iii, 466; iv, 471; v, 473

MAJORIAN (28th Dec. 457 – 2nd Aug. 461) [West]

D. N. Flavius Iulius Valerius Maiorianus Augustus

- Caesar 1st Apr. 457
- Augustus 28th Dec. 457
- cos. 458

LIBIUS SEVERUS (19th Nov. 461 – 14th Nov. 465) [West]

D. N. Libius Severus Augustus

- Augustus 19th Nov. 461
- cos. 462

PROCOPIUS ANTHEMIUS (12th Apr. 467 – 11th Jul. 472) [West]

D. N. Procopius Anthemius Augustus

- Caesar 25th Mar. 467
- Augustus 12th Apr. 467
- cos. 455; ii, 468

OLYBRIUS (Apr. – 2nd Nov. 472) [West]

D. N. Flavius Anicius Olybrius Augustus

- Augustus ?Apr. 472
- cos. 464

GLYCERIUS (3rd Mar. 473 – ?Jun. 474) [West]

D. N. Glycerius Augustus

- Bishop of Salona following his overthrow by Julius Nepos in 474

JULIUS NEPOS (19th/24th Jun. 474 – 28th Aug. 475) [West]

D. N. Julius Nepos Augustus

- Augustus 19th/24th Jun. 474
- Murdered 9th May 480

ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS (31st Oct. 475 – Nov. 476) [West]

D. N. Romulus Augustus/Augustulus

- Augustus 31st Oct. 475

LEO II (Jan. – Nov. 474) [East]

D. N. Flavius Leo Iunior Augustus

- Caesar Oct. 473
- Augustus 1st/18th Jan. 474
- cos. 474

ZENO (9th Feb. 474 – 9th Apr. 491) [East]

D. N. Flavius Zeno Augustus

- cos. 469; ii, 475; iii, 479

ANASTASIUS (11th Apr. 491 – 9th Jul. 518) [East]

D. N. Flavius Anastasius Augustus ‘Dicorus’

- cos. 492; ii, 497; iii, 507

JUSTIN (10th Jul. 518 – 1st Aug. 427) [East]

D. N. Flavius Justinus

- cos 519; ii, 524

JUSTINIAN I (1st Apr. 527 – 15th Nov. 565) [co-emperor, then sole emperor from 1st Aug. 527; East]

D. N. Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Iustinianus

- cos. 521; ii, 528; iii, 533; iv, 534

Index locorum

AÉpigr
  - (1903) 256, 215
  - (1907) 184, 316
  - (1911) 212, 418
  - (1922) 25, 235
  - (1922) 101, 68
  - (1925) 91, 100
  - (1931) 112, 291
  - (1951) 131, 210
  - (1952) 165, 126
  - (1954) 184, 264
  - (1959) 254, 417
  - (1967) 86d, 94
  - (1967) 549, 208
  - (1971) 475, 160
  - (1972) 174, 145
  - (1973) 137, 1
  - (1975) 135, 448
  - (1975) 139, 419
  - (1975) 411a, 243
  - (1976) 144, 32
  - (1976) 430, 423
  - (1976) 698, 277
  - (1976) 699, 276
  - (1976) 700, 276
  - (1976) 701, 280
  - (1976) 735, 295
  - (1979) 645, 280
  - (1980) 900, 260
  - (1981) 210, 218
  - (1985) 288, 113
  - (1986) 327, 245
  - (1986) 333, 6, 10, 170, 299
  - (1987) 106, 213
  - (1987) 203, 420
  - (1989) 247, 309
  - (1990) 163, 65
  - (1990) 211, 245
  - (1992) 278d, 92
  - (1992) 1127, 180–1
  - (1993) 477, 43
  - (1994) 1690, 191
  - (1995) 246a–b, 204
  - (1996) 424a–b, 24–9
  - (1997) 310, 48
  - (1998) 1333, 171
  - (1999) 453, 11
  - (1999) 1197, 157
  - (2000) 1195, 166
  - (2001) 795, 18
  - (2001) 815, 48
  - (2001) 853–4, 310
  - (2003) 1690, 171
  - (2005) 338, 2
  - (2006) 1011, 207

August.
  - *C. acad.* I.2, 152
  - *De cura pro mortuis gerenda* 18.22, 238

BMCRE
  - *Augustus*
    - 82, 125
    - 92, 126
    - 335, 126
  - *Claudius*
    - 29, 126

Cicero *Att.* 2.8.2, 2

CIL
  - I^2 21, 160
  - I^2 673, 410
  - I^2 698, 328
  - I^2 736–7, 360
  - I^2 911, 197
  - I^2 1632, 40
  - I^2 1633, 39, 40
  - I^2 3031a, 414
  - II 474, 438
  - II 3052, 129
  - II 4114, 319
  - II 6278, 223
  - II^2/5 244, 320
  - II^2/5 1110, 245
  - II^2/7 195b, 245
  - II^2/7 727a, 245
  - III 1704, 364

CIL (*cont.*)
- III 6813, 227
- IV 879, 207
- IV 1293, 114
- IV 1852, 113
- IV 2152, 114
- IV 2183, 115
- IV 3340, 154–5, 77
- IV 3442, 106
- IV 3494, 105
- IV 3525, 114
- IV 3884, 13–15
- IV 4528, 115
- IV 4888–9, 115
- IV 5380, 115
- IV 5788, 94
- IV 7535, 105
- IV 8203–4, 115
- IV 9108–9, 115
- IV 9131, 115
- IV 9226, 111
- IV 9919, 15
- IV 10236a, 113
- IV 10237, 112, 113
- IV 10238a, 112
- IV 10488–9, 18
- V 875, 317
- V 1863, 216–17
- V 8003, 160
- VI 115, 386
- VI 353, 370
- VI 472, 401
- VI 630, 328, 411
- VI 920, 126
- VI 1033, 124
- VI 1035, 314
- VI 1313–14, 360
- VI 1377, 368
- VI 1782, 319
- VI 1783, 319
- VI 1975, 288
- VI 11617, 380
- VI 2889, 396
- VI 9011, 288
- VI 9556, 293
- VI 21417, 377
- VI 23052, 376
- VI 32326, 401
- VI 33976, 131–2, 288
- VI 36337, 292
- VI 36809a–b, 427
- VI 40803, 447
- VI 41430, 243
- VI 968*, 389
- VI/V.1*f, 383
- VII 67, 378
- VII 1071, 373
- VIII 2391, 150
- VIII 2557, 314–17
- VIII 2638, 284
- VIII 6960, 320
- VIII 8630, 248
- VIII 10992, 278
- VIII 17829, 313
- VIII 17891, 147
- VIII 17896, 299
- VIII 18050, 314–17
- VIII 19929, 294
- VIII 20600, 246
- VIII 20905, 235
- VIII 26471, 425
- IX 371, 291
- IX 2845–6, 136
- X 774, 99
- X 786, 63
- X 788–9, 29
- X 790–1, 29
- X 792, 29
- X 805, 45
- X 810–11, 43
- X 813, 29
- X 814, 29
- X 818, 288–9
- X 821, 19
- X 827, 70
- X 844, 39, 40
- X 852, 40
- X 1057, 18
- X 1406, 45
- X 1425, 42
- X 1426, 31, 34–7
- X 1427, 32
- X 1428, 31
- X 1429, 31
- X 1430, 31
- X 1431–2, 32
- X 1489, 11
- X 1572–3, 227
- X 1692, 46–8
- X 1781, 18
- X 1782, 11
- X 1783, 11
- X 1784, 6–9
- X 1899, 101
- X 2975, 57
- X 3699, 22

CIL (*cont.*)
  X 3774, 410
  X 3785, 17
  X 5779, 214
  X 5853, 219, 226
  X 6314, 88
  X 6806, 105
  X 6838, 160
  X 6849, 217
  X 6939, 49
  X 6939–40, 3
  X 7296, 293
  X 8042, 41a, 86
  X 8058, 18, 103
  X 8067, 2, 104
  X 8067, 5a–h, 104
  X 8071, 48, 289
  X 43*, 397
  XI 575, 17
  XI 970, 169
  XI 1056, 347
  XI 4090, 396
  XI 4126, 17
  XI 4170, 401
  XI 5283, 413
  XI 6106, 215
  XI 6119, 396
  XI 6123, 291
  XI 30*, 383
  XII 1845, 154
  XII 3488, 320
  XII 4581, 310
  XIII 5708, 287
  XIII 10023, 1, 202
  XIV 244, 417
  XIV 353, 226
  XIV 371, 288
  XIV 375, 414
  XIV 376, 420
  XIV 377, 419
  XIV 385, 289
  XIV 2071, 440–8
  XIV 3014, 391
  XIV 3605–8, 227
  XIV 3612, 227
  XIV 4534, 417
  XIV 4657, 418
  XIV 278*, 391
  XV 3721, 195
  XV 7177, 249
  XV 7326, 124
  XV suppl. 146, 189
  XVI 16, 173
  XVI 48, 174–7
  XVII.4 1, 160
  XVII/2 294, 160
  XVII/4 55, 159
CLE
  194, 17
  891, 216–17
Cod. Iust. 1.24.3–4, 151
Cod. Theod.
  9.40.2, 249
  16.10.8, 323
  16.10.15, 323
  16.10.19.1, 323
  16.10.19.2, 323

Dig.
  19.1.6.4, 196
  33.7, 83
  50.10, 44

EphEp
  V 696, 147
  VII 1090, 373
  VIII 306, 142

Hippolytus *Philosophumena* 9.12, 229

IAph2007 8.32, 222
ICERV
  268, 405
  293, 236
ICUR
  II 4164, 234
  II 4186, 238
  II 4246, 233
  II 6096, 236
  II 6130, 234
  III 6963, 242
  IV 12339, 236
  V 12890–1, 231
  V 12895, 231
  V 12914, 240
  V 12967, 239
  V 12980, 240
  V 13092.3, 240
  VI 15679, 245
  VI 16469, 230
  IX 25046, 230
  X 26350, 240
  X 26560, 231
IG
  XIV 297, 293
  XIV 757, 11
  XIV 2012, 131–2, 288
IGLSyr. III 1131 1135–6, 215

IGRR
- I 350–2, 131–2
- I 450, 11
- I 452, 11
- IV 33, 223

IGUR III 1336, 131–2
ILAfr 30, 264
ILAlg II/3 8299, 235
ILBulg 228, 243
ILCV
- 1103, 235
- 1454, 249
- 1761, 405
- 2035, 243
- 3029a, 63
- 3483, 236

ILLRP
- 367–8, 360
- 460a, 160
- 518, 18
- 634a, 310
- 645, 40
- 646, 39, 40
- 706, 410
- 723a, 17
- 1026, 197

ILMN 637, 389
ILN
- III 168, 319
- V.1 34, 154

ILS
- 35, 360
- 81, 126
- 130, 438
- 157, 401
- 216, 126
- 274, 401
- 425, 124
- 426, 314
- 434, 313
- 518, 18
- 896, 31, 34–7
- 896a, 31
- 1025, 227
- 1038, 227
- 1055, 147
- 1140, 319
- 1374, 317
- 1699, 411
- 2001, 174–7
- 2354, 314–17
- 2937, 150
- 2947, 319
- 2948, 319
- 3064, 17
- 3071, 214
- 3785, 43
- 4162, 289
- 5145, 13–15
- 5177, 131–2, 288
- 5198, 29
- 5398a, 19
- 5527, 42
- 5627, 40
- 5636, 39, 40
- 5801, 160
- 5886, 216–17
- 5919, 11
- 6146a, 419
- 6147, 414
- 6148, 226
- 6271, 219, 226
- 6326, 114
- 6334, 6–9
- 6368, 29
- 6384, 70
- 6443a, 114
- 6444, 114
- 6460, 11
- 6920, 142
- 7063, 304
- 7216, 169
- 7679, 293
- 7737, 288
- 7845, 53
- 8206, 17
- 8628, 196
- 8630, 104
- 8687, 124
- 9250, 427

ILTun 1392, 425
IPT
- 5, 261
- 16, 262
- 18, 260
- 21, 256
- 22, 262
- 24a, 257–8
- 25, 260
- 27, 253
- 76, 261

IRT2009
- 55, 260
- 231, 261
- 246, 261
- 268, 261

IRT2009 (*cont.*)
  269, 255
  273, 255
  294, 260
  300, 255
  301, 254
  308, 255
  318, 253, 255
  319, 256
  321, 257–8
  324, 259
  330–1, 255
  341, 255
  342, 255
  346, 255
  347, 255
  481, 262
  520, 254
  521, 255
  530a/b, 192
  567, 260
  852, 265
  854, 264
  900, 271
  914, 278
  917, 277
  918, 282
  919, 284
  920, 277

Livy 40.42.13, 4

P. Oxy.
  2950, 120
  3616, 119
  4481, 120
P. Paris 69, 119
Paulus *Sent.* 5.25.6, 74
Petron. *Sat.*
  58, 309
  71, 286
Plin. *HN*
  7.43.139–41, 383
  29.8.17, 306
  34.21.99, 298
Polybius 3.21–6, 224
Pomponius Mela 1.35, 250
Prudent. *C. Symm.* 1.499–505, 323
Psalm 42.4, 243

RDGE 26, 223
RGE 83, 223
RIB
  I 121, 378
  I 1065, 304
  I 1935, 120
  I 2104, 373
  II 2401.1, 174–7
  II 2445, 6, 196
  II/3 2422.33, 183
RIC
  I 42b, 126
  I 358, 126
  I 362, 125
RICG XV 19, 291

Sall. *Iug.* 79, 265
SEG IX 802, 262
Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 3.12, 287
SIG^3 764, 223
Strabo *Geography*
  3.5.6, 265
  4.5.3, 224
  17.30.20, 250
Suet,
  De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus 17.4, 390
  Dom. 13, 114
  Dom. 23, 318
Suppl It 22 no. 58, 152

Tac. *Ann.* 15.33, 3
TH 76–7
Thylander
  A16, 140
  A17, 140
  A38, 140
  A45–6, 430
  A232, 430
TPSulp 22, 77–81

Verg. *Aen.* 1.50, 211

W. Chrest. 41, 119

General index

abbreviations. *See* inscriptions
Abda, imperial slave, 87, 88
acclamations, 13, 113, 151, 210, 280
Acilius Felix, P., 386
acrostics, 281, 284
actors, 29, 37, 113
Adeodatus, *fossor*, 236
Adria, 61
Aebutius Thales, L., craftsman, 196
Aelius Lamia, L., *procos.*, 262
Aelius Taurus, P., 288
Aelius Tryphonus, P., 141
Aemilia Cantria, 394
Aemilia Maiorica, 140, 141
Aemilius Celer, *scriptor*, 14, 15
Aemilius Tutor, ?L., 142
Aeneas, at Pompeii, 116
agape, 246, 248
Agape, 208
age-rounding, 53, 63
Agrippa Postumus, 88
Agrippa, M., 155, 438
Agustín, Antonio, 364, 366, 390
Aldrovandi, Ulisse, 385
Alexander the Great, 173
Alexander, athlete, 106
Alexander, bishop of Tipasa, 235
Alexander, quarry-worker, 191
Alexandria, 120, 123
allegory, 208, 210
Alleius Nigidius Maius, Cn., 13
Alpinius Clemens, L., *curator r.p.*, 444, 447
altars, 17, 23, 41, 67, 156, 182, 183, 217, 253, 255, 259, 265, 276, 280, 295, 320, 323, 328, 373, 375, 380, 386, 427
  Christian, 243, 325
  funerary, 32, 33, 62, 131, 132, 143, 144, 287, 288, 295, 320, 380, 419
Altava, 232
Amalfi, 321
amicus/*amator*/*amatrix pauperum*, 235
Ammaedara, 263
Ammon, 261
amphorae, 83, 89–91, 186
  painted inscriptions, 94, 193–6, 198
  reused, 89
Ampurias, glass flask, 110
Anastasia, 234
anchor-stocks, 178
Ancyra, 299, 303
Anda, quarry-worker, 191
Anicius Faustus, Q., legate, 279
Annia Philusa, 320
anniculi probatio, 77
Annidia Secunda, 310
Annius Adiectus, freedman, 11
Annius Libo, M., *cos.*, 189
Annius of Viterbo, 383
Annobal Rufus, 256, 257–8
Ansius Epaphroditus, L., craftsman, 98
Antioch, Pisidian, 227, 303
Antium, 114
Antoninus Pius, emperor, 192, 215
Antonius Agathias, M., 140, 141
Antonius C.(?), M., magistrate at Nuceria, 48
Antonius Iustus, M., 382
Antonius, L., 212
Antonius Pius, M., 140, 141
Antonius Plebianus, L., trader, 195
Antonius Pothinus, M., freedman, 382
Aphrodisias, 222, 333
Apisa Maius, 165
Apollonia, 303
Aquileia, 234, 446
  town walls, 321
Aquilius Aper, civic patron, 245
Aquilius Nestorius, civic patron, 245
Arabia, 163, 167, 302
Arae Philaenorum, 264
Aramaic, 302, 304
Arcadius, emperor, 46
Arelate (Arles)
  clipeus virtutis, 126
  epitaphs, 230, 291, 359
Arezzo, 96, 97
Arretine ware. *See* pottery: *terra sigillata*

art, 117, 323, 432
  Christianity, 208
  erasures, 124
  glass flasks, 108–11
  inscriptions, 104–11, 207–11
  mosaics, 106, 151, 211
    Christian, 235
    cosmology, 208
    epitaphs, 207
    Lullingstone, 210
    Magerius (Smirat), 151, 208
    New Comedy, 105
    Umbricius Scaurus' *garum*, 92
    Virgil and Muses, 207
  wall paintings, 105, 116, 207, 211
    Pompeii's forum, 121
Articuleianus, M., aedile, 104
artists' signatures, 95, 105, 211
Arval brethren, 182, 322, 446
Asclepias, *s.c.*, 225
ash-chests, 129, 218, 266, 292, 321, 382, 384, 432
  Henry Blundell collection, 384, 394, 397
Asinius Gallus, C., *quindecimvir*, 318
Atalaric, king, 206
athletes, 3, 106–8
Attilius, M., gladiator, 112
Attius Apronianus, C., soldier, 396
Attius Braetianus, quaestor, 217
Augustales, 30
  imitating town councils, 20–9, 52
  Liternum, 22, 310
  meeting-places, 23, 27, 43
  Misenum, 23–9, 43, 226
  Praeneste, 391
  Puteoli, 11
  second *ordo*, 21
Augustan era
  epigraphic culture, 34, 37, 42, 45, 53, 56, 134, 155, 162, 253
  inscriptions on coins, 125
Augustine, St, 238
Augustus, emperor, 162, 256, 258, 259, 304, 329, 356, 398, 400, 407
  benefactor, 154
  clipeus virtutis, 126
  equestrian statue, 125
  letter to Samos, 222
  reforms of senate, 123
  temple at Vienna, 154
Aulius Secundus, M., 53
Aurelian, emperor, 313
Aurelius Alexander, athlete, 107
Aurelius Aurelianus, T., cavalry prefect, 295
Aurelius Aurelianus, T., child, 207
Aurelius Dionysodorus, secretary, 120
Aurelius Helix, athlete, 107
Aurelius Leontas, nome *strategos*, 119
Aurelius Nicepor, M., freedman, 411
Aurelius Pylades, L., *pantomimus*, 37
Avidius Quintianus, Q., centurion, 282
Avila, town walls, 321

B(V)enerosus, 236
Ba'al Hammon, 260, 261
Baetica, 168
  honours Lucia Avircia Aciliana, 142
  olive oil *amphorae*, 90, 193
  senatorial decree concerning Piso, 170, 221, 435
Baiae, 1
  baths at, 2, 3
  glass flasks, 108–11
  nymphaeum, 100
  villa of Calpurnius Piso, 100
Balbinus, emperor, 314
Baldock, 183
bankers, 75, 76
Barates, *Palmyrenus*, 305
Barberini, cardinal Francesco, 392
barrels, 83, 90, 202
Bath, curse tablets, 181, 308
Bay of Naples, 1–116
  epigraphic corpora, 338
  epigraphic culture, 116
  links to Rome, 1–3, 48
Belenius Verus, *plumbarius*, 204
Bettinianos, secretary, 3
bilingualism, 11, 66, 109, 165, 167, 171, 218, 233, 252, 253, 255–62, 266, 293, 300, 303, 304–6, 307
Biondo, Flavio, 363
Bir ed-Dreder, cemetery, 274
Bir Soltane, 264
Bir Umm el-Garanigh, 264
birth notices, 123
Blatobulgium (Birrens), 375
Blundell, Henry, 384, 394, 397
Boccaccio, 363
Boissard, Jean-Jacques, 383
Boncarth, 260
Boscoreale
  villa of Fannius Synistor, 102
  villa of N. Popidius Florus, 68
  villa Regina, 102
Boscotrecase, villa, 88

boundary-markers. *See* inscriptions
Bracciolini, Poggio, 362, 363
branding, 202, 249
bread-stamps, 102, 103
brick-stamps, 83, 84, 85–9, 101, 186, 187–90, 206, 397, 399
Briord, 291
Brittius Eros, L. (seal-stamp), 102
Bu Njem, 252, 274–85
  baths, 281, 284
  ostraka, 118, 275
  religion at, 276–8, 282, 284
bucket, 98
Burgundy, 405

Caecilius Aphrodisius, L. (seal-stamp), 102
Caecilius Iucundus, L., banker, 75, 94
Caecilius Metellus, L., 383
Caecilius Victorinus, Q., 295
Caecina Severus, A., *procos.*, 263
Caelestis, 261
Caelius Secundus, C., praetorian, 60
Caesarea, 3
Caesarea Maritima, 160
Caesarea Mauretania (Cherchel), 129, 324
Caesarina Norba, *colonia*, 201
Cagliari (Sardinia), 178, 313
Caianus, 236
Calatoria Themis, 76
Cales, 12
Callistus, deacon, 229
Calpurnius Piso, Cn., *cos.* 7 BC, 254
  senatorial decree, 170, 221, 311, 435
Calpurnius Piso, L., 100
Caninius Gallus, L., *procos.*, 255
Canusium, 291, 350
Capreae. *See* Capri
Capri
  artist's signature, 105
  tile-stamps, 87
  villas, 2
Capua, 227, 410
  altar to Jupiter, 17
  gladiators, 112
  tile-stamps, 87
Caracalla, emperor, 100, 124, 171, 203, 278, 303, 313–17
Cariatia Ressa, 183
Carpi, cardinal Rodolfo Pio da, 367, 390, 392, 397
Carre (Syria), 60
Carthage, 254, 264
  treaty with Rome, 224
Cartilius Poplicola, C., *duovir*, 310
Cassia Victoria, 43
Castellum Dimmidi, 281
Castricius Celer, A., 80
Castricius Isochrysus, A., 80
catacombs, 110, 229–30, 232, 236, 237, 334. *See also* Rome: catacombs
  S. Ilario *ad bivium*, 213
  St Marcellinus and St Peter, 208
Caudium, 227
Celer, slave, 103
Celerinius Augendus, M., cavalry prefect, 295
cella vinaria, 95, 102
centenaria. See gsur
centurions, 284
Cereatae Marianae (Casamari), 214
Cerrinius Vatia, M., 15
Cesi, Cardinal Federico, 385
Chabassière, 383
Chester, town walls, 321
children, 52, 59, 77, 131–2, 207, 231, 288, 292
chi–rho, 63, 232, 244, 245, 246, 249, 268, 320, 407
chirograph, 73, 81
Chius, 113
Christianity, 319, 323–5. *See also* catacombs
  art, 63, 208, 231, 240, 242
  attitude to death, 62, 231, 268, 398
  baptism, 234, 235, 414
  basilica burials, 237
  epigraphic corpora, 333, 343–4, 345
  epigraphic culture, 72, 228–50, 360
  epitaphs, 62–4, 110, 213, 229–35, 246, 268, 405, 434
  graffiti, 213, 238–42
  martyr-cult, 236–42, 246–8, 249, 423
  slave-collars, 249
  tile-stamps, 245
Cipius Polybius, P., craftsman, 98
cippus, 18, 19, 57, 129, 380, 431
citizenship, 11, 28, 53, 76, 82, 132, 134, 144, 176, 177, 253, 265, 266, 302, 412
civitas Igaeditanorum, 144
Claudia Flora, 389
Claudia Florentia Secundina, 293
Claudius Amphio, Ti. (seal-stamp), 102
Claudius Aurelius Reginus, child, 231
Claudius Candidus, Ti., *procos.*, 319
Claudius Fortunatus, Ti., imperial freedman, 411
Claudius Fronto, M., 368
Claudius Fuffecius, 389
Claudius Maximus, Ti., cavalryman, 132

Claudius Thryphus, Tib., imperial slave, 389
Claudius, emperor, 14, 192, 259, 402, 411, 423
  arch at Rome, 126
  road-building, 160
Claudius, P., aedile, 160
Clodius Hermes, M., 231
Clovis, king, 291
Clusium, 234
Cluvius, N., 227
coactor argentarius. See bankers
Cocceius Daphnus, M., 138–41
coins, 83, 117, 125, 206, 273, 311, 356, 407, 432
  erasures, 124
  inscriptions on, 125
  monumenta, 125
Cola di Rienzo, 363
collectors, 364, 366, 367, 384, 385, 393, 394, 397
collegia, 225, 402
  burials, 230
  imitating town councils, 20–9, 169
collyrium stamp. *See* oculist stamps
Cologne, 318
  glass flask, 108
Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium. *See* Cologne
columbaria, 129, 135, 376–8, 432
columellae, 54–62, 135, 145
Cominius Abascantus, Q., *augustalis*, 28, 226
Cominius Heres, M., 112
Cominius Primus, L., 76
Cominius Silvanus, 140, 141
Commagene, 215
Commodus, emperor, 157, 163, 223, 312, 318, 408
compitalia, 68
Constantine I, emperor, 52, 66, 165, 232, 239, 244, 249, 323
  honoured in Puteoli and Neapolis, 38
Constantine II, emperor, 244
Constantine, Caesar, 165
Constantius Caesar, 165
Constantius, emperor, 212
consular dates, 23, 53, 63, 70, 77, 85, 88, 104, 174, 177, 189, 190, 198, 214, 231, 248, 316, 317, 400, 405, 407, 418, 419, 427
  amphorae, 195
  brick-stamps, 188
  quarry-marks, 191
  tessera nummularia, 197
  weights and measures, 196
Coranus Tuscus, C., aedile, 48
Coria, town walls, 321
Cornelia Chelido, 98
Cornelius Orfitus, Ser., *procos.*, 255
Cos, wine, 94
Cossonius Gallus, L., *procos.*, 227
Cresconius, bishop of Cuicul, 235
Creunus, gladiator, 113
Criscentia, 66
Crispinus, presbyter, 236
Crispus, Caesar, 165, 244, 310
Critonia Rufilla, freedwoman, 292
Critonius Felix, L., freedman, 292
Crussol, 291
Cuicul (Djemila), 244, 310
Cumae, 1, 3, 94, 101
  album of *dendrophori*, 22
  games, 12
  municipal decrees, 5
  Oscan inscription, 4
  tilestamps, 87
  use of Latin, 4
curse-tablets, 116, 179–81, 299, 308
cursus inscriptions, 37, 145, 146, 150, 227
cursus publicus, 168
Curtius Crispinus, *eques*, 8
Cuspius Pansa, C., 29
Cyrene, 163, 264
Cyriac of Ancona, 347, 363

Dama, slave, 88
Damasus, pope, 236, 423
damnatio memoriae. See inscriptions, erasures
Danube, river, 160
Decebalus, Dacian king, 134
Decentius Caesar, 165
decrees. *See* inscriptions
decreto decurionum, 10, 29, 148
defixiones. See inscriptions: curse-tablets
demography, 52, 54, 127
dendrophori, at Cumae, 22
depositus, 62, 231
descriptum et recognitum, 174
Dessau, H., 444
devotus numini maiestatique eius, 422
dextrarum iunctio, 134
Diadumenianus, emperor, 314
Dicidia Magaris, 77
Didyma, 299
Diocletian, emperor, 120, 212, 260, 264, 273, 320
  provincial reforms, 38, 151, 264
Dioscourides of Samos, 105
diplomas, 82, 172–7, 224, 409
  corpora, 342

diptychs, 73, 81
dis manibus, 61, 64, 131, 140, 142, 231, 232, 233, 293, 320, 357, 389, 394, 421, 423
Docimium marble quarry, 191, 292
dolia, 83, 95, 102, 186, 193
dominus, 88, 187
Domitian, emperor, 100, 114, 132, 134, 224, 227, 264, 312, 318, 329, 408
  celebrated at Puteoli, 1
Domitius Ahenobarbus, Cn., *procos.*, 162
Domitius Calvinus, Cn., 89
Dougga (Thugga), 425
  arch of Septimius Severus, 427

Ebreus, 64
economic affairs, 4, 24, 73, 75, 76, 82–104, 115, 167, 168, 171, 172, 196, 197, 207
Einsiedeln itinerary. *See* epigraphic manuscripts: *Codex Einsiedlensis*
Elagabalus, emperor, 280
  erased, 281, 313, 314
Emerita (Mérida), 155
  epitaphs, 144
  glass flask, 110
  granite, 431
  mosaic cosmology, 208
  theatre, 438
  town walls, 321
emperors, 278, 299, 311, 445
  building-work, 45, 154, 204, 215, 217
  imperial quarries, 192
  imperial titles, 49, 51, 162, 167, 192, 203, 212, 244, 256, 259, 280, 313, 314, 316, 318, 407, 422, 426
  names in building-inscriptions, 46, 155, 156, 259, 279, 280
  names on milestones, 49, 151, 162–6
  property ownership, 60, 100, 171, 303
En Ngila cemetery, 268
Ephesus, 171, 307
epigraphic culture
  Augustan era, 34, 37, 42, 45, 53, 56, 155, 162, 253
  changes over time, 5, 37, 45, 48, 61, 62, 72, 85, 95, 116, 143, 144, 147–52, 177, 220, 228, 258–60, 265–8
  Christianity, 62–4, 72, 111, 208, 228–50, 268, 360
  high empire, 37, 62, 67, 85, 143, 147, 155, 167, 174, 181, 187, 210
  Judaism, 62, 64–6, 111
  late antiquity, 5, 37, 46, 49, 62–6, 72, 85, 90, 100, 151, 158–9, 170, 210, 211
    brick-stamps, 206
    building-inscriptions, 225
    milestones, 163–6, 167
    slave-collars, 198
    Tripolitania, 260
    writing-tablets, 172
  mediaeval, 206, 213, 240, 241
  multilingualism, 3, 251, 307
  regional patterns, 54–62, 129–30, 143, 144–5, 218, 246, 248, 250–85, 413, 423–7, 435
  Republic, 37, 39, 85, 88, 154, 160, 170, 197, 206
  Tripolitania, 250–85
epigraphic habit, 111, 113
epigraphic manuscripts, 287, 291, 327, 350, 360–6, 368, 386, 392
  Codex Einsiedlensis, 362
epigraphic publication, 327–46, 366–70
  CIL, 327–31, 334, 336–42, 346–50, 360–2, 383, 393, 397
  editorial conventions, 350–5
  EpiDoc, 333
  online, 332–4
epigraphy, definition, 117–27
epitaphs. *See* inscriptions
equestrians, 8, 29, 37, 88, 167, 228, 260, 311, 408, 422
etrog, 64
euergetism, 39, 42, 43, 88, 101, 151, 154, 206, 243
Eugenius, usurper, 47, 319
Eumachia, 29, 43
Euphrosyne, 394
Europa, 210
ex indulgentia, 101
ex officina, 100

Fabius Hermogenes, 226
Fabius Pasiphilus, senator, 46
Fabius Ululitremulus, M., 115
Fabretti, Raffaello, 366, 369, 440, 444–7
Fadia Maxima, 137
Faenius Rufus, praetorian prefect, 88
families, 9, 14, 28, 29, 33, 54, 130, 134, 136, 141, 176, 227, 271, 320, 414
Fanum Fortunae, 215
Faustilla, 115
Felicianus, Felix, 383
Felix, archdeacon, 249
felix pie zesaes cum tuis, 110
Ferentinum, 219, 226
Fiano, Francesco da, 363

figlinae, 187
Filocalus, Furius Dionysius, 236, 423
fistulae. *See* inscriptions: water-pipes
Flavia Thesylgum, 272
Flavian municipal charters in Spain, 6, 317
Flavius Proculus Iaton, P., 265
Flavius Proculus, C., 266
Flavius Pudens Pomponianus, P., civic patron, 150
Flavius Vibianus, T., *eques*, 260
Florence, 350
Florentia, 240
forgery, 74, 327, 350, 364, 368, 383–98
Formiae, games, 12
Fortunatus, Bishop, 245
Fortunatus, C., medic, 199
Forum Popilii, 17
Forum Sempronii, 291
Fossombrone, 397
Fos-sur-Mer, shipwreck, 92
Fourius, C., aedile, 160
freedmen, 30, 37, 68, 137, 140, 218, 382
  Capua, 17
  employment, 92, 98, 102, 188
  epitaphs, 53, 54, 59, 292
  euergetism, 154
  honours patron, 11, 32, 34
  imperial, 60, 167, 224, 307, 318, 390, 408, 410–12
  ministri, 69
  Misenum, 28
  name patterns, 410
  tombs, 134
  Trimalchio, 286
  Verrius Flaccus, 390–2
freedwomen, 61, 137, 306
  epitaphs, 377
fulgur conditum, 69, 182
fullers, 115
Fulvia, 212
Fulvia Plautilla, 312, 314–17
Fulvius Plautianus, 192, 312, 314–17, 319
funerary monuments. *See* tombs

Gaidemari, 241
Galatia, 167
Galerius, emperor, 320
Gallienus, emperor, 318
garum, 89, 92
Gavia Marciana, 6–9, 11
Gavius Iustus, 8
Gavius Maximus, C., praetorian prefect, 204
Gavius Puteolanus, M., 8
Gemellae, 295
Geneva, 142
Germanicus, 418
  honours, 34, 221, 224, 435
Germo, *Aug. lib.*, 61
Geta, emperor, 278, 281, 407
  erased, 124, 280, 281, 312, 313–17
Ghirza, 269, 270–3
Gholaia. *See* Bu Njem
Giocondo, Giovanni, 362, 364–6
gladiators, 54, 111, 134, 345, 359
  Pompeii, 14, 112, 119
  senatorial decree on, 223
Glanum, 155
glassware, 83, 108–11, 186, 208
Glevum (Gloucester), 380
Gordian II, emperor, 160
graffiti. *See* inscriptions
Granius Verus, Q., 103
Gregorius, Magister, 362
Grumentum, 397
Gruter, Jan, 369
gsur (fortified farms), 269, 273
Guadamur (Hispania Citerior), 236
Guelaine (Numidia), 295
Gurzil, deity, 270
Gutenstein, Leonhard, 383

Hadrian, emperor, 174, 192, 303, 426
  milestone at Stabiae, 49
Hadrian's Wall, 120
Hadrumetum (Sousse), catacomb, 230
Hammon, 277, 284
Hebrew, 64, 66
hederae distinguentes, 432
Hedius Verus, C., 291
Helena, mother of Constantine, 312
Helix, athlete, 106
Helvius Sabinus, Cn., 15
Heraclea Sintica, 300
Herculaneum, 1
  amphorae, 94
  balance, 104
  basilica Noniana, 32
  building-inscriptions, 42, 44, 45
  columellae, 56
  effect of eruption, 3
  electoral notice, 17
  honours for Nonius Balbus, 30, 37
  house of the *Sacellum*, 103
  loom-weights, 104
  municipal decrees, 5
  Oscan inscriptions, 4

  property of Plotina, 101
  public notice, 18
  temple of the Mother of the Gods, 45
  temple of Venus, 45
  tile-stamps, 87
  writing-tablets, 5, 11, 76
Herennius Florus, L., stamp, 102
herm, 29, 207, 414, 418, 420
Hermias, ?public slave, 217
hieroglyphs, 314
Hilarus, gladiator, 112
Hippo Regius, 291
Hirmius, craftsman, 211
Hispania Tarraconensis, statues in, 146
Hispellum, 413
history from square brackets, 355–7, 436
Hlodericus, 396
HMHNS, 136
honesta missio, 169, 177
Honoratus, 181
Honorius, emperor, 46
humour, 104, 115, 212
Hyginus, gromatic writer, 214

Iaris, god, 182
Iddibal Caphada Aemilius, 259
Iddibal Tapapius, 255
identity, 54, 60, 61, 62, 134–5, 145, 252, 256, 261, 301, 304, 405
  Christian, 64
  Jewish, 64
  military, 252, 276
  professional, 66, 134, 306, 403
  religious, 66
in h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae), 422
in planta pedis, 95, 96
indiction dating-system, 206, 268, 291, 403–5, 407
ink writing, 73, 80, 81, 118, 172, 178, 193–6, 426
inscribing
  instructions for, 27, 221
  motivations for, 10–12, 17, 53, 67, 68, 69, 70, 73, 83, 84, 90, 101, 104, 110, 116, 128, 136, 170, 178, 181, 182, 195, 196, 220–8, 271
inscriptions
  a nastro, 232, 334
  abbreviations, 6, 136, 352, 357–60, 391, 407, 432
  album, 12, 22, 123, 299, 310
  alimentary tablets, 169
  amphorae, 89–91
  art, 104–11, 117, 207–11
  authentication, 84, 90, 103, 117, 171, 172, 173, 186, 193, 196, 198, 206, 248, 249, 300, 303, 394
  boundary-markers, 11, 12, 18–19, 48, 137, 168, 214, 263–5, 303, 380
  bronze, on, 82, 98, 103, 168, 170, 172, 196, 221, 223, 224, 245, 280, 288–9, 298–9, 363, 396, 398
  building dedications, 12, 20, 39–48, 120, 125, 152–9, 160, 204, 214, 218, 225, 257–60, 262, 364, 420, 426, 437, 438
    Christianity, 242
    regulations, 44
  copies, 171, 172, 173, 221, 291, 293, 317, 396, 435
  copying, 126, 170
  cost, 11, 18, 23, 53, 68, 114, 116, 119, 183, 213, 409
  curse-tablets, 116, 179–81, 299, 308
  dating, 23, 49, 51, 53, 62, 63, 70, 291, 300, 359, 366, 367, 398–434, 447. *See also* indiction dating-system; consular dates
    aera, 405
    provincial eras, 247, 248, 402, 407
    regnal, 404, 405
  decrees, 142
    Augustales, 23–9
    collegia, 22
    municipal, 4–12, 23, 32, 33, 43, 77, 168, 169, 170, 245, 391
    senatorial, 6, 12, 122, 168, 169, 170, 171, 221, 223, 224, 225, 311, 435
  display of, 10, 12, 15, 18, 22, 30, 44, 56, 59, 72, 82, 83, 113, 119–25, 169, 170, 173, 275
  distribution, 186, 192
  distribution marks, 83, 84, 201, 207
  edicts, 12, 18, 122, 168, 221, 398, 410
  editing, 350–7, 434–48
  epitaphs, 2, 4, 52–67, 127, 128–36, 214, 218, 265–8, 286, 287, 304, 309, 310, 320, 327, 376–80, 385, 394–6, 402, 405, 410, 419, 423, 433
    Christianity, 110, 229–35, 246, 268
    columellae, 54–62
  erasures, 124, 158, 165, 231, 234, 244, 280, 281, 310, 311, 320, 349, 353, 383
  errors in, 72, 174, 293–7, 306, 311, 354, 365, 383
  fasti, 22, 152, 317, 319, 356, 368, 390–2
  gold, on, 183

inscriptions (*cont.*)
  graffiti, 68, 111–16, 119, 186, 202, 207, 211–13, 265, 275, 278, 293, 308, 313
    amphorae, 90
    Christianity, 238–42
  Greek, 2, 3, 11, 105, 132, 218, 239, 251, 261, 301, 306, 307
  honorific, 9, 11, 12, 20, 27, 29–39, 128, 142, 145–52, 155, 163, 214, 223, 327, 391, 397, 402, 410
  hospitality pacts, 169
  imitation, 6, 20, 23, 37, 42, 52, 54, 120, 154, 169, 219, 220, 228, 284
  imperial constitutions, 168, 173, 224
  imperial rescripts, 171, 221, 300, 303
  instrumentum domesticum, 82–104, 185–207
    corpora, 342
    definition, 82, 185
  juridical. *See* inscriptions legal
  labels, 92, 94, 103, 106, 109, 110, 111, 185, 192, 195, 196, 198, 199, 207, 208–10
  language use, 6, 37, 46, 62, 66, 69, 81, 84, 106, 128, 147, 154, 172, 180, 181, 281, 284, 434
  language-choice, 167, 171, 253, 255–62, 266, 270, 274, 300–7
  Latino-Punic, 251, 265, 270, 273
  laws, 12, 18, 21, 122, 168, 221, 224, 298, 363
  leather, on, 196, 202
  legal, 5, 135, 136, 137–41, 145, 168, 309, 316, 317, 345
    will, 137, 287
  lettering, 117, 120, 150, 181, 297, 300, 328, 366, 367, 407, 423–30, 448
  Libyan, 251, 270
  loom-weights, 104
  love tokens, 186, 198
  manufacturing marks, 83, 84, 85, 86, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 103, 105, 185, 186–90, 196, 202, 206
  milestones, 3, 48–52, 151, 152, 159–68, 244, 262, 302, 310, 318, 327, 380, 407, 410
    corpora, 342
  monumentality, 5, 10–12, 17, 21, 22, 69, 73, 119, 124, 125, 218, 220–8, 285, 328
  mosaic, 4, 92, 105, 106, 117, 151, 154, 235, 240, 430
    Christianity, 242, 243
  municipal charters, 4, 6, 170
  neo-Punic, 251, 253, 255–62, 265, 266
  notices, 113, 117, 119, 121, 123, 275
  orthography, 170, 331, 370, 417, 430
  Oscan, 4, 16
  ownership marks, 83, 84, 85, 88, 98, 100, 101, 103, 186, 202–3
  painted, 117, 129, 130, 159, 207, 275, 297
    address labels, 94, 201
    amphorae, 83, 89, 90, 91, 94, 193–6, 198
    corpora, 338
    dolia, 95
    electoral notices, 15–17
    epitaphs, 53
    games notices, 12–15
    lists, 22
    milestones, 160, 165
    notices, 1, 12–17, 275
    religious, 68
  patronal tablets, 12, 22, 152, 168, 169, 245
  production of, 120, 285, 286–300
  Punic, 251. *See* inscriptions: neo-Punic
  religious, 17, 23, 67–73, 116, 178–85, 214, 215, 217, 219, 252, 260–2, 270, 276–8, 289, 295, 319, 327, 373, 402, 425, 427
  reuse of, 72, 132, 137, 141, 142, 173, 268, 312, 325, 399, 417, 426, 437
  rock-cut, 213–20
  rural, 1, 48–52, 68, 95, 99, 152–4, 159–68, 181, 183, 213–20, 241, 261
  stamped, 83, 85–9, 90, 98–103, 117, 119, 186–90, 207. *See also* oculist stamps
    bread, 103
    bricks, 206, 397, 399
    dolia, 95
    terra sigillata, 95–8, 199
    tiles, 245
  stamps, 84, 202. *See also* oculist stamps
  subjectivity, 44, 132, 198, 222–3, 227–8
  treaties, 168, 221, 223, 224
  updated, 22, 154, 163–6, 168, 244, 281, 310–11, 313, 319, 383
  verse, 129, 131, 211, 218, 235, 236, 237, 281, 284, 288, 291, 334, 342, 345, 383, 423
  water-pipes, 84, 98–101, 119, 124, 186, 190, 196, 201, 202, 204–6
  weights and measures, 103, 186, 196
  wood, on, 1, 119, 120, 121, 123, 202, 221
  writing-tablets, 1, 73–82, 83, 117, 169, 171–2, 409
    corpora, 338, 339
    Herculaneum, 5, 11
    Iucundus archive, 75
    Murecine, 75, 77–81

inscriptions (*cont.*)
    Pompeii, 77
    tablettes Albertini, 172
    Vindolanda, 118, 308
instrumentum domesticum. *See* inscriptions
Interamna Nahars, 401
Intercisa, 212
Irene, 208
Irni, *lex Irnitana*, 6, 10, 170, 299
Isola Sacra, necropolis, 135, 138–41, 142, 399, 430
Italica, 223
Ithymbal Sabinus Tapapius, 255
Iudaeus, 64
Iulia Lucilia, 396
Iulium Carnicum, 217
Iulius Aquila, Sex., 287
Iulius Cordinus Rutilius Gallicus, Q., legate, 263
Iulius Euplus, C., 100
Iulius Pothinus, C., 100
Iulius Salius, craftsman, 105
Iulius Speratus, C., 114
Iulius Vitalis, military officer, 276
Iunius Amicus, soldier, 278
Iunius Bassus, urban prefect, 234
Iuulius Dignus, C., military officer, 276

Jenkins, Thomas, 385
John VII, Pope, 206
Judaea, 163, 165, 167, 302
Judaism, epigraphic culture, 64–6, 111
judicial prayers. *See* curse-tablets
Julia Domna, 314–17
Julia Mammea, 280, 281
Julia Soaemias, 280
Julian, emperor, 49, 320
Julius Caesar, 223, 254, 383
  statues, 147
Junian Latins, 76
Jupiter, 319
Jupiter Atratus, 214
Jupiter Optimus Maximus, 280
Justinian, emperor, 300
Justinianoupolis. *See* Didyma

Kaninius Hermes, L., 24–9
Kaninius Philippus, L., 24–9
Kasba des Aït Khalifa (Mauretania), 322

La Graufesenque, pottery, 96, 186
Laecanius Primitivus, 43
Laelius Atimetus, M., 11
Lambaesis, 244, 284, 314–17
  epitaphs, 143
lamps, 83, 97, 102, 105, 186
lararia, 68
Larcius Priscus, A., senator, 147, 149
largitio, 147
late antiquity, 269. *See also* Christianity
  abbreviations, 432
  dating systems, 400, 403–7. *See also* indiction dating system
  elite titles, 422
  epigraphic culture, 37, 46, 49, 50, 62–6, 72, 85, 90, 100, 151, 158–9, 170, 210, 211
    brick-stamps, 206
    building-inscriptions, 225
    milestones, 159, 163–6, 167
    slave-collars, 198
    Tripolitania, 260, 270–4
    writing-tablets, 172
  legislation, 221
  name patterns, 410, 413
  reuse of inscriptions, 321–5
  spolia, 322–5
Latopolis, temple, 314
Lavinium, 440, 445
laws, 122, 249
  building-inscriptions, 44
  spolia, 323
  statues, 151
legal disputes, 76, 120
legal documents, 77–81, 82, 119, 173, 221
Legio–Scythopolis road, 165
Leonidius, 291
Lepcis Magna, 250, 252–62
  chalcidicum, 259
  funerary monuments, 265, 266
  macellum, 254, 256, 259, 260
  Old Forum, 254, 255, 259
    temple of Rome and Augustus, 262
  quarry-mark, 192
  theatre, 255, 257–8, 259, 260
  water-pipe, 124
Levant, 159
lex Antonia de Termessibus, 224
lex de imperio Vespasiani, 363
lex Iulia de senatu habendo, 123
Liber Pater, 260, 261
liberalitas, 147
Licinia Amias, 233
Licinia Ianuaria, 132
Licinius Caesar, 244
Licinius I, emperor, 166, 310
Licinius II, emperor, 244

Licinius Optatianus, L., 313
Licinius Piso, 265
Licinius Rufus, 265
Ligorio, Pirro, 368, 383, 386–94, 397, 416
Lipari, tile-stamps, 87
Lipsius, Justus, 349, 367
Lissus, 364
literacy, 72, 82, 285, 307–9
Liternum, *Augustales*, 22, 310
Livia, wife of Augustus, 87, 88, 154
Livia Casta, 377
Livius Halys, T., 385
Livy, 385
locus datus decreto decurionum, 29
Longinus, 130
loom-weights, 104
Lucia Avircia Aciliana, 142
Lucifer, craftsman, 98
Lucilii Gamalae, P., 414–21
Lucilla, wife of Lucius Verus, 312
Lucius, craftsman, 105
Lucius Verus, emperor, 192, 364
Lucretius Decidianus Rufus, M., 29
Lucretius Satrius Valens, D., 13–15
Lucretius Valens, D., 14, 30
Lugdunum (Lyon), 359, 423
lulab, 64
Luna marble, 431
Lupoli, Michele Arcangelo, 383
Lusitania, epitaphs, 62, 129, 144
Lutatius Catulus, Q., *cos.*, 360

Macedonia, funerary altars, 62
Macrinus, emperor, 314
Mactar, 232
Maedius Severus, Q., civic patron, 426
Maffei, Scipione, 369, 385
Magdalensberg (Noricum), 115, 275
Magerius, mosaic, 151, 208
Magira, athlete, 106
Magliana, 322
Magna Mater (Cybele), 68, 288, 289
Mainz, 203
Mallon, Jean, 294
Malpas (Cheshire), 177
Manacor (Mallorca), 407
Manilia Chrysa, 67
Manlius Ancharius Tarquitius Saturninus, Q., *procos.*, 255
Marcellus, subdeacon, 238
Marchius Fydel, 272
Marcianus, Bishop, 245
Marcius Barea, Q., *procos*, 255
Marcius Restitutus, St., craftsman, 98
Marcus Aurelius, emperor, 192, 223
  plague, 409
market-days, 115, 123
Mars Canapphar, 277, 280
Masculinus, craftsman, 211
Massilia (Marseille), 318
Matal, Jean, 366
matronae, cult of, 182
Mauretania Caesariensis, 402, 413
Maxentius, emperor, 51, 52, 66
Maximian, emperor, 120, 158, 212, 318
Maximinus, emperor, 275, 280, 281, 314
Maximus, Caesar, 281, 314
Maximus, presbyter, 236
Medici, Lorenzo de', 364
mediaeval period
  brick-stamps, 206
  graffiti, 213, 240, 241
  model-books for epitaphs, 291
  reuse of inscriptions, 321
  spolia, 322–5
Melissaeus Plocamus, L., *minister*, 70
Mendip lead pigs, 192
menorah, 64, 66
mercatores, 90
Mercury, 181
metal ingots, 83, 186, 192, 196, 198
Metellus, Sex., 94
Metilia Acte, priestess of Cybele, 288
Mettius Martialis, L., soldier, 60
Milan, brick-stamps, 206
milestones. *See* inscriptions
Mineia, 33
Minerva, 183, 374
Minicius Italus, C., procurator, 317
ministri, 69–72
Minturnae, tile-stamps, 88
Misenum, 1
  Augustales, 23–9, 43, 226
  fleet, 82
  forum, 28, 226
Mithras, 389
Modius Maxximus, M., *archigallus*, 289
Mommsen, Theodor, 295, 327, 445
money-lending, 76, 77, 115
Mons Claudianus
  ostraka, 118, 178
  quarry-marks, 192
Monte Gargano, sanctuary of St Michael, 240
mosaics. *See* art: mosaics
Msallatin, 269
Munatius Caeserninus, 17

Musa, Augustus' doctor, 94
myth, 131, 132, 208, 288
Mytilene, 223

Naevius Hilarus, N., craftsman, 96
name patterns, 28, 130, 143, 183, 234, 249, 256, 260, 261, 265, 268, 271, 389, 390, 409–21
  agnomina, 412
  cognomina, 410, 412, 413
  praenomina, 410, 412
  signa, 413
Naples. *See* Neapolis
Narbo (Narbonne), 162, 310, 359
  town walls, 321
Narcissus, 105
Narnia, 17
navicularii, 90
Neapolis, 1, 49, 52, 350
  Christian calendar, 72
  Greek games, 2
  Greek identity, 3, 301
  Jewish epitaphs, 64, 65
  late antiquity, 2, 4, 38, 64, 65
  migration after 79, 3
  milestone, 49
  municipal decrees, 5, 9, 11
  S. Giovanni Maggiore, 72
  tile-stamps, 87
Nemausus (Nîmes), 155, 320, 437
neofitus, 234
Neratius Marcellus, L., military officer, 176
Nero, emperor, 114, 192, 255, 313
  colonial grants in Campania, 114
  his *flamen* at Pompeii, 14
  name erased, 13
Nerva, emperor, 312, 401
Nice, 231
Nicomachus Flavianus, senator, 48, 319
Nigidius Vaccula, M., 288–9
Nola, 99
  games, 12, 112
Nonia Prima, 377
Nonius Asprenas, L., *procos.*, 255
Nonius Balbus, M., *procos.*, 30–7, 42–3
Nonius Volusianus, freedman, 34
Norba Caesarina, *colonia*, 144
Norbanus Sorex, C., actor, 29
Novia Trophime, 137
Nuceria, 17, 31, 48, 49, 52, 114, 115
  columellae, 56
  games, 12
  rivalry with Pompeii, 114

numerals, 358
Numisius Optatus, L., *minister*, 70
Numisius Primus, L., *minister*, 70
Numistrius Fronto, M., 43, 44
nymphaeum, 100

oaths of loyalty, 168
Octavius Faustinus, C., 320
Octavius Isochrysus, child, 292
oculist stamps, 199–201, 307
Oea, 250, 254, 261, 263
officinator, 88, 187, 189
Ombite nome, 119
Onesimus, 113
Oplontis, villa A, tile-stamps, 87
Orbius Carpoforus, T., 423
Orsini, Fulvio, 393
Ostia, 201, 288, 289, 310, 321, 399, 402, 448
  anchor-stock, 178
  fasti Ostienses, 317, 414, 417, 419
  forum, 226
  Forum Baths, 204
  glass flask, 108
  lime-kilns, 321
  Lucilii Gamalae, P., 414–21
  reused tombstones, 137, 321
  temple of Bellona, 420
  toilet seats, 321
  water-pipes, 124, 190, 204
ostraka, 83, 118, 178, 275
Otricoli, 396
Oxyrhynchus, 120, 121

Paccius Africanus, C., *procos.*, 255
Paccius Secundus, M., craftsman, 102
Pactumeius Magnus, T., prefect of Egypt, 120
Padua, 385
Paemeiobrigenses, edict, 398
Paestum, 245
  basilica of Mineia, 33
pagi, imitating town councils, 20, 42, 52, 152
Palermo, 178, 293
Palestrina. *See* Praeneste
palimpsests, 165, 310, 373, 437
Pallas, Claudius' freedman, 224
Pantagato, Ottavio, 390
Panvinio, Onofrio, 347, 392
papyri, 83, 118, 119, 120, 123, 124, 125, 300, 308, 408, 426, 436
Paquius Proculus, *duovir*, 16
Paquius Scaeva, P., 136
Paris, actor, 113

Parma, 347
patronage
  collegium patron, 22
  patronal tablets, 12, 22, 152, 168, 169, 245
  personal patrons, 11
  town patrons, 4, 5, 37, 43, 150, 169, 245, 255, 256, 426
Paulinus, bishop of Nola, 238
Perge, 303
Pergol, Mt, Alps, 215
Pertinax, emperor, 163
Perusia, 212
Petaus, administrator, 308
Petiedius, L., 154
Petrarch, 363, 385
Petronella, martyr, 242
Petronia Iusta, 77
Phaethon, 132
Philip, Caesar (erased), 281
Philip, emperor (erased), 281
Philippi, tomb, 134
Philoumene, 307
Phrygia, 171, 303
pilgrimage, 239, 241
Pisa, 322, 399
  shipwreck, 89
Pithecusae, 115
plumbarius, 190
Po, river, 160
politics, 114, 163, 168, 212, 281, 303, 319, 363, 405
Pompeii, 1
  amphitheatre building-inscription, 40, 41
  amphorae, 91
  bakery, VII.i.36–7, 103
  basilica, 45, 113
  boundary-markers, 18–19, 48
  brothel, 114
  Casa del Fabbro, 97
  columellae, 54–60, 135
  covered theatre building-inscription, 39, 40
  cult of Mercury and Maia, 71
  effect of eruption, 3
  electoral notices, 15–17
  Eumachia's building, 43
  fondo Santilli necropolis, 60
  forum, 29, 121
  games notices, 12–15
  gladiators, 112, 119
  graffiti, 111–16, 119, 308
  'house of Caecilius Iucundus', 75
  'house of D. Octavius Quartio', 105
  'house of Fabius Rufus', 100, 113
  'house of L. Helvius Severus', 104
  'house of Marine Venus', II.iii.3, 104
  'house of the Vettii', 114
  'house of Umbricius Scaurus', 92
  inn of Euxinus, 94
  inscriptions of cult officials, 69–72
  Isis, 67
  I.viii.13, 115
  VII.ii.30, 115
  IX.xii.1–2, 115
  IX.xiii.5, 115
  lamp workshop, I.xx.2–3, 97
  loom-weights, 104
  magistri vici et compiti, 22
  milestones, 48
  municipal decrees, 10
  Murecine tablets, 75
  Oscan inscriptions, 4, 16
  pagus Augustus Suburbanus Felix, 20, 29
  painted inscriptions, 12–17, 22, 68, 91, 92, 94, 105, 114
  Palaestra Baths, 77
  Porta Nocera necropolis, 58, 112
  Porta Nola necropolis, 60
  riot in amphitheatre, 114
  rivalry with Nuceria, 114
  signacula, 102
  tavern, VI.xiv.356, 105
  temple of Augustan Fortune, 19, 69, 72
  temple of the Public Lares, 88
  tile-stamps, 85
  tomb of the Lucretii Valentes, 14
  villa of Cicero, 105
  villa of the Mysteries, 111
  visual puns, 288–9
  wall paintings, 207
  writing-tablets, 77
Pompeius Silvanus, M., *procos.*, 255
Pomponius Rufus, Q., *procos.*, 255
Pomponius Tigranus, C., freedman, 218
Pontius Clodianus, A., craftsman, 189
Pontius Leo, 288
Popidius Florus, N., 68
Popilius Heracla, C., 137
Poppaea Note, 77
Populonia, glass flask, 108, 110
Porcius Iasucthan (centurion), 281, 284
Porcius, M., *duovir*, 39, 40, 41
Portus, 416
Potamon of Mytilene, 223
pottery, 83, 89–98. *See also* ostraka
  mortaria, 97
  ostraka, 118

  stamps, 101, 105
  storage vessels, 95, 102, 193
  terra sigillata, 95–8, 199
  transport vessels, 89–94, 193–6
Pozzuoli. *See* Puteoli
praedium, 187, 189
Praeneste
  fasti Praenestini, 356, 390–2
  forum, 390
  water-pipe, 124
Prima, 113
Primus, 240
Priscus, 130
Profeta, 213
provincial governors, 31, 44, 120, 123, 149, 158, 162, 163, 167, 177, 215, 227, 254–5, 256, 259, 262, 263, 264, 300, 317, 319, 323, 408, 412
provincials, 32, 33, 168, 196, 224, 302, 303
public archives, 10, 119, 120, 169, 221
public funeral, 9, 416
Punic
  architecture, 269
  inscriptions, 251, 253, 255–62, 265, 266, 270, 273
  names, 143, 261
Pupienus, emperor, 314
Puteoli, 1, 114, 227
  Domitian celebrated at, 1
  funerary *cippus*, 57
  games, 12
  glass flasks, 108–11
  Greek epitaph, 2
  harbour-front repairs, 46–8
  Isis temple, 107
  late antiquity, 2, 38, 46–8, 108
  lex libitinaria, 18
  lex parieti faciendo, 328
  macellum, 101
  municipal decrees, 5, 6–9, 11
  Neronian colonial status, 114
  painted inscriptions, 53
  statue of *pantomimus*, 37
  suburban villa, 106
  Sulpicii writing-tablets, 75, 77–81
  terra sigillata, 96
  water-pipes, 101
Pyramus and Thisbe, 105
Pyrrhus, 113

quarry-marks, 190
Quinctilius Priscus, A., 219, 226
Quinctius Valgus, C., *duovir*, 39, 40, 41
Quiriacus, 240

Raecius Felix, L., gladiator, 113
Raetia, 159
Ras el-Haddagia, rural sanctuary, 261
Ras el-Mergheb, rural sanctuary, 261
Rasinius Pisanus, L., craftsman, 96
Ravenna, 397
  brick-stamps, 206
reading aloud, 10, 225, 309
Regina, Catuvellaunian, 304
Regium Lepidum, *Regio* VIII, 169
Republic, 147
  epigraphic corpora, 336, 345
  epigraphic culture, 37, 39, 85, 88, 152–4, 160, 170, 197, 206, 432
  name patterns, 410, 411
Res Gestae divi Augusti, 299, 303, 304
Rhescuporis II, king of Thrace, 171
rituals, 59, 60, 61, 64, 68, 69, 135, 137, 145, 179, 182, 225, 239, 244, 270, 271, 287, 398
road-building, 3, 48, 159, 160, 162, 166, 215, 216–17, 263, 302, 446
Romanization, 252, 266, 302
Rome, 147, 201, 304, 322, 362, 399, 402
  altar to *Lares Augusti*, 427
  arch of Claudius, 126
  arch of Constantine, 323
  arch of the *argentarii*, 314
  basilica of Maxentius, 223
  baths of Trajan, 171, 303
  brick-stamps, 85, 188, 206
  burial patterns, 143
  Capitol, 82, 173, 196, 224, 360, 401
  Capitoline games, 132
  Casa dei Crescenzi, 324
  catacombs, 208, 229
    Comodilla, 235
    Cornelius, 237
    Domitilla, 242
    Pamphilus, 240
    St Callixtus, 230, 240
    St Priscilla, 230
  cemetery of St Marcellinus and St Peter, 230
  epigraphic corpora, 338, 342, 343, 383
  epitaphs, 53, 61, 66, 131–2, 136
  fasti Capitolini, 368
  Flavian amphitheatre, 437
  forum Iulium, 224
  forum of Trajan, 319, 368
  forum Romanum, 123, 124, 390
  funerary monuments, 431, 433

Rome (*cont.*)
  glass flasks, 108
  graffiti, 114
  grove of Arvals, 182
  links to Bay of Naples, 1–3, 48
  locations of inscriptions, 223
  Monte Testaccio, 193, 195
  praetorian camp, 201
  S. Paulo fuori le mure, 397
  senate, 22, 123, 126, 171, 221, 224, 319, 401, 417
  senatorial decrees, 6, 12, 23, 122, 169, 170, 171, 221, 224, 225, 311
  slaves, 54
  statues of L. Volusius Saturninus, 145
  tabularium, 362
  temple of deified Augustus, 177
  temple of *Fides*, 224
  temple of Mars the Avenger, 299
  tessera nummularia, 197
  tomb of the Haterii, 207
  via Appia, 230, 432
    memoria Apostolorum, 230, 239, 240
  via Labicana, 66, 230
  via Portuensis, 293
  via Salaria, 132, 230
  via Triumphalis, 142
  vicus Statae Matris, 427
Romulus, at Pompeii, 116
Ronciglione, church of St Eusebius, 241
Roscius Aelianus Maecius Celer, L. (quaestor), 227
Roselli, Francisco, 383, 397
Rovere, cardinal Giuliano della, 325
Rubellius Blandus, C., *procos.*, 255
Rufus Sita (cavalryman), 380
Rustici, Cencio, 363

S. Antonio Abate, tile-stamps, 88
Sabbas, presbyter, 407
Sabidius Pollio, P., 99
Sabilo, 241
Sabineius Maximus, Sex., *duovir*, 158
Sabratha, 250, 254, 255, 260, 268, 320
sailors, diplomas, 172
Saint-Zacharie, 319
Salerno, *columellae*, 56
Sallustius, Q., 29
Salona, 207
Samos, 222
Santa Rufina, church, 322
sarcophagi, 129, 143, 288, 292, 321, 382, 431
Sardinia, 227, 249
  grotta delle vipere, 218
Sardis, 223
Sarno, *columellae*, 56
Saturn, 260, 320
Savaria (Pannonia), 166
SC Neronianum, 74
Scafati
  boundary-marker, 48
  tomb of the Lucretii Valentes, 14
Scaliger, Joseph, 369
scribes, 73
scriptores, 12, 15, 17
Scythopolis, 167
seals, 73, 82, 83, 84, 124, 171, 177, 202
Secundus, 113
Seine-et-Oise, 307
Sejanus, praetorian prefect, 318, 402, 418
Seleucia, 215
senators, 30, 34, 37, 42, 46, 150, 190, 192, 223, 228, 311, 412, 422, 444
Sentius Lucilius Gamala Clodianus, Cn., 419
Senuna, goddess, 183
Septimius Geta, P., 314, 317
Septimius Severus, emperor, 100, 101, 124, 163, 167, 171, 278, 303, 314–17, 364, 401, 427
Serpentius, 237
Servilius Candidus, Q., 267
Servilius Hermeros, M., 292
Sétif (Mauretania Sitifiensis), 248
Severus Alexander, emperor, 100, 280, 281, 284, 314
Shadrapa, Phoenician god, 260
shofar, 64
signacula, 101–3
Signorili, Nicolò, 362
Silvanus, 215, 328, 411
Silvius Auspex, C., cavalry prefect, 374
Simplicia, 213
slave-collars, 198, 249
slaves, 68, 77, 94, 98, 103, 134, 135, 172, 188, 197, 202. *See also* slave-collars
  epitaphs, 54, 58, 59, 60, 213, 266
  imperial, 60, 87, 88, 192, 318, 389, 390, 408, 410–12
  ministri, 69, 427
  public, 75, 217, 420
  runaway, 119
  witnesses, 73
sling-shot obscenities, 212
Smet, Martin de, 367–8
Smirat villa, Magerius mosaic, 151, 208

soldiers, 37, 54, 82, 120, 134, 167, 168, 273, 295, 302, 303, 318, 359, 396, 408
  2nd cohort Ituraeorum, 178
  2nd cohort of Tungrians, 374
  3rd legion Augusta, 118, 263, 269, 274–85, 314–17, 318
  21st legion Rapax, 318
  22nd legion Antoniniana, 203
  auxiliaries, 172, 177
  branding-irons, 202
  Bu Njem camp, 252, 274–85
  cavalrymen, 132, 176, 177, 296, 378
  centurions, 277, 280, 281
  diplomas, 172
  equites singulares, 66, 172, 296
  praetorians, 60, 172, 431, 433
  writing-materials, 118, 275
Sorrento. *See* Surrentum
sors Mercuri, 98
Sosontigi (Baetica), 320
South Shields, 304
souvenirs, 110
Sozomenus, 240
spectavit, 197
speech bubbles, 105, 210
Spoleto, Christian graffiti, 241
spolia, 141, 322–5
squeezes, 332, 346, 366, 369, 371–6
St Michael am Zollfeld. *See* Virunum
Stabiae, 1, 49, 52
  Christian epitaph, 63
  columellae, 56
  destruction by Sulla, 3
  diploma, 82
  milestone, 49
  necropolis, 59
  tile-stamps, 87
  villa Arianna, 87, 96
  villa loc. Faiano, 99
  villa S. Marco, 87
  villa, loc. Patraro, 91
Statilius Aper, T., 288
statue bases, 10, 11, 12, 23, 29, 128, 142, 152, 262, 290, 313, 324, 368, 380, 390, 413
  Gavia Marciana, 9
  Trajan at Misenum, 24–9
statues, 29, 226, 310, 312, 319, 323, 390, 415, 421
  equestrian, 31, 34–7, 125, 150
  honorific, 9, 29–39, 125, 145
  imperial, 101, 151, 264, 313
  Julius Caesar, 147
  locations of, 30–9, 142, 146
  variety in appearance, 30–9, 145
status dissonance, 54
stelai, 129
Stlaccius Ianuarius, M., 58
Storgosia (Pleven), 243
Suedius Clemens, T., Vespasian's agent, 19
Suellius Flaccus, military legate, 264
sufes, magistracy, 253, 258
Sulpicius Cinnamus, C., banker, 75
Sulpicius Eugramus, Q., 132
Sulpicius Faustus, C., banker, 75, 80, 81
Sulpicius Maximus, Q., 131–2, 288
Sulpicius Onirus, C., banker, 75
Superaequum, building-inscription, 152
Suphunibal, 255, 260
Surrentum, 1
  columellae, 56, 60, 145
  late antiquity, 38, 50
  milestone, 50
  water-pipe, 100
Syntyche, 320
Syria, 167, 302, 303

tabula ansata, 108, 218, 258, 262, 271, 273, 278, 280, 293, 299, 376
Tabula Hebana, 435
Tabula Siarensis, 435
Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum. *See* inscriptions: writing-tablets: Murecine tablets
Talavera de la Reina, town walls, 321
Tanit, Punic deity, 261
Tarracina (Terracina), 160, 217, 350
Tarraco, 319
taxation, 75, 193, 195, 196, 198, 300, 403
Tegianum, 114
Telegenii, 210
Termessos Maior, 224
Terpnos, 58
terra sigillata, 105, 186
tesserae nummulariae, 197
testatio, 73
Thamugadi. *See* Timgad
Theodoric, king, 206
Theodosius I, emperor, 46, 165, 228, 319, 323
Theodosius II, emperor, 319
theta nigrum, 136, 310, 359
Thuburbo Maius, 165
Tiberius, emperor, 402
Tibur, 99
  tomb of the Plautii, 227
tile-stamps, 83, 85–9, 119, 186
  Christian, 245

Timgad, 299, 313, 399
  statues, 147–51
Tipasa, basilica of Alexander, 243
Tithasus, 103
Titinius Anthus, A., judge, 80, 81
Titius Liberalis, Faustus, *sevir augustalis*, 402
Titus, emperor, 215, 419
Tixter, 246
tombs, 9, 11, 12, 17, 54, 112, 129–45, 152, 179, 225, 226, 235, 265, 286, 304, 399
  Christian, 246
  design, 286–8
  martyrs, 236
  mausolea in Tripolitanian pre-desert, 252, 269–73, 274
  Plautii at Tibur, 227
Torre del Greco, tile-stamps, 87
town councils, 226
  album, 299
  building-inscriptions, 39, 42, 152
  decrees, 4–12, 20, 77, 128, 169, 415, 417, 420, 421
  honorific statues, 29
  imitating senate, 52
  legal judgements, 77
  overseeing religion, 69
  regulating public space, 18
Trajan, emperor, 176, 217, 255, 264, 312
  Dacian wars, 134
  honoured at Misenum, 24–9
travertine, 431
Trigueros, Cándido María, 383
Trimalchio, 286
Tripolitania
  coastal cities, 250, 252–62, 265–8
  epigraphic culture, 250–85
  funerary inscriptions, 265–8
  online corpus of Latin inscriptions, 333
  pre-desert interior, 250, 252, 268–85
triptychs, 73
Tubusuptu, epitaphs, 144
tufa, 431
Tullius, M., 19
Tullius Romulus, centurion, 277
Tunis, 350
Turranius, Cn., aedile, 104
Tutilius Iulianus, collegial patron, 169

Uley, curse-tablets, 180–1, 308
Ulpia Marciana, 101
Ulpia Plotina, 101
Ulpius Domitus, M., 140
Ulpius Narcissus, 137
Umbricius Abascantus, A., freedman, 92
Umbricius Scaurus, A., 30, 92
Umm al-Amad, 269
urban prefects, 46, 223, 234
Urbino, 324
urcei, 91
Urso, Christian tile-stamps, 245

valeat qui fecit, 85
Valentia (Valencia), 313
Valentinian III, emperor, 319
Valerian, emperor, 318
Valerius Aprilis, L., 377
Valerius Bellicius, Iunius, urban prefect, 447
Valerius Hermonius Maximus, senator, 47
Vanammon, deity, 277
Vatican
  St Peter's basilica, 238, 244, 322
  St Peter's necropolis, 135, 137, 142, 213
Veneranda, 242
Venidius Ennychus, L., 11, 76
Verona, 385
Verrius Flaccus, freedman, 390–2
Vespasian, emperor, 174, 192, 215, 253, 255, 263, 303, 329, 419
  ius Latii grants, 144
  rebuilding temple at Herculaneum, 45
  reclaiming public land at Pompeii, 19
  road-building, 215
Vesuvius, eruption in 79, 1, 3, 75, 83, 173, 399
veterans, 54, 82
  diplomas, 172
via Appia, 160, 217, 229
via Domitia, 160
via Domitiana, 1
via Flaminia, 215
via Sebaste, 167
Vibia Sabina, 54
Vibidius Decrianus, C., 154
Vibius Marsus, C., *procos.*, 255
vici, imitating town councils, 42, 52, 152
Viciria Archas, 33
Vienna (Vienne), 291, 425, 430
  temple of Rome and Augustus, 154
villas, 95
  Baiae, 100
  Bay of Naples, 2
  Boscoreale
    Fannius Synistor, 102
    N. Popidius Florus, 68
    villa Regina, 102
  Boscotrecase, 88
  Comune di Terzigno, 95

  - della Pisanella, 102
  - Lullingstone, 210
  - Oplontis, 87
  - Pompeii, of Mysteries, 111
  - Puteoli, suburban, 106
  - Smirat, 151, 208
  - Stabiae
    - Arianna, 87, 96
    - loc. Faiano, 99
    - loc. Patraro, 91
    - S. Marco, 87
- Vindacius Ariovistus, T., medic, 199
- Vindolanda (Chesterholm)
  - sandal, 196
  - writing-tablets, 118, 308
- Virgil, 207
  - *Aeneid*, 115, 207, 211
- Virunum, amphitheatre, 157
- *vixit plus minus*, 62, 63, 64, 66, 268
- Volasennia Tertia, 33
- Volubilis, 322
  - forum, 142
- Volusius Saturninus (*cos.*), L., 145
- voting-tribes, 27, 28, 60, 131, 144, 149, 154, 253, 295, 350, 382, 391, 413
- vows, 67, 123, 126, 178, 182, 183, 239, 277, 398

- Wadi Umm al-Ajrim, 269
- Wadi Umm as-Sbit, 269
- Walferdingen-Helmsingen, 198
- weights and measures, 84, 103
- wine, 198
- witnesses, 73, 81, 82, 172, 173, 177, 236
- writing tablets. *See* inscriptions: writing tablets

- Zephyrinus, Pope, 229
- Zeus Helios Great Serapis, 178
- Zliten, 265